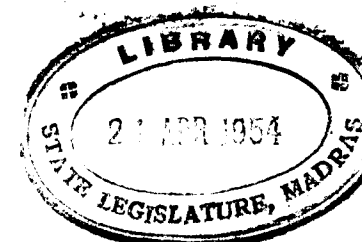


THE Modern Review

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)



FOUNDER
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.

EDITED BY
KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

VOL. LXXXI. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JANUARY TO JUNE
1952

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 12-8 Foreign Rs. 20.

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Elections, The	1	Mass Retrenchment at Sealdah	107
(Mr.) Elliot Lockhart's Speech in A. C. C. Meeting	7	Memorial to Lady Abala Bose	271
Famine	353	Milk Supply of Calcutta	103
Final Central Budget, The	425	Nandy, Srish Chandra	188
Fighting Forces of India	6	Narsingdas Bengali Prize, 1951	431
Food Problem, The	102	Nepal's New Set-up	15
Foreign Aid	10	New Forest Policy	436
Foreign Capital	11	New Year, The	1
France and Indo-China	346	Nothing Like Leather!	343
Ganges Barrage, The	431	On "American Way of Life"	91
General de Lattre de Tassigny	186	Other Side, The	269
German Warfare	266	Partition of Sudan	433
Goa	352	Passports for Pakistan	431
Golden Jubilee Celebrations	270	Preservation of Wild Life	421
Government's Taxation Policy	9	President and the Vice President, The	423
Grow More Food in West Bengal	261	Presidential Address, The	179
Hindu Code Bill, The	429	Princely States in India	86
Opposition Groups, The	423	Public Administration in India	188
Hirakud Dam	99	(Prof.) Puntambaker	427
History Congress	101	Railway Budget	344
Hydel Electricity in Agriculture	269	Railway Regrouping	185
"Hyderabad and Kashmir"	98	Rearming West Germany	182
"In Defence of Freedom"	90	Reclamation of Industrial Areas	256
Index of Prices and Cost of Living	354	Regrouping of Railways	431
Indian Communism at Work	258	Relief Measures in Rayalaseema	253
Indian Companies Act	351	Resolutions, The	97
Indian Emigration to Borneo	432	Revolt in Nepal, The	263
Indian Satyagraha for Voting Rights	345	(Mrs.) Roosevelt in India	178
Indians in Ceylon	353	Rural Extension Service in India	96
India's Food Problem	11	Russo-German Alliance, The	13
India's National Income	100	Sanskrit and India's Unity	354
India's Navy	103	Sarvodaya Sammelan	268
India's President	263	Security Plan for Western Europe	272
Indo-China and France	347	Senanayake, Don Stephen	340
Indo-Pakistan Islam League, The	94	Sheikh Abdullah's Speech	352
Indo-U.S. Technical Aid Agreement	18	South Africa	16
Is China a Satellite?	3	Soviet Union and Islam	347
Is Russia Weaker than the West?	175	Spain and Moroccan Independence	343
Kashmir Affair, The	260	Stalin-Radhakrishnan Talks	174
Kashmir and the Moslem World	340	Sterling Agreement, The	187
Kashmir and the U.N.C.I.P.	14	Tax-evaders	184
Kashmir Niketan	173	Telugu Literature	14
King George VI	262	Unrest in Indonesia	169
Language Controversy in East Pakistan, The	429	Uttar Pradesh and Rehabilitation Scheme	12
Linguistic Provinces	188	Verdict of the People, The	19
Maharaja of Jodhpur	355	(Acharya) Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoomi-Dan" Tour	338
Maktaba Jamia	265	(Dr.) Wilbur Sawyer	272
(Dr.) Malan's South Africa	88	Writing on the Wall, The	430
"Manchester Guardian" on Devers Plan	270	Yogananda, Swami	
Marine Biology		Zamindari Abolition in Uttar Pradesh	

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Agarwal, S. N.	Page	Bhadra, Nalini Kumar	Page
New Responsibility of Congress Governments	364	On the Bank of the Godavari (illustr.)	133
The Tragedy of a Wall	36	Bhattacharya, Mm. Vidhushekhar	
Ahluwalia, Rajendra Singh		Post-Graduate Teaching in Sanskrit	37
Progressivism and the Poetry of Escape and Revolt	400	Bose, Bela	458
Banerjee, Trigunanath		Grow More Food Campaign	
Serampore College (illustr.)	224	Bose, Narayani	
Banerjee, P. K.		The State and the Individual in Hegel's Philosophy	394
The Sun Rise Again in Japan	143	Bose, Nirmal Kumar	295
Banerji, Shibji	212	Democracy and Social Change: India	
Sikkim		Biswas, Usha	396
Bepin Behari		Art in Education	
Technique of Moral Building in a British Industry	483	Buddha Prakash	
		The Asiatic Element in European Thought and Culture	148

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

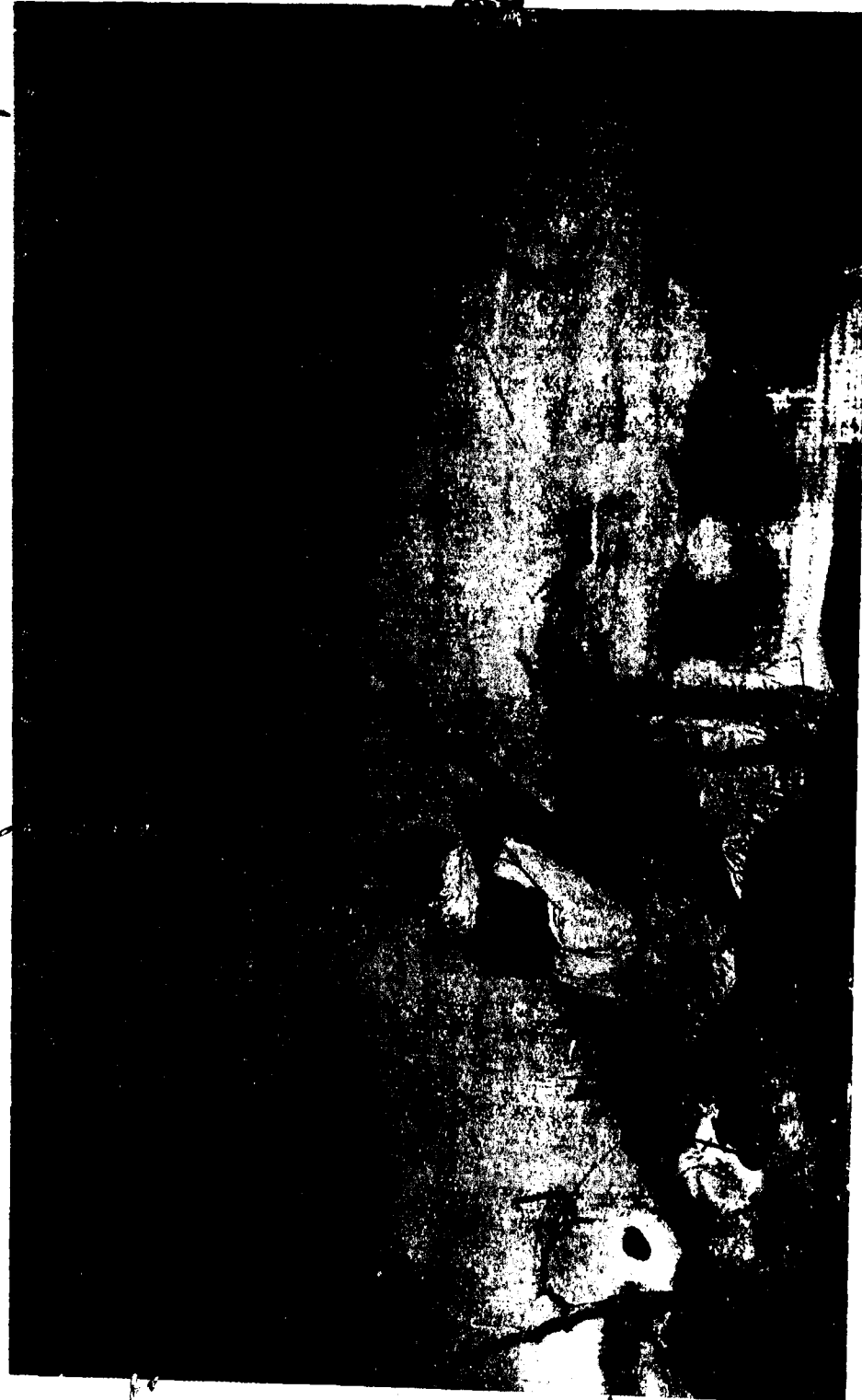
Batterjee, Asoke	Page	Mookerjee, H. C.	Page
New Light on the Belava Grant of Bhojavarman	67	Gandhiji and Prohibition in India	21, 105
Paninian Analysis of Ancient India Geography	233		
Batterjee, Satis Chandra		Mookerjee, Satkari	317
Education in Free India	205	"Post-Graduate Teaching in Sanskrit in the Calcutta University"	
Contributed		Mookherji, Sudhansu Bimal	284
Future of Part 'C' States	145	Malan's South Africa	
as, Rajani Kanta and Sonya Ruth	391	Mitra, Gita and Captain R. D.	486
Development of Tagorism		Battle Tactics on the Invisible Front	
Gupta, Aresh Chandra		Nag, A. C.	475
Some Remarkable Terracottas from Tamralipta (illustr.)	464	Studies on Age at Marriage and Fertility	
avid, I. E. J.	60	Nandi, Shafali	299
Reverence for Life		A Trip to Ireland (illustr.)	
harma Bhanu	207	Nikhilananda, Swami	309
A Glimpse into Chinese Poetry		Unveiling of the Bust of Sri Ramkrishna in New York (illustr.)	
utt, Mridula	63	Northrop, F. S. C.	357
The Mechanisation of Heredity		How Can We Defend Free Culture?	
esteira, M. J. and Silva, O. J.	463	O'Kane, Walter Collins	
Health Education and Sanitation		Hopi Indian Communities in the American Southwest (illustr.)	222
angoly, O. C.	141	Rindani, T. H.	290
Indian Art and Indians (illustr.)	471	Nutrition Plan	
A Young Painter of Promise (illustr.)		Risabhchand	313
hosh, Kamal Krishna	479	Sri Aurobindo as a Philosopher	
"Quit English?"		Rao, K. N.	373
hoseal, A. K.		The Uproar in Biology Today	
Union Executive in the Indian Constitution 31, 110, 193		Rao, K. V.	281
raham Pole, D.	28, 360, 461	The Council of States	
London Letter		Rao, M. B. S.	49
ubil, L. N.	132	Occupational Therapy (illustr.)	
Jambukeswaram (illustr.)	26	Robert Wistrand	305
uha, B. N.		Santa Fe (illustr.)	
Congress—Old and New	229	Sahu, Lakshminarayan	468
uh, Murari Prasad		The Gadabas of Orissa (illustr.)	387
Population Control in Relation to Food in India	139	The Hill Tribes (illustr.)	
uthrie Jr., A. B.	61	Santosh Kumari	379
Montana (illustr.)	288	The First Experiment of Democracy in India	
ukku, V. N.		Sapru, T. N.	197
The Bank Rate in India		The Future of Man	
The Bill Market in India	53	Sarkar, Khatish Chandra	227
hutchinson, Harold		Contributions to Art and Archaeology by the Late Akshay Kumar Maitra	
Britain Meets Shortage of Skilled Labour (illustr.)	311	Sastri, C. L. R.	201
araeli, Arnold K.		Gardiner, A. G.	290
Moslems Win in India's Elections	234	The General Elections and After	441
agadiwarananda, Swami		Kashmir with the Lid Off	121
Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy	368	Swat That Wasp!	
ohn Brough		Sen, Adinath	382
The Study of the Indian Classics	403	Norway (illustr.)	
Caundinya		Seth, N. K.	319
A Shelf of Books on Art	42	The Surrealist Movement	
"Kishan"	45	Shahani, R. T.	129
Mechanisation of Agriculture	303	The Memories of Malabar (illustr.)	
Grishnamurthy, O. S.		Shome, S. P.	214
Courtallum (illustr.)	221	The American Negro (illustr.)	
Tanjore (illustr.)	33	Srivastava, Iqbal Narain	127
Grishnan, M. K.		Mahatma's Political Ethics	
Vajreshwari (illustr.)	57	S. T.	309
Walhotra, P. C.		Library Movement in India	
The Middle Class and Its Future	113	Tonpe, V. V.	478
Malik, Kapila		Life (poem)	
Dance in Education	273	USIS	54
Human Waste in India	448	American Red Cross Mobilization for Mercy (illustr.)	
The Population Problem of India	47	Thomas Alva Edison and the Motion Picture Industry (illustr.)	390
Soil Problem in India		Wilfred Wellok	189
Mehta, R. L.		A Western or an Eastern Economy?	
Climatic Changes in Kashmir (illustr.)	366		
Mira Ben			
Straight from the Heart			

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page		Page
Abanindranath Tagore	1	Navaratna Temple of Bhavatarini Devi,	
Abanindranath, Bust of	56	Balaram Chose Street, Calcutta	253
Aerial view of Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer		Nabaratra Temple of Maheshwara, Bowbazar,	253
Studio in Calver City, California	373	Calcutta	
Aerial view of petroleum refineries and grain		Norway	30-86
elevators in Kansas	456	(21 illustrations)	
American Negro, The	214-20	Norwester (in colours)	337
(16 illustrations)		Niharranjan Sen Gupta	
American Red Cross Mobilization for Mercy	54-55	Occupational Therapy	
(4 illustrations)		Class-room of Occupational Therapy School,	51
Angler, The (in colours)	1	K. E. M. Hospital, Bombay	50
Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury	1	Workshop at the K. E. M. Hospital, Bombay	
Bhimsa's Sarasajya	204	On the Bank of the Godavari	133-38
Santiranjan Mukherjee	289	(12 illustrations)	
Boiler House of the Sindri Fertiliser Factory		Petroleum derricks pump up their rich treasure	456
Britain Meets Shortage of Skilled Labour	52	from beneath a Kansas field of waving grain	
(2 illustrations)		Princess Elizabeth (now Queen Elizabeth II) and	169
Buddha's Renunciation (in colours)	253	her consort, Duke of Edinburgh in Washington	421
Santosh Sen Gupta		(Dr.) Radhakrishnan, Vice-President	421
(Mr.) Chester Bowles, U.S. Ambassador-designate,	85	(Dr.) Rajendra Prasad, President	
shakes hands with the President, Dr. Rajendra		(Dr.) Rajendra Prasad, Chancellor of the Delhi	36
Prasad	36	University, conferring the degree of Doctor of	
Chinese Cultural Delegation entertained at		Letters on H. E. Mr. Ting Si-Lin	204
Hyderabad House, New Delhi, on November	47-48	Rajput Woman, A	289
28, 1951		Haimanti Sen	
Climatic Changes in Kashmir	45-46	(Sri) Ramakrishna, Alabaster bust of Malvina	381
(6 illustrations)		Hoffman	
Courtallum	289	(Sri) Ramakrishna, The bust of	381
(4 illustrations)		Malvina Hoffman	
Cutting coinage blanks on a modern press	390	Serampore College	225
Edison, Thomas Alva	390	Carey, Marshman and Ward	226
Edison "peep-hole" Kinetoscope		John Mack	
(Mrs.) Eleanor Roosevelt visit the	337	Sergeant Mithu Krishnan and Private Kushal Kul-	205
Aurved College Museum, Jamnagar		karni honour their war dead in Paris	85
(Mr.) Eugene R. Black, President of the International	457	Sindri Fertilizer Factory, The	
Bank and Mrs. Black, photographed with President		Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly	37
Dr. Rajendra Prasad	468-70	opened in Paris on November, 6 1951	
Gadabas of Orissa, The	85	Solitude (in colours)	421
(7 illustrations)		V. D. Govindraj	
Ganesh-Janani (in colours)	120	Some Remarkable Terracottas from Tamralipta	465-67
Biresh Chandra Ganguly		(7 illustrations)	337
Gebel Aulia Dam on the White Nile, Sudan	387-89	Soviet Fine Arts Exhibition at New Delhi	
Hill Tribes of Jeypore, The	222-23	Tanjore	303-04
(7 illustrations)		(4 illustrations)	372
Hopi Indian Communities in the American Southwest		This is how a motion-picture is now filmed	
(3 illustrations)		Toilette	204
Indian Republic Day Celebrated in Delhi on	205	Bipra Mahanti	
January 26, 1952. The Saraswati Puja of		(A) United Front of Africans, Indians and Coloured	457
Bengal is shown in the pageantry procession		have launched a passive resistance movement	
on the occasion	298-302	against the exploitation by White settlers in	
Ireland, A Trip to	132	South Africa	
(9 illustrations)		View of a 1915 motion-picture studio for shooting	37
Jambukeswaram	473	silent motion-pictures	
Temple of Jambukeswaram, The	474	View of the first motion-picture studio, built in	37
Kansas: Midwestern Agricultural State		1893 for the Edison Company in West Range,	
State Capitol, Topeka, Kansas	121	New Jersey	
University of Kansas building	120	Vajreshwari	22
(Dr.) Luther Evans, Librarian of the U. S. Library		(4 illustrations)	
of Congress		Vanaprastha (in colours)	16
Main Canal, whose huge earthworks dominate the		Niharranjan Sen Gupta	
Gezira Plain, Sudan	37	(Swami) Vivekananda, Bronze portrait of	22
Major N. Banerjee and other members of the		Malvina Hoffman	
60th Indian Field Ambulance Unit in Korea		(Dr.) Wilbur A. Sawyer, discoverer of the first	15
are interviewed by Sergeant Stuart A. Queen		successful vaccine against yellow fever	
of the U. S. Army at Taegu	129-31	(A) Young Painter of Promise	
Malabar, The Memorials	139-40	Pain in Spring	
(6 illustrations)		Willow Background	471
Montana		Debnath Mukherjee	
(4 illustrations)			



Library, Nid



THE ANGLER
By Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury

Pictorial Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY



Vol. LXXXI, No. 1

Whole No. 541

NOTES

The New Year

We are on the eve not only of the New Year but also of the end of the Elections, for the first time under the democratic rules. So the coming year is a momentous one in the annals of our land.

We wish all our readers, who are our friends, not only a Happy New Year but also fulfilment of their dreams of the Four Freedoms. We know they belong to many different political persuasions, but we believe that almost all of them have cherished hopes of freedom, not only of the nation, but of all individuals, in the fullest sense of the term.

Today we are masters of our own destinies, if only but we knew how to put to use the weapons and tools of democracy. Let us hope that we shall succeed in shaping our future sufficiently in the terms of security, stability and self-sufficiency.

The Elections

Now that the country is in the throes of election, we come across queries either writ large on the face of the newspapers or shouted aloud by the partisans of this party or that, or may be even that of an "independent." The questions asked are either "how will you vote" or "who will you vote for." It may be that the form is different and that the query is not quite so terse as we have put. But stripped of all verbiage and shorn of all slogans, jibes and cheers, it boils down to those two.

It is rather late in the day to answer those questions, indeed in some parts of the country the questions have already been answered. And the answer, so far, has been in favour of the Congress, where results are concerned, though in a great many places, the Congress victory is not at all indicative of the opinion of the people. There are cases where Congress candidates have won although they secured less than 30 per cent of the total votes polled, the major part of the votes cast being split into fragments by the

numerous candidates, either set up by different parties or factions or standing on their own.

The strength of the Congress lies in reality in the myriad factions that have divided and sub-divided its opponents. Otherwise it would have been very hard going indeed for the Congress, despite the millions put in its party-chest by Big Finance and its satellites. The fight is on, but it is evident that illiteracy and ignorance of the issues involved are the greatest factors in favour of Pandit Nehru's party. Where there is a high degree of literacy and political consciousness, as in Travancore-Cochin, Congress has won merely because of the many divisions in the ranks of its opponents. Indeed judged so far, by those criteria, the Congress may win the elections yet lose the country. The price paid then will be in stability and staunchness of those who really count.

Pandit Nehru is conducting a whirlwind campaign all over the country. We are unable to reproduce even a fraction of what he has said, because there are so many repetitions, redundancies and absurdities in his statements and allegations. But we shall present our readers with extracts from his speeches at Muzaffarpur and Patna.

He said that he did not care for the fate of individuals in the least. What he cared for was the organization which had been built up in the course of 70 years as a weapon for fighting the battle of freedom. It had become rusted and many undesirable elements had infiltrated into it in the lure of *laddu* and *puri* (sweets) of office. Nevertheless, it still remained the only organization in India which could deliver the goods.

He admitted that after the Congress came to power many Congressmen had become lazy and ease-loving and the organization had suffered as a result. "I derive my strength and power from you—the masses—and I want your support to clear away the rusts and to make the organization strong once again so that it can serve you effectively," he said.

Addressing a gathering of over 200,000 at the Gandhi Maidan in Patna, he referred to the large number of Independents who were contesting the elections and said that most of these people were rebel Congressmen about whom the voters should have no illusions. These people said that they believed in the Congress creed and had pledged while applying for nominations that they would not seek election if they did not get the party ticket. Yet the moment they failed to secure the nominations they turned against the organization. What guarantee was there that men, who valued pledges so lightly, would keep their promise to the electorate?

As to other Independents, he said, he did not deny the right of every citizen to seek the confidence of the electorate. He did not also deny that there might be good men among the Independents; but the point was not that. For running the administration an organized body was required. Independents, who by their very nature were disorganized, could not be relied upon for undertaking any big task.

Referring to the Socialists, Sri Nehru said that he had believed that the difference in ideology of the Congress and the Socialists was not much. He believed, as a matter of fact, that the Socialists were a few steps ahead of the Congress. But the manner in which they were fighting the elections had shattered his hopes about them. They had stooped so low as to align themselves with Dr. Ambedkar's reactionary party and he felt very sorry for them.

Readers who can analyse the statements made will realize that Pandit Nehru is under no illusions as regards the ranks of his party. He has stated that the "laddu and puri (sweets) of office" has brought in undesirables in the ranks of the Congress, and that Congressmen had become lazy and indolent. This in effect is a half-hearted attempt to white-wash the festering mass of corruption that now covers Congress in office. There is the same old condemnation of the Socialists because they have allied themselves with Dr. Ambedkar's party. We ourselves are rather chary of Dr. Ambedkar, but we do say that this alliance is in no way worse than those made by the Congress party bosses with minor groups and a whole host of shady individuals, who collectively would outnumber by far the candidates of Dr. Ambedkar. Indeed some of the Congress candidates are lower in the matter of morals, integrity and ethical rectitude, than any of those in the Socialist combine.

Pandit Nehru has one slogan "The Congress only can deliver the goods." Yes, but at what cost and to whom? The Congress has called for sacrifices on numberless occasions from the nationals of this country, during the last 70 years. But the last four years and a half of Congress Rule has called for sacrifice in the term of morals and integrity. The

paid for freedom is therefore not only grievous but also deplorable and disastrous.

What chances are there of a change in these respects? None, we are afraid, unless the Congress is reformed by drastic measures. Pandit Nehru has made promises galore in that matter, but only for after the elections. Those who know anything about the methods of the Congress bosses, would have no doubts about the puerile and illusory nature of such pledges. The country has been run on a haphazard basis all these years. It is true that the Government had to face titanic problems and it is also true that it has avoided a general collapse and a major famine. It has likewise survived the chaos that followed the partition. But in all such performances the cost to the nation has to be considered. That reckoning must be made on an independent basis, not by tame statisticians or by financial authorities whose modes of thinking are the old soulless and bloodless bureaucratic ones.

It is in this reckoning that the Congress is found wanting. Its own National Planning Commission has mildly condemned the methodology of the existing Government schemes, by saying that "they have often failed to produce the best results for the country as a whole, due to lack of co-ordination and balance. In some cases schemes started have had to be dropped and in others progress had to be slowed down." And crores and crores of rupees were wasted thereby.

The Congress promise of "delivering the goods" depends entirely on whom the charge is given. Up till now the system has been to go entirely by party choices for office. Thus the plums of office have gone to those who were the devoted satellites of the great. Competence has not been a consideration, excepting in a very few cases. Thus the Ministries of Agriculture and the control of the River Valley Schemes have always been in hands, both at the Centre and in States, whose competence has not been beyond doubt in almost all cases. Similarly, Health, Education, Transport, have all been put on shoulders too weak and too narrow to achieve anything.

In the matter of permanent appointments the same casual, reckless and feckless favouritism has prevailed everywhere. It is true that the chosen of the Congress, whom Pandit Nehru would call the representatives of the People, were ignorant and totally lacking in experience in the matter of running a major nation's affairs. They made blunders galore in the beginning and the nation excused them on that score. But as time passed and more blunders were piled on the preliminary ones and blunder generated corruption everywhere, the country looked for redress and reform. These have not come up-to-date. And judging by the fate of Pandit Nehru's previous promises, we are unable to even hope for any improvement in the future.

The Congress claims that it is the only party that

NOTE

can achieve success, and that if it cannot then no other combination can.

We would make bold to say that if the Congress, as it is constituted today, comes to power in full strength in these elections, then it will not be able to deliver even a fraction of the goods it promises. The people are reduced to destitution and the price spiral shows no tendency to flatten out, much less to go down. Then if the Congress cannot and no other existing party is likely to succeed in wresting power from the Congress, what is in store for the country? An unstable government and fresh elections, long before time—or else chaos.

We hate to begin the year with a jeremiad. But the truth must be faced. Pandit Nehru and his party have broken all pledges made at Nasik and after. We have, therefore, no reason to put any faith in empty words. In the nominations, we have seen no chance of any reform from within the Congress. On the contrary.

Therefore, the nation has to prepare for the shape of things to come. More favouritism, more corruption, more incompetence, are the likely results, if the Congress campaign succeeds in its entirety. But there is no reason to doubt the capacity of the nation to go through all trials, once it makes up its mind to face them in the right manner and in the democratic way. What are a few years in the life of a nation, and what nation has survived so many trials as ours?

The Kashmir Affair

For four years and more the people of India have been expressing with one voice their feelings towards the tactics of Pakistan. The Security Council's representative for Kashmir published his report on December 23rd last. And the members of the General Assembly, assembled at Paris for its 6th session, have got busy with its implications. India's chief delegate, Shree Renegal Narasimha Rao and Pakistan's Zafarullah Khan, have had their say. And the Security Council is likely to consider it in course of the next 15 days.

Dr. Graham's report contains nothing new, and we do not propose to discuss it, but will content ourselves with publishing extracts from its summary.

Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations representative for Kashmir, reported that India and Pakistan had failed to reach agreement on a plan for demilitarising Kashmir prior to holding a United Nations plebiscite to decide that State's future.

Dr. Graham said that agreement had not been reached on four paragraphs of his original twelve-point demilitarisation plan and added: "Agreement on these four paragraphs is most essential for carrying out the plan envisaged as an integrated whole in the twelve proposals."

The report said:

"The four basic proposals on which agreement between the parties has not been reached are as follows:

(1) Agree that subject to the provisions in paragraph eleven below the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir contemplated in the U.N.C.I.P. resolutions of August 15, 1948 and January 5, 1949 shall be effected in a single, continuous process.

(2) Agree that this process of demilitarisation shall be completed during a period of 90 days unless another period is decided upon by the representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments.

(3) Agree that the demilitarisation shall be carried out in such a way that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph six above the situation will be:

(A) On the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line: (i) The tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who had entered the State for the purpose of fighting will have been withdrawn. (ii) The Pakistan troops will have been withdrawn from the State, and (iii) Large-scale disbandment and disarmament of the Azad Forces will have taken place.

(B) On the Indian side of the cease-fire line: (i) The bulk of the Indian forces in the State will have been withdrawn; (ii) Further withdrawals or reductions as the case may be of the Indian and State armed forces remaining in the State after the completion of the operation referred to in (B-i) above will have been carried out so that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph six above there will remain on the present Pakistan side of the cease-fire line a force of civil armed forces and on the Indian side of the cease-fire line a force of a certain military forces.

(4) Agree that the Government of India shall cause the Plebiscite Administrator to be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period referred to in paragraph six above."

"The United Nations Representative has carefully considered the situation on the sub-continent with regard to the relations between India and Pakistan in general and the Kashmir problem in particular.

"Furthermore, he has paid careful attention to the views put forward by both parties, and he has sought to narrow the differences between the parties on the basis of the 12 proposals of the plan as a whole which was noted with approval by the Security Council on November 10, 1951."

Dr. Graham then suggested the following changes in his original proposals:

1. "The process of demilitarisation shall be completed on July 15, 1952 unless another date is decided upon by the Representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments."

(In the original proposal, Dr. Graham had suggested a period of 90 days as a time limit for demilitarisation).

2. At the end of the demilitarisation period there

should remain on each side of the cease-fire line "the lowest possible number of armed forces based in proportion to the number of armed forces existing on each side of the cease-fire line on January 1, 1949.

(The original Graham Plan had provided for fixing a definite number of civil armed forces on the Pakistan side and a certain military force on the Indian side).

The report also maintained Dr. Graham's original proposal that the Plebiscite Administrator should be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period. According to his new suggestion, this would be July 15, 1952.

INDIA'S REPLY

Dr. Frank Graham, U. N. Representative for Kashmir, in his report to the United Nations put down the following as India's reply to his questionnaire:

"We should like to state at the outset that in this note we are addressing ourselves strictly to the immediate task before us, viz., that of working out the details of a feasible plan of demilitarisation.

"We shall therefore refrain at this stage from commenting upon the arguments, interpretations or implications contained in the statement and in the questions presented to us by the United Nations representative on December 7, 1951.

"It might be useful to state briefly the question asked in the course of the discussions by the representative of India in regard to the question of the quantum of Indian troops remaining in the State of Jammu and Kashmir at the end of demilitarisation.

"The point was raised whether in view of certain new assurances it would be possible to reduce the figure originally proposed. In reply it was pointed out that the Government of India was responsible for the security of the State and security could not be made dependent solely on verbal assurances offered but must be related to the actual conditions prevailing in the area.

"Therefore the quantum of forces remaining on the Indian side cannot be reduced merely because of the number of assurances offered. It should be remembered that even the U.N.C.I.P. resolutions contained certain assurances which have not been carried out on the part of Pakistan; witness the Jihad and war propaganda in that country and the building up of 'Azad Kashmir' forces.

"There was also an assurance accompanying the resolution of August 13, 1948, to the effect that during the period of cessation of hostilities Pakistan should not in any way consolidate its position to the disadvantage of the State.

"Yet there was in fact such consolidation as the U.N.C.I.P. themselves have recorded.

"The biggest assurance offered was that of a plebiscite by India in 1947, but that did not prevent the

invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistan Army in May 1948.

"As it was recognised in the course of discussion that the question of security was essentially a military matter. It was agreed that discussions should proceed between the Indian military advisers and General Devers, in order that a practicable plan of demilitarisation be worked out. While demilitarisation would form part of a single continuous process, it was admitted that in actual implementation, the process could not be completed in one full sweep, and that some phasing would be inevitable.

"On November 20, General Devers made certain tentative suggestions in writing on how demilitarisation might be achieved.

"The Indian military advisers, after consulting the Government of India were able to agree to the basic principles underlying General Devers' programme, with certain reservations which were to be discussed further.

"The figure of Indian troops remaining at the end of demilitarisation given by the Indian military advisers, was based on the assumption the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator at a certain moment in the period of demilitarisation was considered necessary. On this basic point also, no agreement could be reached.

At the end of his informal discussions, the Military Adviser reported to the United Nations Representative on his exploratory talks and his tentative plan of demilitarisation.

Recalling the points of difference between the two Governments on the original Graham proposals, the Report said:

The consultations held by the United Nations representative with the parties, as well as the answers he has received to the different questions put to them by him, have convinced him that at this stage of the negotiations the parties could not achieve agreement on the draft agreement as a whole submitted to them by the United Nations Representative on September 7, 1951.

Dr. Graham sent the following statement to both parties on December 7:

The hope for an agreement in the Kashmir dispute is based on explicit commitments of a 'No War Declaration,' a policy against war propaganda, reaffirmation of the cease-fire agreement and actual demilitarisation as an inter-dependent and continuous process carried out on both sides of the cease-fire line as part of the preparation for the long-promised free and impartial plebiscite. Consequently there is the present opportunity to work out an agreement for the fulfilment of the resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, to which both parties agreed.

It is obvious that the demilitarisation would not be one sudden, complete undertaking, whether the

NOTES

explicit provisions of the two resolutions regarding stages in demilitarisation be followed, or whether by agreed stages in a continuous process as now proposed.

To this end, paragraph nine of the proposals of September 7, 1951 (Original Graham report) was submitted for the purpose of having the Military experts, in consultation with their Governments and under the auspices of the United Nations to work out the stages in this continuous process of demilitarisation.

To surmount the obstacle regarding war psychosis, the United Nations representative made the following proposals contained in the first three of the 12 proposals.

The Security Council has asked us to continue on the basis of the 12 proposals. Tentative agreement has already been reached on a majority of those 12 proposals.

If the two Governments reached an agreement (1) on the number of forces to be left at the end of the period of demilitarisation and (2) on fixing a definite time for the induction of the plebiscite administrator into office for the assumption of responsibilities for the final disposal by him of the remaining forces, we believe that an agreement can be reached on all the 12 proposals.

We have therefore with the co-operation of the representative of the two Governments confined our discussions to those two propositions.

The number of armed forces to remain at the end of the period of demilitarisation should be decisively reduced to the smallest number possible for the final disposal by the plebiscite administrator.

In order to meet the contention about the security of the State, the United Nations representative has made a number of proposals for assurances by both Governments against resort to war and war propaganda and for the prevention of invasion, incursion and infiltrations into the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

In grappling further with the problem of the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite, we have made other proposals in addition to the three submitted in our 12 proposals in the letter to the Prime Ministers of September 7, 1951.

We have the conviction that these proposals would make actual demilitarisation possible and also provide for the security of the State and the creation of a peaceful atmosphere conducive to the holding of a plebiscite.

The very agreement signed by two countries of high international standing, members of the United Nations and of the Commonwealth of Nations and approved in the forum of nations would be itself one of the most effective guarantees of the keeping of the peaceful assurances thus given and ratified before the world.

The report then gave the questions asked to India

during the recent talks. These were: (1) Figure given by the Indian Government as the minimum to be left on its side of the State of Jammu and Kashmir at the end of the period of demilitarisation before the arrival of the plebiscite administrator is 28,000 troops plus 1,000 militia. Would it not be possible for the Government of India to accept a considerable reduction in the figure in order to make possible the demilitarisation of the State and to obtain the proposed agreement?

(2) The representative of India has stated that effective guarantees should be given for further reduction of these forces: (a) Would it be an adequate guarantee for the Government of India if an agreement is signed on the basis of the 12 proposals contained in the communication of September 7, 1951? (b) If not, would it be adequate if in addition United Nations military observers were stationed in necessary numbers which would be deemed appropriate by the United Nations and the Governments of India and Pakistan? (c) If not, is the Indian Government ready to accept forces to be provided by the United Nations in order to safeguard the security and to maintain law and order in the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir as long as the United Nations, in consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan, deems necessary? (d) If not, what other suggestion is the Indian Government prepared to make in order to obtain the demilitarisation under the resolutions of the Security Council and the agreed resolutions of the UNCIP of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949?

(3) Would the Government of India agree to cause the plebiscite administrator to be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period?

QUESTIONS TO PAKISTAN

The questions asked to Pakistan were: (1) What is the minimum number of forces on both sides of the cease-fire line that the Government of Pakistan is ready to accept on the final day of the period for the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir?

(2) Would the Government of Pakistan be ready to accept that United Nations military observers be stationed in the necessary numbers where it would be deemed appropriate by the United Nations and the Governments of India and Pakistan?

(3) Would the Government of Pakistan be ready to accept forces to be provided by the United Nations in order to safeguard the security and to maintain law and order in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as long as the United Nations, in consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan, deems necessary?

(4) Would the Government of Pakistan agree that the plebiscite administrator be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation?

Pakistan's answers to these four questions were:

(1) Four infantry battalions (with the necessary administrative units) on each side of the cease-fire line. In case, however, India insists on retaining one division of four brigades, of four battalions each consisting of 28,000 troops, presumably with the normal complement of armour and artillery or an Indian army division, plus 6,000 militia, the Pakistan Government would consider it necessary to retain the Azad Kashmir forces consisting of 25,000 troops plus 3,500 Gilgit and Baluchistan scouts.

These forces are much weaker than the forces which India wishes to retain, both in number and in armament.

(2) Yes. It might be pointed out that under Clause B(2) of Part (2) of the UNCIP resolution of August 13, 1948, the United Nations representative is competent to station United Nations observers wherever he deems necessary.

(3) Yes. It is assumed that United Nations troops would be posted on both sides of the cease-fire line, and that the object of this proposal is to facilitate the withdrawal of all the forces of India and Pakistan, and the disbandment of all local forces, namely, the State army and militia and the Azad Kashmir forces.

(4) Yes. The Pakistan Government wish to emphasise the importance of appointing the plebiscite administrator formally as early as possible.

The UNCIP resolution contemplates his appointment in the middle of the programme of demilitarisation. It is hoped that he would be appointed as much in advance of the final day of demilitarisation as possible.

PAKISTAN'S REPLY

In reply received from Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, on December 11, it was stated: "It was necessary to emphasise that the two UNCIP resolutions have to be taken together, and not in isolation.

"We entirely agree with your observation that if the two Governments reach an agreement (1) on the number of forces to be left at the end of the period of demilitarisation, and (2) on fixing a definite time for the induction of the Plebiscite Administrator into office for the assumption of his responsibilities for the final disposal by him of the remaining forces, it should be possible to reach agreement on all the twelve proposals set out in your letter of September 7, 1951.

"We also agree that the number of armed forces to remain at the end of the period of demilitarisation should be reduced to the smallest number possible for the final disposal by the Plebiscite Administrator.

"It has always been recognised by the Security Council that a free and impartial plebiscite is not possible in the presence of substantial number of troops of either party.

"In the words of Sir Gladwyn Jebb, the best

guarantee of a fair expression of the wishes of the people of Kashmir is the removal or disbandment of the military forces of all interested parties.

"As a result of agreement on some of the proposals contained in your letter of September 7, 1951 there has been an improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations, and some reduction in the tension which existed between the two countries at the time of your visit to the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent.

"The people of both countries have been looking forward to agreement being reached on a programme of demilitarisation and the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite.

"We entirely agree with your remark that it would be unfortunate if a failure to follow through and reach an agreement resulted in a reversal of the present development of a more peaceful atmosphere.

"On the other hand, if those hopes are confirmed and strengthened by a definite agreement between the two Governments, the atmosphere will be further improved and other disputes vital to the welfare of the people can be co-operatively settled to the high advantage of both nations of the world."

Then follows a clever attempt to suppress and twist facts so as to put India's case in the worst light possible.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister appears to think that a repetition of words will do duty for argument and reason. His patrons among the Anglo-Saxon powers may believe in this technique of deception. But our people have long got over their faith in mere protestations, and are prepared to trust to the justice of their cause, and to that of the future of Kashmir-Jammu people. The idea of con-dominion is exploded today. Britain at least should have learnt her lesson by this time.

Fighting Forces of India

General Cariappa, India's Commander-in-Chief, has been touring the country and telling people how the fighting forces of our State can best serve their country. Modern developments have erased the difference between civil and military life, between "martial" and "non-martial" races. The last two world wars have demonstrated this fact. In his address to the Ranchi Municipality, on December 23rd last he has underlined what is expected of the whole people.

"High morale, economic stability and industrial self-sufficiency, a virile race of people for the highest standard of physical fitness are four key points which make a country strong and prosperous. India is now free and it is the duty and responsibility of every citizen to bring the above qualities and to work harmoniously to make the country strong."

"Mission with Mountbatten"

We have in these columns commented on this book when it was being serially published in certain

Indian dailies. We have heard friends tell us that there are certain discrepancies in his presentation of the facts referring to Gandhiji. But more of them cared to come to substantiate their doubts. Many in close touch with Gandhiji had developed the habit of keeping diaries of men and matters. It is up to them to come forward and rectify any mistake there happens to be.

The book appears to have the advantage of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's pre-study. In describing the celebration by the author of the publication of his book, Ela Sen, London correspondent of the Birla group of papers, has thrown an interesting light on the matter.

"Alan Campbell-Johnson held a reception to celebrate the publication of his book *Mission with Mountbatten*. It was one of the most enjoyable parties of this sort and what might have been rather a formal affair became quite informal among the journalists who were in the majority at the function. Lord and Lady Mountbatten added in no small measure to the reception. They were both interested in individual reactions to the book, and I was not surprised to hear from Lady Mountbatten that Mr. Nehru had found the book of great interest; in fact a large portion of the last weekend he had spent with the Mountbattens at their country home, 'Broadlands,' was in reading the book. That in itself should have been an excellent recommendation for the writer."

Lord Mountbatten is a young man to whom offices of danger appear to be lucrative. His name was suggested for Malaya; now it has appeared in connection with Egypt. So, watch the man!

Mr. Elliot Lockhart's Speech in A. C. C. Meeting

A brief but comprehensive survey of the country's economic situation has been given by the Union Finance Minister, Sri Chintaman Deshmukh in his address to the annual meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta on Monday, the 11th December, 1951.

The policy of the Government of India in relation to commerce, industry and other allied subjects came in for a good deal of criticism by Mr. A. R. Elliot Lockhart, President of the Association.

Mr. Lockhart, in his address, expressed their satisfaction that the young Republic of India in spite of the storms and stresses of the world today was as firmly on her feet as many other older and more experienced states.

While giving their general welcome to the First Five-Year Plan and accepting the inevitability of the mixed economy on which the plan was essentially based, Mr. Lockhart said that they had perhaps their

own reservations on the country's ability to finance the Plan as a whole—under the present restrictive policy towards private enterprise and the burdensome taxation it suffered; they had moreover their doubts on whether the private sector was going to get sufficient incentive and encouragement to play its full part in the field, allotted to it in the Plan.

In other directions, they deplored the attitude of the Government in attributing all to the unsocial motives of the dishonest few and a consequent tendency to tie the hands and the initiative of the entire range of bonafide business and industry by restrictive proposals and legislative measures.

Referring to the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, Mr. Lockhart said that they would do their best to see that the Act was worked to the best advantage of the country. But they disliked and were apprehensive of the very wide powers of investigation and control which it conferred on an administration very largely inexperienced in industrial matters.

He commented on several other recent measures which seemed to him to exemplify a tendency to put through important legislation without sufficient prior consultation with responsible representatives of the affected industries. He made an earnest plea for such consultation where Government had legislation in mind. He mentioned the Employees State Insurance Act as one of the examples of the difficulties which prior consultation might have avoided. A second example was the recent Ordinance setting up compulsory Provident Funds in certain industries.

As regards the Income-tax (Amendment Bill) they were anxious to have assurance that in no respect would the proposed legislation apply retrospectively. Further, they asked for a broader and more reasonable attitude than the Bill would seem to imply towards the taxation of some of the perfectly proper and very necessary amenities covered by their obligations to their employees.

Finally, he asked for a complete survey of the taxation structure of the country.

The Finance Minister's Reply: In his speech which followed the Presidential address of Mr. A. R. Elliot Lockhart, the Finance Minister gave reply to these diverse points raised by the President.

As an annual review of the situation Sri Deshmukh said that in December, 1950, when he last addressed the Chamber, there was a steady upward movement of prices, the general index number showing a rise of nearly 31 points from an average of 381.3 in December, 1949 to an average of 412.6 in December, 1950. The increase was, as he held, largely due to the developments in the international situation such as the war in Korea and the intensification of the rearmament programme of the United States and the Western Democracies. In spite of Government's doing everything possible to hold down prices, this upward move-

ment continued this year also. The peak of the rise was reached last April, when the index number rose to 457.5. There has since then been a slow but steady downward movement. These increases, according to the Finance Minister, have been largely due to factors beyond the Government's control. He recounted some of the steps the Government has taken to arrest inflation. The provision of a substantial surplus in the revenue budget at the Centre to meet the essential requirements for capital expenditure and an increase of the Bank Rate are the "two significant steps."

As regards Bank Rate, a rise in it, is deliberately adopted as a measure of tightening credit. This change, he envisaged, produces a real as well as a psychological influence on the money market.

About the prevailing high prices of food-grains, he made natural calamities, such as floods and droughts, largely responsible and these have-made us, he gave out, more dependent on imported food-grains, too costly for the country to bear. But he assured that it still remains the Government's policy to keep prices from rising unduly. In view of such an acute scarcity of food, it is but inevitable that Government should give priority to irrigation schemes which will increase food production.

In this connection the Finance Minister referred to the attack made on the increase in procurement prices allowed in certain states. The decision, he thought, is an attempt to hold the price line and not either a tardy attempt to pay more to the producer or a deliberate move in the direction of inflation.

The Finance Minister maintained a good deal of hope in the prospect of the Central Government's First Five-Year Plan, as drafted by the Planning Commission. This is both just and realistic and the most comprehensive approach to the problems of the country's development. He said that the Chamber has taken an unduly pessimistic view both in regard to the country's ability to sustain and finance a plan of this magnitude. As a finance minister and also as a member of the Planning Commission, he assured the country that the finance envisaged by the Plan is not beyond the country's resources, if we try in earnest to raise it. And to speak of financial difficulties is nothing but exaggeration of the fact.

As regards industrial development Sri Deshmukh said that while Five-Year Plan is not at all indifferent to the importance of industrial development of the country, it gave priority to irrigation schemes which will produce larger quantities of food, the most crucial problem before the country. He refuted the contention that the Government has been harsh to private enterprise. The scope left to private enterprises is, in his view, not merely adequate but leaves ample play for capital as may be raised by the private sector of the country.

He properly justified the Government's action

regarding introduction of compulsory Provident Funds, the State Employees Insurance Act and the Labour Relations Bill. In this relation, Sri Deshmukh pointed to some of the misconceptions of the Chamber. He rightly contended that the representatives of industrialists as well as labour had been fully consulted before the implementation of these matters. Therefore, as a general criticism of the Government's policy this is wrong.

As regards Government's income-tax policy, the Finance Minister promised that the proposed Income-tax Legislation would not be applied retrospectively. He declared that the amendment of Section 7 of the Income-tax Act is aimed merely at closing a loophole of evasion.

Regarding the appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Committee, he said that conditions are now so fluid and unstable that such a measure on the part of the Government will not be appropriate and timely. The matter will, however, be reconsidered after election and when the recommendations of the Finance Commission would be at hand.

Amenities to Employees

The Finance Minister, Sri Chintaman Deshmukh, in his statement in the annual general meeting of the A.C.C. in Calcutta, assured the business magnates that special amenities granted to their employees shall not be included in the proposed Income-tax Bill (Amendment) and that the Bill aimed merely at closing the loophole of tax evasion by dishonest businessmen.

But the very exemption allowed, contains elements of loophole of evasion. It is a well-known fact that giant entrepreneurs of India have been inclined to give preference to the importation of experts and technicians from outside the country. These people have been contracted with certain "perfectly proper and very necessary amenities," beyond the stipulated sum of their salary. The money cost of such amenities in almost all cases supersedes the salary. The whole amount, if paid in cash, may contribute a considerable sum as tax to the Public Exchequer. This legerdemain on the part of the employers is objectionable. As has been pointed out, it impoverishes the State to the extent of the tax. This may, again, impart an adverse psychological reaction on the national workers and may retard the progress of production. For it discriminates among workers as the perquisites are specially meant for the imported experts and technicians.

Bank Rate

The rise in Bank Rate has been singularised by the Finance Minister as one of the "significant steps" taken by the Government of India to arrest inflation and to tighten the Credit Supply of the country.

The general tension within the country, however, is that the rise in Bank Rate, accompanied by restricted purchase of securities by the Reserve Bank

will, instead of curbing inflation, discourage accommodation to industries, deter investment and depress stock exchange leading to a further rise in prices.

In fact, as an immediate repercussion, it has depressed the prices of gilt-edged securities further down, causing a severe strain on Indian Insurance Companies who have been compelled to invest the bulk of their assets in Government Securities under the provision of the Insurance Act.

The efficacy of higher Bank Rate intending to tighten the credit is limited by the unorganised nature of the Indian money market. The existence of indigenous bankers outside the organised banking system is found to be one of the most serious obstacles. These indigenous bankers are responsible for the largest amount of banking credit available in this country. They are assets, especially to new and venturing enterprises who have little access to big financial groups. Again, a higher Bank Rate induces investing public to increase their deposits with banks in Western countries—where a slight change influences the world money market. A rise in Reserve Bank's Rate will in no way attract international investors. In fact, discount rate was the most potent instrument of central Banking control in the pre-war days. In recent years, the instrument has lost a good deal of its potency in Western countries and in India, it is blunt for all practical purposes.

As a disinflationary measure the Bank Rate will hardly produce any appreciable effect under present set-up. The high prices have been mainly due to low productivity in agriculture and also to higher cost of production in industries, as most of our established industries have to depend on foreign supplies for a large position of their raw materials. We have to pay almost fanciful prices for these imported raw materials and machineries. The tightening of credit will, on the contrary, reduce importation of raw materials and machineries and thereby retard the progress of industrial production. This will create scarcity and higher prices. Price level can hardly be reduced unless huge internal production or large imports are ensured.

This has been the problem of prices in India since the cessation of war in 1945. Towards the end of 1949 this was going to be automatically adjusted by improved supply of all commodities. But the adoption of the policy of Devaluation, following Great Britain, arrested that and in fact, gave an impetus to the general index to rise. There has been every possibility again, for the prices to come down with the declaration of cease-fire in Korea. This, assisted by cheap money policy, may have increased the supply and reduce the prices.

We apprehend that a hasty rise in Bank Rate, like a hasty and unplanned Devaluation, may cause serious hardship to the country. If a realistic survey of

the effects of the rise in Bank Rate had been included in the speech of Sri Deshmukh, the down-trodden would have known in anticipation what was in store for them. For, considering the sufferings and destitution brought about to the general public, we have difficulty in drawing a balance in favour of Devaluation. We hope the same would not be the case in the aftermath of the raising of Bank Rate.

Government's Taxation Policy

Dr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, ex-Finance Minister of India, criticized the Government's Taxation policy and planning, at Madras, as follows:

Dr. Chetty said: "The problems that faced the Government were three-fold. Firstly, the problem of checking inflation and increasing production; secondly, the problem of capital formation and the mobilisation of domestic savings, and thirdly, the problem of attracting foreign capital.

"In the tackling of these problems, the rulers of the country were guided by their own pre-conceived notions, inherited prejudices and rosy ideologies," he said.

Six years after the termination of the war, Dr. Chetty said, the inflationary pressure in India, far from abating had gained strength. No doubt, inflation had now become a global problem. In U.K. and U.S.A. the price level had just exceeded the two hundred mark: while in India it had exceeded the four hundred mark.

"I cannot see in sight any factor which will effectively arrest the rise in prices," he added.

The real problem to be faced in the country, he said, was the problem of increasing production on a large scale. No amount of credit control would, in his opinion, bring down the price levels unless it was accompanied by an all-round and substantial increase in production. "It is in this sphere that the policy of the Government has failed lamentably," he remarked.

Dr. Chetty said the absence of a consistent economic policy on the part of the Government, the ideology of nationalisation and the attitude of labour to industry had been responsible for retarding industrial production. "Apart from the policy of indecision, the attitude of the party in power towards private enterprise in industry has very seriously affected the expansion of industry," he added.

Dr. Chetty said that production in agriculture was equally bad. The Government had "lost the moral support of the agriculturists with the result that all appeals for grow more food have proved futile."

He declared that "if the economic development of India is to take place in an orderly and expeditious manner there must be a clear and unambiguous declaration of policy about the ideology of nationalisation and the role of private industry."

Dr. Chetty referred to the change in the outlook

of capitalist countries and said, "Time has now come for an unbiased re-examination of the problems of Capitalism versus Socialism in the light of what prevails today."

"Apart from the changed character of capitalism the techniques of taxation and controls have made it possible to achieve the ends of socialism even in a capitalist economy. If the fundamental objectives of socialism are an equitable distribution of wealth and a high standard of life for the common man, it is now possible to achieve these ends without bringing all the means of production under State control. I suggest that we may use the word mixed economy in place of capitalism. That would be a better description today of what is called 'capitalism.' A balanced combination of State-ownership and private enterprise is in the characteristic feature of the economies of most of the advanced countries in the world."

Pleading for a re-examination of taxation policy, Dr. Chetty said the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as the Finance Member of the Government of India gave a hard blow to the capital structure of the country by his budget of February, 1947. Since then the tax burden had crippled the capacity of industry to save and reinvest. "I agree that a high level of direct taxation is inevitable in modern economy. But it presupposes a high level of production and employment. Heavy direct taxation during the early stages of industrial development will hamper and retard industrial expansion. That is exactly what has happened in India during the last five years. A re-examination of taxation policy in relation to industrial development is urgently called for," he said.

Commenting on the five-year development plan, Dr. Chetty said: "It is almost tragic to think that in 1956 that is eleven years after the termination of the war and nine years after the attainment of Independence we should be looking forward to the restoration of the low standard of life of our people that prevailed in 1939."

The first aim of the planners should have been to correct the lopsidedness of the country's economy. The plan did not even make an attempt in that direction. The estimate of expenditure under the plan was in the public sector even though the major productive activity was in the private sector. The plan, he held, was a mere catalogue of schemes and a statement of the intentions of the Government.

Foreign Aid

C. D. Deshmukh, India's Finance Minister, said at Bombay on the 29th December that he saw signs of an early flow of foreign assistance without any "political strings" in the implementation of the five-year plan.

"If we play our cards well the measure of foreign assistance that has been estimated in the first part of

the plan will fully materialize," he added in an address before members of the Bombay Union of Journalists.

Discussing funds for the first year of the plan, the Finance Minister said that the Government had already Rs. 75 crores from the American wheat deal and expected another Rs. 15 crores from Canada and Australia under the Colombo Plan.

He had no doubt that the first year's programme under the five-year plan would be fully implemented.

He hoped to have a revenue surplus of Rs. 25 to Rs. 26 crores during the current year. Out of that he had already allotted an additional Rs. 10 crores for river valley schemes.

Replying to criticisms of the plan, he said in a democratic set-up such as that in India an integrated plan of development was not possible. Regimentation of resources was also not possible, and there was a limit beyond which people would not tighten their belts.

He described the plan as a framework of a "mixed" economy with an expanding private sector and a place for co-operative economy. It fully provided for consultation with industrialists. "They certainly have a right to advise us, but that also carries a responsibility to help us in carrying out the programme."

Answering a question, he said he did not expect foreign investment to come to India under existing world conditions. No one would be attracted to a new field when a better return for their capital was assured in their own countries.

Replying to another question, the Finance Minister confirmed that the Government had given an assurance to the three foreign oil companies which would shortly establish refineries in India that they would not be nationalized for a specific number of years. A similar assurance could be given to any "deserving" Indian enterprise.

Regarding socialization of insurance companies, he said that postal insurance was a step towards this goal. But today the question whether insurance companies should be nationalized was premature. "Sometimes we raise funds through insurance companies for the public sector. As a matter of fact, about 55 per cent of the funds in an insurance company was available for the public sector."

He was not in favour of a capital levy. In a poor country like India such a levy would not realize any large amount though at first sight this might seem possible. "At the present stage it may even affect current savings. Even richer and more advanced countries are hesitant to impose a capital levy."

Discussing death duties, he said the Government had decided to proceed with them and fully enforce them.

Referring to the production of jute, cotton and oilseeds, he said he saw no immediate signs of jute and cotton prices going down. There could not be any

kind of control on oilseeds in view of the number of varieties involved. The Government could not hope to keep down food prices internally by importing food-grains. Foodgrains were costly and had to be subsidised before being sold.

It was not so much a question of increasing the supply of food-grains, but of getting hold of the required quantities to meet the rationing commitments through procurement. A large number of people held many times more food-grains than they actually needed.

India could not manage to import anything more than 5m or 6m tons of food-grains because Indian ports could not handle more than that amount.

Foreign Capital

Addressing the Bombay Economists' Discussion Group, Mr. Birla who recently returned from a tour of the United States and the United Kingdom, said that the prospect of foreign private capital flowing into India was remote, because of the threat of nationalisation and the restrictive measures adopted by the Government of India relating to private enterprise.

Mr. G. D. Birla said that India could get a loan from such overseas institutions as the Export-Import Bank, "if only the Government of India were prepared to help private enterprise and back its request for aid."

Referring to India's foreign policy, Mr. Birla said that "we were very much misunderstood in the United States, and to some extent in the United Kingdom." This had a lot to do with the reluctance of foreign private capital to flow into this country.

Mr. Birla ruled out as remote the chances of India getting substantial help from countries like Italy and Switzerland. "There is, however, some prospect of getting capital from Germany because of fear of war."

"There is a tendency in Germany to think of India as a safe asylum for her capital," he added.

Referring to criticisms that private capital in India was shy, Mr. Birla said that private enterprise in this country had invested as much as Rs. 450 crores in the last few years, indicating clearly that capital was not on strike.

Countries like Japan, Mr. Birla said, could not only provide the technical know-how but also invest money to some extent in joint enterprises with Indian capital.

Whatever may have been the case in the past, Indian businessmen and industrialists were not averse to the flow of foreign capital into this country. As a matter of fact, some of the prominent industrialists went to the extent of assuring the Planning Commission and the Government of India that they would welcome foreign capital without any strings being attached, he added.

India's National Income

In the December 1 issue of the *Behar Herald* appeared an article by Doctor M. S. Nata Rajan, Director, Diwan Chand Political Information Bureau, of New Delhi, entitled as above which bears reproduction in these columns. There is nothing new either in the presentation of the facts or in its method. But all the same these have value. The most eminent among Indian and British politicians and administrators have done this pioneer work, of whom the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, was one of the first to expose the more insidious way than politics in which poverty was created by British policy. The findings of the National Income Committee are the latest; it was appointed in 1951 and based these on the 1948-49 statistics, differing from the previous findings of well-known writers.

Population—34.104 crores.

	Rs.
Net national income	8,710 crores
Net domestic produce at factory cost	8,730 "
Net national produce at market price	9,170 "
Net output of Government enterprises	300 "
Government administration	460 "
Private sector	7,970 "
Govt. share in national expenditure	840 "
Government draft on private income	600 "
Per capita income—Rs. 255 only.	

There we have the contributions made by different classes of the Indian people engaged in different trades, industries, agriculture and animal husbandry.

	Figures in thousands	Percentage
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	90,537	68.2
Exploitation of minerals	633	0.9
Industry	18,019	13.6
Transport	2,448	1.8
Trade	8,250	6.2
Public force	1,909	1.4
Public administration	1,697	1.3
Professions and liberal arts	5,044	3.3
Domestic service	4,194	3.2
Total	132,731	100.0

Our readers will see that the first item in this list is five times than that made by the third. We have seen an estimate (*The Cow in India* by Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan) which said that animal husbandry—our cows, buffaloes, goats, etc.—produced about Rs. 1,000 crores worth of goods, though receiving the least attention from the State. This state of neglect has changed chiefly as a consequence of the food scarcity—a by-product of wars and economic maladjustment. The writer is sceptical of the labours of this Committee, and concludes his article with these words:

"On the whole, it has to be regretfully stated that the first or the interim report of the National Income Committee is of no great help in under-

standing the trends in our national economy. Nor would it help much, if at all in regard to economic planning, budgetary and other policy making of the Government."

But where does his own labours lead us to? Like all human labour why cannot we accept the findings of this Report? Statistics are not absolute as proof of truth.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoomi-Dan"

Tour

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoomi-Dan" tour has completed more than 6 months' exertions. He fixed five million acres as the expected gifts to be received. But the results—about 65 thousand acres—have been disappointing, so far as figures went. Observers, specially foreigners, have, however, appeared to be keenly watching the "significance" of this tour, impressed by its natural appeal to India's men and women burdened with more than 50 million landless people.

Vinobaji wants a non-violent society based on co-operative activities with no money wages involved. Even in elections there should not be "any fights between parties." And in the bigger struggle for life and happiness, the same conduct should prevail. His remedy of "wages in kind," which was the usual thing in the world before the industrial revolution upset every arrangement, follows naturally as he, along with all thinking people, are dismayed at the "fraud perpetrated upon the poor by the continually decreasing purchasing power of money during an inflationary period, and the permanent fall which takes place over long periods." The remedy for this is a barter system, a standardized set of values for the exchange of goods and services within a village and groups of villages.

"This re-discovery of barter as a means of fair dealing is a curious example of the way in which the wisdom of one generation can appear folly to another. To Bentham, Mill and the orthodox economists of the 19th century, payment of wages in kind was abhorrent. The fact that the so-called sound money purchased less and less goods in every generation did not seem to worry them. Payment of wages otherwise than in money was called truck, and in Great Britain Truck Acts prohibiting it were passed in 1831, 1887 and 1896.

"In the wake of India's independence there have been many frustrations; because freedom came in a period of world economic crisis; because in many things experience has yet to be attained; and because of human failure to maintain ideals in face of tempting opportunities. Acharya Vinoba Bhave seeks to recall India to re-possess her soul. Beyond doubt, he has a magnetic quality. In his company one experiences a friendly glow and an immediate sense of intimacy, which is likely to attract an increasing number of disciples."

The above are summarised from an article in the

Leader (Allahabad) contributed by Mr. Arthur Moore. The mind of modern humanity speaks through it. And we can only pray that India will help in the recovery of the soul of the world as a partner in a great experiment in decent living. We should also guard against the conceit of superiority that peeps through words like those used by Prof. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan addressing the Convocation of the Visva-Bharati on December 24 last, "The West must accept the Eastern philosophy that there was no conflict which men could overcome by reconciliation." This spirit of tolerance of dissimilars is no Eastern monopoly.

Bengal Academy of Literature

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat has to its credit a record of cultural activities that can compare well with other institutions of a like nature. We have received its latest report (1950-51) and we are glad and proud that progress is being maintained all along the line.

As the Parishat will be celebrating its 60-years' anniversary in the near future we take occasion to review its life. Started on the 23rd of July, 1893, the Parishat has been nursed by the most of Bengali men of letters, and expanded beyond its purely literary character, science and its various departments, research into India's past, etc. Its first president was Romesh Chunder Dutt whom Bankim Chandra had literally induced to write in his mother tongue.

Last year's report records activities of individual scholars, and they are up to the old mark with more care to what has been called the "evidence of stone," the "evidence of paper and metals." And in this connection we are inclined to think that in addition to making their results available through books and pamphlets, there should be arrangements made for discourses by competent people at stated seasons as is the practice in Poona where the Basant Vakyan Mala—Spring Lectures started by the late Mahadeo Govind Ranade about 70 years ago are still there.

Christian Missions and Their Future

The October, 1951 number of the *International Review of Missions* contains articles that are symptomatic of the changing mood, the repentant mood of the various Christian Churches of their leaders. We cannot do better than quote extracts from those to explain to our readers the workings of their minds:

"Alongside the prevailing political uncertainty, there is a great deal of cultural confusion. It is of importance to note, in this connexion, that there is a powerful pre-revolutionary 'hangover.' The Christian Church in its world mission has been and still is very heavily involved with governments—particularly in its educational, medical and philanthropic work. There is still a very general disposition on the part of governments to regard these Christian operations with favour and to encourage their continuance. There is, at the

same time, a growing tendency both to regard them as something of an anachronism and to limit their freedom to function as agencies of Christian evangelism. The conception of the State as the primary instrument of human welfare grows, almost without question. And this unchallenged expansion of the Welfare State at once raises questions of a fundamental character regarding the future of the Welfare Church.

"These tendencies are not, of course, characteristically Asian. But they are powerfully influential there. There are, however, other forces which are even more potent in shaping thought and determining action in the relations between Church and State. The newer nationalism is expressing itself culturally rather than politically. There is a sharpened awareness of the relation between culture and religion and this expresses itself in a stiffening resistance to Christian expansion. This is particularly evident in India. But it is not, by any means, confined to that country. The Indian Constitution contains impeccable written provisions for the maintenance of full religious liberty—including the right of propagation and conversion. But it may well prove that these formal safeguards form an insufficient bulwark against a rising tide of cultural nationalism which tends to identify the Hindu conception of *swadharma* with complete loyalty to the State. The liberal idealism which has found expression in the Constitution runs counter to much deeply rooted tradition and to many contemporary trends in India.

"Secondly, there is the rapid fading of what has already been called the pre-revolutionary hangover. Buttresses of prestige which the Church enjoyed in the era of Western dominion are rapidly crumbling. There is, of course, another side to this medal in the fact that a Christianity now visibly dissociated from Western political influence has a better chance of being judged on its merits.

"Thirdly, the real bulwark of Christian freedom is found in the life of the Church and not in external safeguards. Both vigilance and action are often needed at the legal and constitutional levels. The work of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs has been of the greatest service—direct and indirect—to the churches of East Asia. But the only ultimate safeguard of the Church's liberty lies in the vitality of the Church, its loyalty to the Gospel, its faithfulness as a community to the task of witness.

"The point of departure for the Christian in the whole debate on Church and State is not found in any social philosophy or in secondary and derived ideas regarding 'freedom,' 'democracy,' or 'the worth of the individual.' The point of departure is the Word of God, which is the centre of history and the revelation of God's purposeful and redemptive activity in history. This is no mere rhetorical flourish. If we take it seriously, it has the most profound and far-reaching bearing upon all our practical policies."—(Ransom: *Church and State in Asia Outside China*.)

In the article entitled—"First Thoughts on the Debacle of Christian Missions in China"—by a China Missionary, the same mood is evident. The choice of the word "debacle" is its proof:

"I believe that we must think of the end of our work as a *judgment* upon our work and upon ourselves, and must realize that the end, when it came, was a dramatic demonstration of many weaknesses, the result not only of external but of internal forces. I have used the phrase 'first thoughts' because while I am sure that there are lessons to be learned for India and Africa and the Near East from the experience of the Church in China, I am less sure that we know what those lessons are; and our second and third thoughts may be very different from our first.

"There will probably never be indigenous theology as long as Indian, Chinese, Japanese and African Christians are compelled to think in the alien Greek theological tradition. There is a real sense in which Chinese church leaders have in many instances been obliged, culturally speaking, to become Anglo-Saxons in order to reach positions of leadership in the Church; and this is now disastrous.

"A closely associated problem—the most agonizing of all for many missionaries—is that of standards of living. A couple of years ago I did a little modest enquiry, and found that I was paid about three times as much as a Chinese of comparable age and responsibility in the ecclesiastical hierarchy; and that there were other missionaries paid three times as much as I."

We propose to devote a few comments on the second and third paragraphs quoted above. Greek Theological tradition dominates still. And the attempts made by Indian Christians to relate Christ to the traditions of Eastern peoples are more or less ignored. The late Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav made a mighty effort to build a synthesis of Hindu and Christian traditions. He succeeded more with Hindu than with his fellow-believers. The late Sadhu Sundar Singh chalked out a mystical path which few have cared to tread. About "standards of living," the less said the better.

"Missionaries generally have a guilty conscience not only about standards of living, but also about the whole complex of issues now labelled 'imperialism.'

"It should not be necessary in this review to remind ourselves of the close connexion (we like to think it 'purely coincidental,' as the movie-makers say—many Chinese consider it causal) between the arrival in China of missionaries and the arrival of merchants, gunboats, Indian opium and treaty ports; though we shall be well advised to remember that Chinese feel the whole 'invasion of China by the Western world' to be more wicked and more humiliating than we can readily recognize."

Sanskrit and India's Unity

Delivering the annual address at the Ganganath Research Institute (Allahabad) on the 16th December

last Shree Kanaiya Lal Munshi, the Central Food Minister, asserted that India could attain her solidarity and cultural vitality through Sanskrit. And recalling the past he said:

"With but rare exceptions, the great and the noble in all generations in our land, who influenced life as a whole, have found self-fulfilment with the aid of Sanskrit and what it stands for. In the recent past, India though a subject race, regained her lost prestige through scholars whose vision had also been enriched by Sanskrit studies."

The eminent Gujarati scholar appeared to suggest that the moderns in India lacked this interest. But Ganganath and his teacher, the late Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, to confine ourselves to Allahabad itself, contradict this assumption. It has generally been the select few, the elite, who had devoted themselves to the study and propagation of culture direct through Sanskrit or through knowledge in that language. Lokamanya Tilak did it; so did Rabindranath Tagore. Gandhiji without knowing Sanskrit influenced history.

Uttar Pradesh and Rehabilitation Scheme

The Uttar Pradesh has to its credit the most successful and widespread of schemes for the settlement of discharged people from the armed services. The Allahabad *Leader* of December 8 last published a report on the Afzalgarh Scheme which we share with our readers:

"This decision was taken this morning at a conference of the State's Agriculture, Food Production and Colonisation Secretary, Mr. A. N. Jha, Mr. Radha Kant, Director of Colonisation and Resettlement, and other officials. Mr. A. D. Mukerjee, Administrator of Kashipur Colonisation Area which is about 30 miles from Afzalgarh, was also present. He will be the administrator of Afzalgarh area also.

"The Defence Department of the Government of India has contributed Rs. 35 lakhs, partly as grant and partly as loan towards this. The U. P. Government has contributed Rs. 5 lakhs and another five lakhs have come from the U. P. Post-war Reconstruction Fund. The remaining Rs. 5 lakhs are to be contributed by the settlers—Rs. 500 each by 1,000 families of settlers who are to be settled here on land and small industries that sprout out in the wake of this development.

"Twenty-two thousand acres of the area have been acquired and the work of clearing the jungles will start straightway. Part of it will be left for cattle grazing and the rest will be cultivated or used in building houses.

"For three years the colony will be under State management and afterwards the settlers will form co-operative societies and get the land for themselves."

Kasturba Niketan

Six miles from Delhi, a new colony is rising fast. Named Kasturba Niketan after Gandhiji's wife, it is

dedicated to her memory and provides a home for needy women, widows and orphans. It is one of the laudable efforts being made in various parts of the country to reconstruct the shattered lives of so many refugees who lost their all at the time of the partition.

Three hundred, neatly built, one-room tenements are nearly ready. Dry rations, a set of cooking utensils and a small dole of money are given to each woman for herself and her children, which means that she can run her own kitchen. This satisfies an average woman's craving to run a home and is psychologically far better than a community kitchen. A little over four hundred women and children are already living at the Niketan. When the buildings are all ready and the schools are functioning, the colony will have over 1,200 inmates.

A work-cum-production centre is the chief feature of the colony. Attendance for all able-bodied women is compulsory. Here the women learn useful crafts like cutting, tailoring, knitting, embroidery, weaving and carpet making. The articles produced are sold and the returns shared by the maker. Thus, the idea is to make the inmates earning members of society.

While the mothers work in the centre, the children are looked after in a nursery school in the colony. The school is run on modern lines and the young teachers are made to realise the importance of handling these unsettled children. As the school and work centre hours coincide, neither the mothers nor the children are disturbed while at work.

The orphanage has about forty children. Some women inmates who are not able to work in the centre are detailed to look after the children and are given remuneration. A few children are disabled and mentally deficient. Special care is given to them.

A whole-time lady doctor gives medical aid and runs the colony dispensary. Shortly, the colony will be completed, the school would have moved in, the gardens and gymnasium would be laid out and the roads all paved. Kasturba Niketan bids fair to be an ideal colony run on corporate lines, where the scars of partition would be slowly healed.

The beneficent activities of the Kasturba Memorial Fund have been slowly spreading over Bharat.

Buckingham Canal

The Madras *Hindu* has ventilated a grievance of the citizens that has become almost irremovable. The small Coum river which has been transformed into this Canal and named after a former Governor appears to be receiving less attention when the pressure on transport facilities has worsened. We quote our contemporary: "To the citizen of Madras the Buckingham Canal may appear to be one among the more regrettable features of the City. It is not commonly realised that this Canal runs for a length

of more than two hundred and sixty miles and that, connecting up with the fresh-water, high-level canals of the Krishna and Godavari Rivers, it affords a total length of about four hundred and sixty miles of navigable canal. From Kakinada down to Merkanam in South Arcot this Canal is useful as an inland waterway. The development of the British-owned M. & S. M. Railway limited the usefulness of the Canal. Work on the excavation of the Canal in sections extended from the year 1801 up to the famine of 1876 when its completion was undertaken as a relief work. It runs within a few miles of the sea all its length and is a salt-water canal except near its headwaters, being influenced by the tides of the sea which affect it through bars and backwaters. The Canal is extremely liable to be silted up and lakhs have been spent upon preventing this. As long as there was no pressure on our railway system it did not appear economic to send goods along the Canal on shallow, non-mechanical, slow boats. But our City depends on it for its salt and firewood, which are available in the coastal belt and are sent to Madras along the Canal."

Nepal's New Set-up

The arrival of Sri Vir Bikram Shah, Nepal's King, has given rise to any number of speculations in India. His visit is off the record, and the studeid care with which questions are being avoided adds to the mystery of the thing. Bombay's newspapermen have been persistent in the pursuit of news—a contrast with Calcutta's silence. Maharaja Mohan Samshere Jang is at Bombay now on "medical" advice. The same advice may take him to foreign countries. He is today free of State responsibilities as Prime Minister; his place has been taken by a Nepal Congress leader, Sri M. P. Koirala.

But these speculations are of ephemeral interest. The people are more concerned with the immediate future which the Koirala Cabinet propose to build up. Nepal is proud of her armed forces, and its leadership has been a point of dispute between the old leaders and the new. Therefore, the news from Kathmandu has a certain significance that Maj.-Gen. Kiran Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Nepali Army in place of Gen. Kaiser Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana who is now Defence Minister.

Maj.-Gen. Kiran who was Deputy C-in-C. enjoyed the full confidence of the Nepali Congress group in the old Cabinet. He is the son of a former Prime Minister, Maharaja Joodha Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, now in retirement in Debra Dun. We hope that when the old Maharaja has retired with dignity and has accepted the new regime, the future of Nepal is assured, and the Nepali people will be able to co-operate in creating a better life for themselves.

Egypt and the Copts

A booklet of 24 pages has been sent to us published by the Phoenicia Press of New York. It reveals the skeleton in Egypt's cupboard. The Introduction gives the story why this book was printed in the U.S.A.:

"The book was outlawed by the Egyptian government and the Arab States. Even the Christian Republic of Lebanon, under the government of Riad Solh, followed the Moslem Arab States in forbidding the entry and circulation of the book, as a courtesy toward Egypt.

"The material in these pages, translated in each case from the 'original Arabic,' describes the religious, cultural, political and economic discrimination now suffered by the Copts. Each of the articles here included appeared originally in one of three places: the Coptic-owned Cairo daily, *Misr*; the weekly magazine of the Coptic community, *Al-Manarat*; or, especially, a remarkable book called *Farriq Tasud* (Divide and Rule), which was secretly printed in January, 1950, without mention of publisher or press."

And the author "who was daring enough to put his name to the book, Dr. Michael Zugheib, suffered the consequences in a terrible way. A group of Moslem youths, living near his town of Abu-Gurgas, came one Saturday night and attacked his home, shooting about thirty bullets into the house. They burned a house or two in a nearby Christian village. In one of these 'an old woman was burned to death.' Luckily, Dr. Zugheib and his family happened to be out of town at the time."

In page 7 we get some details of the story of discrimination:

"The study of the Arabic language has become a Moslem domain, and the Copts are excluded from it. Those few Copts who have acquired a literary diploma with a specialization in the Arabic language, find the Ministry of Education not disposed to appoint them.

"Foreign nations established free schools in Egypt to teach their languages to the people and make them love their cultures. But our ministers of education do not seem to understand that the Copts should learn to know and love Arabic! It seems they want the Copts to remain alien to Arabic, neither teaching nor studying it. In the Academy of the Arabic Language there has not yet been a single Copt, though there are Moghrabi Syrians, Iraqi and Lebanese members. More than that, there even was an Iraqi monk!"

"Other privations and grievances—like the regulations on the building of churches. He mentions the many university exchange missions from which brilliant Copt students are excluded, and he mentions sixty high offices in the Ministry of Health which Copts cannot fill."

Of political discrimination pages 9-11 gives but an indication of things as they are today in Egypt even under Nahas Pasha. The author mentions the "Moslem Brotherhood" and the "Shabab Muhammad (Mahomedan Youths) who starting with oppressor non-Muslims have begun to murder Muslims. The last Premier, Nugrasy Pasha was a case in point.

The charge-sheet, as we have quoted, is heavy enough. It is a saddening thought that a people fighting British imperialism should be found playing that discreditable game themselves!

Soviet Union and Islam

Since its foundation we have been hearing many creditable reports on the minority or nationality policy of the Soviet Union. Stalin's thesis on the subject, presented some time during years 1917-18, laid the lines of this policy of respect for dis-similars. And this the world has come to regard as the Charter of nationalities. But there appears to have been another side of the shield. The following from an article on Soviet imperialism is quite timely for all of us to ponder over:

"Soviet social policy in Central Asia hinges on the treatment of Islam. For, homogeneity throughout the region has been obtained from the fact that its peoples were almost solidly Muslim, constituting, together with the Muslims of the Caucasian Republics, the second largest religious group in the Union. Islam was the great unifier and its tenets were diametrically opposed not only to the secular Communist creed but its whole new way of life.

"Soviet rule could not afford to make concessions to such a challenger, although Muslim opinion had been led to believe otherwise. In the early years of the new Government a number of leading *Mullahs* made overtures of loyalty by attempting to reconcile the teachings of Islam with those of Communism; such conciliation was described in the Large Soviet Encyclopedia (1935) as 'counter-revolutionary.' Similarly the *Shari'ah*, whose validity was pledged by Stalin in November, 1920, was gradually superseded by a new unified legal system operating throughout the U.S.S.R.

"The Soviet authorities have opposed any emergence of a Pan-Islamic movement in Central Asia, *vide*, the Tashkent treason trials of 1929. They have kept the influence of the faith in check sometimes by force, imprisoning the *Mullahs* and expropriating or closing the mosques, and more persistently by indirect psychological undermining. Direct persecution occurred after 1917, in 1929 and again in 1936-38, and was each time succeeded by conciliation.

"Since 1939, ten new mosques have been built and the pilgrimage to Mecca has been renewed, after an enforced cessation of 20 years. This toleration has been coupled with a new campaign of Communist indoctrination from Moscow and new exhortations, particularly to the young in Central Asia, to rededicate themselves to the Marxist faith."

Is Russia Weaker than the West?

Only a few months ago, Soviet Russia was hailed by the entire Communist press as the greatest military power in the world, the Soviet Army as the invincible

bastion of peace, and so on. Since the West, alarmed by Soviet Russia's growing military potential, has begun to rearm, we are treated to articles like John Gollan's.

In his second article, Gollan published a graph. Analysing the rate at which the defence estimates of the U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and Great Britain had increased. He said that by 1951, "The American arms budget has almost trebled since 1949, that of Great Britain has doubled. In the U.S.S.R., it has gone up by little more than one fifth." On the basis of the *United Nations Economic Survey for Europe*, published in June 1951, the amount of manpower devoted to armaments in these countries is as follows:

Great Britain: 82 labour man years per 1,000 of the population;

U.S.A.: 77 labour man years per 1,000 of the population;

U.S.S.R.: 49 labour man years per 1,000 of the population.

Let us see what happens when these figures are multiplied by the number of inhabitants. In 1951, the U.S.A.—with 150 million inhabitants—spent 11,100,000 labour man years on armaments; the U.S.S.R. with 200 million inhabitants 9,800,000; Great Britain with 50 million inhabitants—4,800,000.

To calculate the number of labour man years spent by each of these countries on armaments in 1949, let us take the proportional increase in their defence budgets, as quoted by the *Daily Worker*:

Labour Man Years

	1951	1949
U.S.S.R.	9800000	7840000
U.S.A.	11000000	3700000
Great Britain	4100000	2050000

This shows that in 1949, that is before the rearmament drive in the West, the Soviet Union was devoting twice as much as Great Britain and the U.S.A. put together.

As this first deduction is so revealing, let us compare the effort of the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. to create war potential during the post-war years. Let us calculate the labour man year figures for each year proportionately to their defence budget expenditures:

Labour Man Years

	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947
U.S.S.R.	9800000	8000000	7850000	6400000	6000000
U.S.A.	11000000	4650000	3700000	3400000	4250000

According to these figures, during the three years preceding the rearmament drive in the West—1947, 1948 and 1949—Soviet Russia accumulated 20,850,000 labour man years, against the U.S.A.'s 11,350,000. In 1950, the difference of 9,000,000 labour man years grew to 12,750,000; even after the completion of the 1951 U.S. arms budget, the Soviet side will have 11,050,000 labour man years to its credit. At the end of 1951, that is after two years of increased armament expendi-

ture in the West, the U.S.S.R. will still be a full year ahead of the U.S.A.

If the *Daily Worker* published these figures to convince us that the Soviet Union is not piling up armies and guns, it has made a mistake. We can only presume that its economic experts do not understand the difference between western peace economy and Soviet permanent war economy.

After de-mobilisation, the Soviet Union quietly went on with her permanent war economy, and piled up armaments; the western countries passed over to peace time economy and small defence expenditure. As a result of this, during 1947, 1948 and 1949 the disparity between the Soviet Union and the west grew to an alarming extent, and the "doomed, decaying, disintegrating bourgeois world" had to make an effort for self-preservation.

Then Communist propaganda suddenly switched from boasts about Soviet invincibility, to statistics showing that the USSR was the least armed of the Great Powers. The truth is somewhere in between.

The most valuable lesson the west has drawn from the period of Nazi political blackmail, which preceded the second world war, was that in politics as in war, the Powers must rely on their war preparedness. Hitler's power of 'Diktat' must not be allowed ever to revive; the present day dictators must be forced to come down from their dreams of world supremacy to normal human relations, where the rights of individuals, of classes and of countries are respected and protected. This is the real basis of peace.

We are grateful to the *Daily Worker's* statisticians for having given us the opportunity of demonstrating the truth by means of their own figures.

On September 3rd and 5th, the *Daily Worker* (New York) published two articles by John Gollan to show that Soviet Russia's war potential was insignificant compared to that of the USA and Great Britain, for "the west is piling up the armies and the guns, not the Soviet Union."

New East which publishes this rejoinder has done a great service by this comparative study. The Western Powers will now realize their own strength and weakness—the surest way to remedy. Our neutral position stands more or less justified by this criticism of a non-Communist paper.

Difficulties of West Germany's Chancellor

We do not envy the position of Doctor Adenauer dragged by two groups of Great Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union. On the last day of November last appeared an air-mail news indicating his coalition Government, undergoing a serious process of attrition. The nature of this crisis will be found in the following words:

"As the party assembled for its annual Congress at Karlsruhe, it was forced to look back on an un-

broken succession of reverses in provincial elections and by-elections to the Federal Parliament during the past 12 months. There are wide differences of degree: the Christian Democrats are still the strongest single party in all the predominantly Catholic States, while they are approaching complete collapse in such Protestant areas as Lower Saxony and Bremen.

"There are also different heirs; in Lower Saxony the votes have passed chiefly to the Refugee Party and the Right-wing extremists; in other areas chiefly to the Socialists.

"Of the minor partners in the Federal Government the Right-wing German Party, which exists only in the Protestant North, fully shares in the downward trend.

The Free Democrats, although profiting in some areas from the desertion of Protestant middle-class elements from their Christian Democratic partners, have also suffered a slight loss in their total poll.

"Together the Government Coalition parties have dropped a million votes compared with the last Bundestag elections in the 6 out of 11 States, where provincial elections have been held in the last year—from 6.2 to 5.2 million. During the same period, the Socialist Opposition gained half a million votes—from 3.8 to 4.3 million—in the same area, and the Right-wing extremists gained 200,000 almost doubling their 1949 vote. Though the next Federal elections are not due until 1953, this trend cannot fail to increase Mr. Adenauer's difficulties in holding his coalition together—chiefly in the fields of foreign policy and of industrial legislation.

"The Christian Democrats, founded after the war as the rallying platform for democratic Conservatives of both Protestant and Catholic background, find themselves more and more reduced to the traditional following of the Catholic Centre Party of pre-Nazi days.

"As the Protestant voters desert them, they become more and more committed to the active promotion of 'Western European integration' as its most distinctive policy—while its Protestant coalition partners try to present themselves as more jealous guardians of national German interests and to vie with the Socialist Opposition in presenting 'conditions' to the Western Powers.

"The result of all this is not that the coalition is threatened with political paralysis. It is natural in the circumstances that speculation among Allied observers returns periodically to the possibility of a coalition between the two big democratic forces of German society which are at present bitter opponents: the Socialists, now definitely the strongest single party but still far from any prospect of absolute majority; and the Christian Democrats who, despite their present decline, are likely to remain indispensable for any stable majority in Western Germany.

"But even though the Christian Democrats may be sufficiently flexible in economic and social policy to make such a coalition possible one day, nobody has yet been able to envisage a compromise between the foreign policies of Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Schumacher."

Constitution of Federal Libya

The Constitution, recently approved by the Libyan National Assembly, creates a United Kingdom of Libya consisting of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan as a free, independent, sovereign State possessing hereditary monarchy with a Federal representative form of government.

The Constitution has come into force upon the declaration of the independence of Libya on January 1, 1952, in accordance with the U.N. General Assembly's resolution. In the meantime, the Federal Provisional Government, set up last March, exercised the powers transferred to it by the administering Powers until the establishment of a duly constituted Government appointed by the King.

The following are the main features of the Constitution approved by the Libyan National Assembly meeting in Benghazi on October 7.

The Libyan Parliament consists of two Chambers—the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Senate is composed of 24 members equally divided among the three Provinces, with the King appointing half of the members and the other half being elected by the three Provincial Legislative Councils. Membership in the Senate will be for eight years, with half of the appointed and elected members being replaced every four years. In the first Senate, however, all the members will be appointed by the King for a four-year period.

The House of Representatives will be composed of members elected in the proportion of one to every 20,000 inhabitants and in accordance with Federal electoral law to be promulgated within 30 days as from October 7 by the National Assembly. Elections must take place within three and a half months after the promulgation of this law. No Province will have less than five representatives, and pending the taking of a population census Tripolitania will be represented by 36 members, Cyrenaica by 15 and the Fezzan by 5. The term of office of the House of Representatives will be four years unless the House is dissolved sooner.

The first King of Libya is Sayed Mohamed Idris el Senussi. The order of succession of the male heirs will be determined by Royal decree but the heir is to be the eldest son. In case there should be no son, the heir will be appointed by the King.

The King's Ministers will be responsible to the House of Representatives. The Prime Minister will be appointed by the King, and at the Prime Minister's request the King will also appoint the other Ministers.

Every resident in Libya with no other nationality will be considered a Libyan if born in Libya or if he has held normal residence there for a period of not less than 10 years. Foreigners normally residing in Libya for the last ten years will be given opportunity within the three coming years to opt for Libyan nationality.

The constitutional provisions relating to the monarchical form of government or the order of succession to the Throne or the principles of liberty and equality will not be subject to revision.

For a review of the other provisions it will be necessary to obtain a two-thirds majority vote in each Chamber and the sanction of the King. For a review of the provision relating to the Federal form of Government it will be necessary, in addition, to obtain the approval of all the provincial legislatures and executives.

This double approval of the Federal Parliament and of the Provincial Legislatures and Executives is requisite because certain powers fall solely within the competence of the Federal Government, and other powers are exercised jointly by the Federal Government legislatively and by the Provinces executively under Federal supervision.

The Federal powers include foreign affairs, defence, immigration, currency, armed forces and higher education.

The joint powers include Income-tax, Mining, Shipping and Navigation, Labour and the General System of Education.

The King of Libya belongs to a sect in Islam that is almost akin to Wahhabism whose present head is Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the King of Arabia. In foreign affairs, these two States are likely to work together. In between lies Egypt with its Frenchified ruling class. The effects of this geography will be watched by all with hope and not a little anxiety.

Is China a Satellite?

There is more than a hint of insult in this question put even by our people. We are glad, therefore, that Sardar Panikkar, India's ambassador to China, has voiced the feeling of his people so consistently on this matter. Today, British politicians are found echoing the same sentiments. The Labour Government's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, did well, therefore, in repudiating such an attitude of superiority over Communism. In a speech on the eve of the last election, he said: "... because China had a Communist Government, she should be treated exactly in the same category as the Soviet Union." It was "a mistake" to assume that she was "bound to be a slavish and subservient satellite." He hoped that the Government of Winston Churchill would avail itself of the earliest opportunity for getting "the effective

Chinese Government to the United Nations." For, on such a step depended the peace of the East which is "vital" for the restoration of normal civilised life all the world over.

Meanwhile, news has been circulated from the circles about Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that the 1952 spring will be signalised by attack on China. This is being financed and organised on all ways by the United States Government, the same sources assert. It is the madness of a confused and bewildered administration. If such an attack took place, India would stand in the way; so will other nations. We believe that U.S.A.'s ruling classes are not as mad as that.

Darbar Gopaldas

Another link with the Gandhian era, with the Non-co-operation Movement, is snapped by the death of Darbar Gopaldas at his 73rd year. Coming almost after a year after Sardar Patel's death, the event has a significance for Gujarat which they had helped to build up as a weapon to wrest power from the British.

Son of a *jaigirdar* in Kathiawar, inheriting its traditions and rules of conduct, ever anxious to conciliate whoever holds the State power, at the expense of individual and national self-respect, Darbar Gopaldas could have thus enjoyed life. But under Gandhiji's inspiration he broke away from the old order. This he found easy to do, because his chosen guide and philosopher was himself the son and grandson of Prime Ministers of two Kathiawar States.

Darbar Gopaldas had never wavered through any of the successes and failures of the Non-co-operation period. He never hankered after power, and thus we have not seen his name in newspapers. He was one of those silent men and women who are the real props of all movements of uplift and revolt.

Today we have to mourn his death. To his wife, Bakti Behn, and his family we send our condolences. May his soul rest in peace!

Dr. Wilbur Sawyer

On the 20th November last died Wilbur Augustus Sawyer (72), who developed the first successful vaccine against yellow fever, at the Merrith Hospital of heart ailment. He, former University of California professor of Clinical Medicine, developed the vaccine in 1931 when he was head of the Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Dr. Sawyer was Director of Health for UNRRA 1944-47, was Secretary-General of the Fourth International Congress of Tropical Medicine and Malaria in Washington in 1948. Though he died full of years and of honour, the death of this benefactor of humanity deserves notice. May his soul rest in peace!

Abanindranath Tagore

On the 5th December last departed from this world Abanindranath Tagore, the life-and-soul of

Visva-Bharati and Santiniketan after the death of Rabindranath. He died in his 81st year, full of years and honours, as the symbol and representative of India's culture at its highest and best. He succeeded Sarojini Naidu as the third President of the Governing Body of the Visva-Bharati and its associated institutions. And well was it that he had been called upon to do it, because he was in a way, the handiwork of Rabindranath. And in beautiful Bengali he has described for all times the relationship that had bound these persons in mutual understanding, love and respect.

He was the torch-bearer not only in the renaissance of Indian art but as well of children's literature. Havell's name is associated with this art revival; Abanindranath has ever expressed gratefulness to this British artist for drawing him out of his recluse life, devoted to the fine arts. In search of the old, Abanindranath not only went to Elora, Ajanta, Rajput and Mughal paintings and their inspirations, but went to our villages, where Bengal's womanhood with their deft fingers, had kept alive *alpanas* (designs on floor, on blocks of wood); *kanthas* on old cloth which are comparable with Kashmiri work, and to our potters and carpenters. Thus was founded the Bengal School of Oriental Art which has made history in India since 1900.

Today we can only express our sense of loss at his death. To his sons and daughters we tender our condolences. A short life-history of his is given below:

"Abanindranath Tagore, a grand-son of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and nephew of Rabindranath, was born on August 7, 1871.

He was educated at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta and then privately at home. He took lessons in European art from Signor Gibbardy, an Italian artist and Mr. Palmer. After some time he gave up painting after European style and began studying ancient Hindu and Moghul art. He painted more than 200 pictures of which the most famous are perhaps the 'Banished Yaksha,' 'Passing of Shah Jehan' and the 'Queen of Ashoka.'

Leader of Art Renaissance in Bengal and the founder of the Modern School of Indian Art, he was the Vice-Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta from 1905 to 1916 and then became its Principal.

He was also founder of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts and elected President of Visva-Bharati in 1941.

In the words of Rabindranath: "He saved the country from the sin of self-deprecation. He has raised her from the depths of humiliation and has regained for her the honoured position which was hers by right. He has earned for India the recognition of her contributory share in all that humanity has realised for itself. A new era has dawned upon India through the awakening of her art consciousness. And it is from

him that the whole of India has learnt her lessons anew. A proud place has thus been assigned to Bengal through his achievement."

Soon he gave up his studies in the general line. Between 1892-94 he illustrated Rabindranath's *Chitrangada*. He drew pictures for his own story books *Sakuntala* and *Kshirer Putul* during the period.

But experiments in European technique could not satisfy him and he felt within himself an urge to give expression to his inner impulses through colour and brush and the proper medium to express them tormented him a great deal. In his own words, "I grew restless. There was a yearning in my heart. I felt it, but could never define it. What next, I would often wonder."

In those days of inner torment he came across some English illuminations and an album of Indian paintings. Attracted by their decorative quality, he searched for Indian subjects to be executed in this newly found technique and at the suggestions of Rabindranath attempted to illustrate the lyrics of Vidyapati and Chandidasa. His first attempt, however, was a failure as he could not get rid of the European influence. He then took lessons on the technique of illuminations from an expert Indian craftsman. The lessons were successful and he brought out Radha-Krishna series. This meant a new liberation for him from the influence of Western creation.

He has said of his experiences during this period: "How can I express what I felt during all that period? I was filled with pictures—that's how it was like. They dominated my entire being. I had only to close my eyes to get pictures come floating before my mind—form, line, colour, shade, all complete. I would take up the brush and the pictures painted themselves as it were."

After some time Abanindranath had an opportunity to meet E. B. Havell, the then Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta. This meeting was a turning point in his career. Havell fired the imagination of Indian people by the warmth of love for Indian ideals in art; he showed him some masterpieces of Rajput and Mughal paintings, which he had acquired for the Picture Gallery then attached to the Government School of Art. By quick assimilation of their technique, Abanindranath at once carried on experiments which were the seed-plot of the new spirit of nationalism.

Havell said of him: "Naturally being well-versed both in Sanskrit and Persian literature, he seeks inspiration from the great epics of India and from the poems of Kalidasa and Omar Khayyam and being gifted with a fine imaginative faculty, he gives a true interpretation of Indian spirituality and an insight into that higher world, the fairy land of Eastern poetry and romance which Eastern thought has created."

Sometime between 1901-1902, Abanindranath met for the first time two Japanese artists, Yokahama Taik-

wan and Hisida; they exercised considerable influence on his technique. His *Evening Lamp*, *Bharat Mata*, *Yakshas of the Upper Air* and many others painted, during this period, show considerable Japanese influence.

The new spirit of nationalism through the poetry, songs and literature of Poet Tagore, came to be felt in the country. Living at its centre Abanindranath with the help of his brother Gaganendranath, gathered round him a band of artists.

In time people came to realise the significance of this new art movement. Abanindranath's mission was realised. The artists of this school were requisitioned by other Provinces in India.

Numerous were the works executed by Abanindranath and they showed a gradual process of development in technique and style spreading through years of divergent moods and expressions. By the power of assimilation he was able to evolve a technique of his own. Our country's classics, the old tradition of Ajanta, the masterpieces of Rajput and Mughal miniatures, his critical study of the Japanese prints, his training in Western technique and the congenial artistic atmosphere of his family, all combined together, helped him in developing a style of his own.

Abanindranath was a great teacher also. Those who had the privilege of being his pupils would never forget the affection and sympathy they had from him. Before imparting his lessons he would ask each and every pupil to be well acquainted with the vast art-treasures—paintings and sculptures scattered all over India and to have an extensive study of Indian classics for developing power of thinking and for inspiration. He did not impose his own style on his pupils, but gave them suggestions or corrected their works according to the conception formed by them and not according to what the Master would have done in his own case. What he wanted of his disciples was originality and his genius consisted in drawing out the artistic faculty from the most mediocre students. He worked hard to inspire his pupils and encouraged them to draw and paint whatever subject they liked according to their own style.

He was also a talented writer. He wrote in a simple style and had a peculiarly witty way of giving expression to his ideas. Some of his Bengali books have been translated in foreign languages and highly appreciated in many countries. His small stories reveal a rare charm. His *Raj Kahini*, *Bhut-petnir Desh*, *Budo Angla*, etc., are rich contributions in the domain of literature. His *Sadanga or the Six Limbs of Paintings* (translated into English by Dr. A. Aronson and translated into French by Andree Karpeles) is regarded as an authoritative exposition of the theory of art.

He spent the last few years of his life in his quiet retreat, away from the din and bustle of Calcutta. The peace was often "disturbed" by his disciples who went to greet him and obtain his blessings on his birthday and similar occasions.

GANDHIJI AND PROHIBITION IN INDIA

By His Excellency Dr. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
Governor of West Bengal

GANDHIJI AND THE BRITISH TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

In the absence of well-authenticated evidence to the contrary, it is probably correct to assume that the drink problem thrust itself into the notice of Mahatma Gandhi when he went to England to study law. One of the many strange and unusual things noticed by him, brought up as he was in an orthodox Vaishnava family, must have been the Western attitude towards drinking which carries no social opprobrium so long as moderation is observed. He has told us in *Young India* (April 18, 1929) how often he was placed in an embarrassing position because he would neither drink when visiting friends nor offer them liquor when they called on him.

It is well-known that many who observe moderation in drinking are guilty of lapses at least now and then. And we may be certain that such cases must have come under Gandhiji's notice for, in his own way, he was, in those days, something of a society man with friends among the educated, the cultured and at least the comparatively well-to-do classes among whom the majority of moderate drinkers in the West were and are still to be found. So far as the working classes were concerned, he found that they contributed the largest number of drunkards and wasted so much on liquor that they could provide neither proper accommodation nor the right type of food in adequate quantities for themselves and their dependents. The conclusion drawn by him from what he saw during his stay in England was that literacy by itself does not prevent a person from excessive indulgence in liquor and that education in primary and secondary schools, in colleges and in universities is equally valueless as a preventive of inebriety.

Gandhiji had been told that Great Britain had, by the method of trial and error, gradually evolved one of the most satisfactory systems for the control of liquor, that there were so many restrictions of various types on its manufacture and distribution that this country had practically solved the problem of securing maximum revenue with minimum consumption and that the people in general were so law-abiding that infringements of its excise rules and regulations were rare. But what he saw around him must have convinced him that, granting that the British system of control is one of the finest yet produced, it had failed to put an end to or even act as an effective check on drunkenness and its consequences, individual and social, as also that greed was responsible for many breaches of the laws governing the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Always interested in endeavours put forth either by individuals or organisations to remove or mitigate social evils, Mahatma Gandhi must have felt interested

in the British temperance movement in which thousands of volunteers, men, women, adolescents and even children participated, in the largely attended public meetings organised and in the immense mass of literature issued by it. He must have been equally familiar with the efforts of temperance workers to establish contact with drinkers in order to dissuade them from indulgence in liquor. This technique for bringing about the elimination of drink had been started on an organised basis early in the 19th century and hundreds of thousands of people had devoted their means and their energies to put it through. And yet what has been called "moral suasion," and legislation for tightening up the excise system had, as his eyes told him, all ended in dismal failure so far as the elimination of drunkenness was concerned.

SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

Professional work or rather Providence took Mahatma Gandhi to South Africa shortly after his return to India. The law there prohibited the supply of liquor to Africans; Indians were permitted to drink in shops licensed to sell liquor but not to buy and carry it home for consumption. There were no restrictions on whites. Here too drunkenness was found among the educated, the cultured and the well-to-do as well as among the poorer whites proving the correctness of the conclusions previously arrived at by him.

Gandhiji saw drunkenness not only among Indian men but also among Indian women settlers. He found that many of these who, if they had remained in India, would never have even dreamt of touching liquor felt no shame in visiting liquor shops and drinking in public. He also noticed drunkenness in the homes of Indians as well as of Africans. These got their supplies from covetous whites who purchased considerable amounts of liquor and then sold them to Indians and Africans.

The sympathy Mahatma Gandhi felt for the difficulties imposed by Government on his countrymen who had emigrated to South Africa led to various attempts on his part to champion their cause so much so that, within a short time, he became their undisputed leader and their spokesman. Greatly disturbed by what he saw around him and especially by the moral degradation and the economic loss suffered by his countrymen and countrywomen, he tried to utilise his position to persuade them to abstain from liquor. He has himself told us how he began active temperance work there from 1893. He was bitterly disappointed when he found that his efforts bore no fruit for his countrymen and countrywomen, to quote Gandhiji's language refused "to listen to any lectures on temperance, much less to any personal advice." Many were the steps he adopted, to encourage sobriety among

them but realised only too soon and too well that he could not claim "any degree of visible success."

The lessons drawn from his South African experience in regard to the drink problem may be summarised as follows. Gandhiji was confirmed in his views about the ineffectiveness of literacy and education, of liquor control and of anti-drink propaganda as satisfactory methods for solving the problem. Two important facts which emerged were that the first and fundamental step must be withdrawal of all temptation, possible only when shops licensed to sell liquor are closed, in other words, when there is legal banning of liquor. The second thing he learnt was the utter worthlessness of that uninformed type of criticism which holds that prohibition should not be introduced as it would encourage defiance of law and loss of revenue. Mahatma Gandhi's experience showed that greedy men feel no hesitation in betaking themselves to illicit practices, control or no control, prohibition or no prohibition, so long as it is profitable to do so and that therefore this particular argument against the imposition of prohibition is meaningless.

EXPERIENCE IN INDIA

Returning home at the request of Gokhale whom he called his *guru*, Mahatma Gandhi spent one year in touring India always travelling in the third class and mixing with high and low, keeping his eyes and ears open, drinking in all that he saw around him and drawing his own conclusions from them. One of these was that while some among the wealthy, the cultured and the educated in India indulge in alcoholic beverages, the bulk among the consumers of drink and drugs is always drawn from the poorer classes. He summarised his findings by saying:

"Drinking is not a habit with the aristocracy, certainly not with the middle class man, it is a habit confined to the labourers and especially to the factory hands."

Gandhiji laid special stress on two evils which he held invariably follow the consumption of liquor and drugs. He quoted with approval a few lines from a pamphlet advocating prohibition written by a European Missionary of Madras who, basing his views on statistics published by Government, showed that the lower classes wasted the enormous sum of 80 crores or so on them, the saving of which would naturally mean a marked improvement in their standard of life.

Gandhiji who always attached a very high value to the moral improvement of man after supplying the above information to the readers of *Young India* (February 4, 1926) added:

"The moral loss is even greater than the financial. Drink and drugs degrade those who are addicted to them and those who traffic in them. The drunkard forgets the distinction between wife, mother and sister and indulges in crimes of which in his sober moments he will be ashamed. Any one who had anything to do with labour knows

to what state the labourers are reduced when they are under the satanic influence of drink. Nor are the other classes better off. I have known the captain of a ship forgetting himself in his drunken state. The ship had to be entrusted to the care of the chief officer. Barristers having drunk have been known to be rolling in gutters. Only these better-placed men are protected by the police all over the world whereas the poor drunkard is punished for his poverty."

FREEDOM AND PROHIBITION CAMPAIGNS

Gandhiji's experience in India confirmed the views to which he had been previously driven namely that even the most efficient system of control and regulation is ineffective in stamping out addiction and that the only way to achieve it is the banning of drink and drugs through legislation. He realised quite well that while this is feasible in a free country provided a large majority of its citizens are in favour of such a step, it was an impossibility in a subject country like India where the rulers were no believers in it and where too nearly a quarter of the total revenue was derived from this source. Quite aware that they would persist in retaining the existing excise system in spite of the almost universal desire of the people to abolish the consumption of drink and drugs, Gandhiji was irresistibly led to the conclusion that only political freedom would give prohibition to India.

This explains, but only partly, the close association between the freedom movement and the prohibition campaign. But till freedom was acquired and as an item in the fight to win it, he stood for the application of pressure on such a large scale that it would be impossible for a foreign government to resist it. Naturally enough, public support for this large-scale pressure could come only when the fight against drink and drugs became part of a bigger struggle for the removal of more than one grievance. Further, it had in his view, to be non-violent in character.

The opportunity for an all-India effort of a type more militant and much more effective than anti-alcohol propaganda in scattered and widely separate areas and personal contact with addicts so far only by temperance workers, came with the Non-co-operation Movement of 1920-22. Primarily, a protest against the Rowlatt Bills, the Punjab atrocities, the Khilafat wrongs and the unsatisfactory character of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, it, as the result of official refusal or inability to read and interpret the signs of the times correctly, resolved itself into a new type of political struggle with definite political, economic and moral ends, one of the latter being the purification of the country by the abolition of drink and drugs through peaceful picketing.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

Gandhiji thought it necessary to issue special instructions as to how workers should conduct their work (*Young India*, March 23, 1921). They were exhorted to adopt the method of "respectful entreat

GANDHIJI AND PROHIBITION IN INDIA

requesting the shop-keepers to give up their licenses and their patrons to abstain from the wares sold by them. They were to content themselves with merely warning the addicts against their evil habits but not to molest or otherwise prevent them from indulging in their appetite if they declined to pay any heed to their appeals.

Thousands of people, most of whom were young men or students who had left colleges and schools, volunteered their services for picketing shops selling foreign cloth, drink and drugs. To ensure the absolutely non-violent character of their activities, these people had to undergo rigid tests and only those who passed them were registered as Congress volunteers. The general public was forbidden to participate in the picketing as it was apprehended that it might, under provocation, be tempted to depart from Gandhian principles.

Though the volunteers had often to suffer physical violence at the hands of addicts, shop-keepers and their assistants, as also from subordinates of the Excise and Police Departments, they persisted and the results achieved were remarkable. Gandhiji summarised them (*Young India*, April 18, 1929) in the following terms:

"We were within an ace of complete success, at least in some provinces. Many of the liquor dens were practically closed. Hundreds of opium dens were deserted."

The second uncompromising champion of total prohibition, Shri Rajaji, has told us (*Young India*, February 7, 1924) that

"In the Southern Provinces young men of all classes went to prison in their hundreds in the Anti-Drink Campaign and the message penetrated the furthest corners of village life."

What was still more remarkable was that many social groups both among the classes and the masses vowed to give up the consumption of intoxicants and kept their promise. This happened because, in the language of Gandhiji:

"There was an onrush of feeling, a desire, a yearning for self-purification. That yearning came, I do not know how,—we do not always know the mysterious ways in which God works."

WANING OF PROHIBITION

The British Government, never a believer in prohibition, was alarmed by an unprecedented drop in the Excise revenue which, at that time, amounted to 25 crores or so. Unable to appreciate or unwilling to admit the ethical and moral aspect of the movement, it assumed that its primary object was to harass the administration. It started repression, generally drastic in character, so that, to quote Gandhiji again:

"Thousands of volunteers were thrown into jail for the offence of picketing drink and drug shops on the plea of giving protection to addicts and licensed shop-keepers and for the maintenance of law and order."

Their disappearance from the scene gradually brought back the old situation.

Another reason for the gradual subsidence of the

anti-drink and drug campaign was that many of the picketers in their enthusiasm to make it a success departed from the instructions given by Gandhiji. The moral and ethical motive behind the movement was replaced in numerous cases by the desire to embarrass the administration by reducing the revenue. Their adoption of pressure tactics not only deprived the movement of its moral appeal but also alienated the sympathy of the public.

THE SWARAJ PARTY AND RESOLUTIONS IN THE LEGISLATURES

Gandhiji was tried on a charge of sedition in March, 1922 and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. After his disappearance from public life, an influential section of Congressmen, known later on as Pro-changers, felt that, for the time being at least, the interests of the country would be best served by entering the legislatures and showing up the defects of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Others, known as No-changers, refused to give up Non-co-operation. For some time it appeared as though these differences would break up national solidarity to the extent that all effective opposition to our rulers would come to an end.

Gandhiji was released unconditionally after a serious operation early in February 1924. He met Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leaders of the Pro-changers, and after giving his qualified approval to their programme asked them and their supporters to move resolutions in the Central and Provincial legislatures one of them being "to abolish the drink and drug revenue and at least correspondingly reduce the Army expenditure." The No-changers were consoled by the assurance given by the Pro-changers that they could always rely on their co-operation in working the Constructive Programme one of the items of which was and continues to be the abolition of drink and drugs.

The Non-co-operation Movement was formally suspended at the annual session of the Congress at Belgaum in December, 1924. In his presidential address, Gandhiji suggested the following as indissolubly connected with Swaraj as he envisaged it:

"Manual labour to be the qualification for franchise; the reduction of Military expenditure, the cheapening of justice, the abolition of intoxicating liquors and drugs and revenues therefrom, reduction of Civil and Military salaries, redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis, examination of monopolies of foreigners, guarantee of status to Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government, repeal of arbitrary powers, abolition of race distinction in services and religious freedom to various denominations, administration through vernacular languages, and Hindi to be the National language."

From the above, it is clear that such was the importance he attached to the abolition of drink and drugs that he placed it on the same level as guarantees in regard to religious freedom, repeal of arbitrary

powers, reduction in military expenditure and of the salaries paid to officials, redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis, the replacement of English by a national language, etc.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The campaign against drink and drugs had gone on though after 1922 it had lost much of its militancy. The No-changers who were to be found in every nook and corner of our motherland had worked faithfully, if silently, the Constructive Programme of 1920. Further, the formal withdrawal of Non-co-operation in 1924 had emboldened most non-Congress temperance workers to come out into the open and to take a more active part in the movement. The effect of all this was seen in a memorial presented to the Viceroy in 1925 and signed by 30,000 people asking for the introduction of prohibition as a much-needed social reform.

Mahatma Gandhi retired from the presidency of the Congress in due course but his influence was there all the same. Among other things, this is seen from the following resolution passed at its annual session which met at Cawnpore in December, 1925:

"The Congress is of the opinion that the policy of the Government of India in using the drink and drug habit of the people as a source of revenue is detrimental to the moral welfare of the people of India, and would therefore welcome its abolition."

THE SIMON COMMISSION

Indian nationalism which was seeking for a definite issue on which to fight the British administration found it in the appointment of the all-English Simon Commission towards the end of 1927. Looking back at the matter after all these years, it has to be admitted that this was a political blunder on the part of our rulers especially as none of its members was at that time known in India or possessed any experience of the East. Followed an all-India boycott in which even the Moderates led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru felt compelled to join.

The statement of Lord Birkenhead that India's communal and other dissensions precluded the inclusion of Indian members in the Simon Commission led to the deliberations of the All-Parties' Conference of 1928 and the drafting of a Constitution for India which, among other things, accepted prohibition.

This Constitution was ratified with certain reservations with which we are not concerned here by the All-Parties' Convention attended by many members of the Central and Provincial legislatures, representatives of various political, communal, labour, landholders, Indian States, women's, backward classes, journalists and other organisations. What is important is that, in spite of differences in other matters, there was absolute unanimity so far as the clause of prohibition was concerned—the best possible proof that the anti-drink and drug campaign initiated on an all-India basis in 1920 and carried on under Gandhiji's inspiration by the Congress had the support of all sections

of the Indian public including even people who had deliberately kept themselves aloof from this organisation.

The Congress at its annual session of 1928 with Pandit Motilal Nehru as President considered the Constitution approved by the All-Parties' Convention. In order to save the country from sufferings inevitable if an all-India struggle was precipitated at this juncture, it offered to accept this Constitution provided it was accepted "in its entirety" by Government on or before the 31st December, 1929 failing which it declared its intention to launch "a campaign of non-violent Non-co-operation" in the shape of refusal to pay taxes and "in such other manner as may be decided upon." One of its resolutions laid down a ten-point programme probably to prepare Congressmen in particular and Indians in general for the struggle into which our country might be drawn if our rulers refused the above offer. We are concerned with its first item which reads as follows:

"In the Legislatures and outside, every attempt will be made to bring about total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks; picketing of liquor and drug shops shall be organised wherever desirable and possible."

The Working Committee which met immediately after the Congress session appointed a number of Sub-Committees to carry on the work contemplated in the above resolution.

RAJAGOPALACHARI AND TOTAL PROHIBITION

There was at least one champion of prohibition in India who would not allow the grass to grow under his feet once the Congress had passed a resolution like the one just quoted. Always alert to take the fullest possible advantage of each favourable opportunity as soon as it presented itself to uproot addiction to drink and drugs, Shri C. Rajagopalachari drafted a scheme for implementing it. Even a cursory glance at its fifteen items will show how practical were the suggestions put forward and how eminently fitted the scheme was to combat the drink and drug evil through the organisation, on an all-India basis, of all opposed to it.

This was accepted by the Working Committee and a Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Shri C. Rajagopalachari was appointed to put it through. It will be noticed that the selection of members was such as to ensure the all-India character of the campaign.

This scheme which found nation-wide publicity and support was published in *Young India* (April 4, 1929). Rajaji who had been entrusted with the task of organising the prohibition campaign circulated his programme of work among the Provincial Congress Committees, a work which received the blessings of Gandhiji (*Young India*, May 23, 1929).

The results of the picketing campaign directed against licensed shops appeared in *Young India* on

April 18 and 24 and on October 17, 1929. The detailed information given in these articles possesses unique interest for all students of the prohibition movement in India.

Quite alive to the fact that picketing would sooner or later be countered by repressive measures of different types and that only Congress workers could be expected to face them unflinchingly, Rajaji thought out a plan for securing the active help of the vast mass of non-Congressmen who too were equally opposed to drink and drugs but were not prepared to suffer in person and property for their convictions by taking an obviously militant part in the campaign. This consisted in seeking and obtaining the support of Caste Panchayats which exerted social pressure on addicts and, wherever possible, on persons engaged in the drink and drug trade.

The effectiveness of this method in discouraging the production of intoxicants thus indirectly bringing about prohibition has been narrated in detail by Shri Mahadev Desai (*Young India*, November 21, 1929).

In order to meet this two-pronged attack, the officers of the Excise Department encouraged liquor-sellers to break regulations breaches of which had been punished, and sometimes heavily punished, in former days. For instance, men who did not possess licenses were permitted to sell liquor. Instead of sales of two bottles at a time, sales up to six bottles at a time were winked at. The purchasers were permitted to dispose of what they did not themselves consume to the public. Sales were also permitted outside the hours fixed under law.

Efforts were made to thwart the prohibition campaign in other ways also. For instance, a village munsiff of Singaper, District Salem, Madras, was suspended for one year because he was accused of taking disciplinary action through caste organisations against drinkers, taking pledges of abstinence from Adi-Dravidas, etc.

When the Viceroy granted an interview to Gandhiji, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Vithalbhai Patel in December, 1929, he made it perfectly clear that he could not give any definite undertaking that even Dominion Status as demanded in the Constitution of the All-Parties' Conference would be granted to India as the result of the Round Table Conference proposed to be held next year. This precipitated the long impending conflict between the rulers and the ruled. In the annual session of 1929, the Congress declared Complete Independence as India's goal, called upon Congressmen to resign from the various legislatures, asking them to "zealously prosecute" the Constructive Programme and empowered the All-India Congress Committee to start Civil Disobedience at its discretion.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, 1930

Two statements made by our rulers in January,

1930 in regard to our political future proved disappointing. Mahatma Gandhi who had been requested to take the leadership in the impending conflict thought of negotiating with the Viceroy to which end he made an eleven-point offer the first of which was prohibition, as a preliminary to efforts to arrive at an agreed solution of India's political problem. When this was ignored, he wrote to the Viceroy on the 2nd March, 1930 explaining the reasons for his decision to initiate Civil Disobedience by breaking the salt law. In this celebrated letter, he gave India's views on the drink and drug problem:

"It saps the foundations both of their health and morals, it is defended under the false plea of individual freedom, but, in reality, it is maintained for its own sake. The ingenuity of the authors of the Reforms of 1919 transferred this revenue to the so-called responsible part of dyarchy so as to throw the burden of prohibition on it, thus from the very beginning rendering it powerless for good. If the unhappy Minister wipes out this revenue he must starve education, since in the existing circumstances he has no new source of replacing that revenue."

Then came the march to Dandi lasting for 24 days from the 12th March to the 5th April in the course of which he preached prohibition, requested the people to cut down palm trees and set the example himself.

On the eve of his arrest which happened at 1 a.m. on the 5th May, 1930 he dictated a last message in the course of which he said, "Women should picket liquor and opium shops and foreign cloth shops." This work was allotted to them because he felt that, by nature, they are better fitted to carry it on in a truly non-violent spirit.

The Congress Working Committee which met at Allahabad after Gandhiji's arrest passed a resolution on prohibition which reads as follows:

"The Committee once again emphasises the necessity of carrying on an intensive propaganda in favour of total prohibition and calls upon the Provincial Congress Committees to picket liquor or toddy shops."

This resolution marks the second all-India attempt to eliminate drink and drugs through our own efforts and in the face of official opposition. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has described the results achieved by the end of 1930 as follows. The picketing of liquor shops in Bihar "caused a loss of 40 lacs to Government," in the Central Provinces, now known as Madhya Pradesh "liquor bids went down by 60 per cent," in Kerala toddy sales went down by 70 per cent, and in Tamil Nadu, "stoppage of toddy sales was the scent of firing and several lathi charges."

It is to be noted that Gandhiji was in prison when most of these events took place and the fact that they happened in different and widely separated parts of India is a clear indication of the universal popularity of the prohibition movement.

(To be continued)

CONGRESS—OLD AND NEW

Face Facts

By BIRENDRANATH GUHA

IN a few days the nation would go to the polls to elect representatives to Legislatures. The Congress has appealed to electors as the legatee of Mahatma Gandhi, and also as the representative of the nation. The legatee forfeits legacy if he fails to act or do not act as a legatee. Has the Congress in Government acted as the legatee of Mahatma Gandhi? Has the Congress today the complexion that gave it the national character? It is time these questions were assessed.

The Congress was the spearhead of the national will to win back lost freedom. And that gave it the nation's support. The Congress promised a new economic order: it was pledged to reconstruct India's economic independence according to her genius.

With the attainment of political freedom and assumption of power the Congress dropped its national character and resolved itself into a party. The Congress thus almost imperceptibly underwent a sea change. What was a whole became a part now. Conservative by nature people are slow to recognize a change. But not so Congressmen in Government. Even in 1947 they knew what they wanted and where they were drifting. A reference to the nomination of the Congress President after Acharya Kripalani had resigned would bear testimony to what we say. Louis Fischer in his *Mahatma Gandhi* writes:

"The choice of a successor to Kripalani assumed key importance. The election of a puppet who obeyed the Government would signalize the elimination of effective political opposition. Gandhi proposed the name of Acharya Narendra Dev, the Socialist leader. The Socialists were then still inside the Congress party. But their ideological, political and personal differences with right-wing Congressmen presumably encouraged Gandhi in the belief that they might be able to control and check trends within the Congress."

But neither Nehru nor Patel would have Acharya Narendra Dev. They induced Rajendra Prasad to accept the Presidentship. Gandhi advised him not to. Louis Fischer writes again:

"Nehru and Patel were heads of the Government. They were also leaders of the Congress Party. Their popularity and hold on the Congress machine enabled them to dominate the party. Why then should they accept the Congress President as a curb on their power? Why should they give him a veto on their proposals?"

From the above a clear picture of the post-independent Congress emerges. Gandhi sought to give the Congress a new shape. He wanted to make it the vehicle of the new economic order he had envisaged. He asked the Congress to turn itself into Lok Sevak Sangh, his last gift to the nation, and be the builders of a new civilization and the watch-dogs of the people's

interest. The last gift of the Father of the Nation too was not acceptable to Congressmen in Government and their supporters outside.

Let us look into the question—if the Congress is what it had been before political freedom was attained—from another aspect. The Ahmedabad sitting of the All-India Congress Committee passed a unity resolution. And on the eve of the Nasik Session of the Congress a Central Cabinet Minister Shri R. R. Diwakar gave us a 'Serve and save the Congress' prescription. Later on, the Congress Working Committee unanimously agreed breaches 'must' be dealt with in accordance with the rules. The maintenance of discipline among Congress workers was particularly necessary 'in the circumstances of today.' The Nehru Resolution, the Diwakar Prescription, and the Working Committee decision have all failed to take note of the all-important thing, the nature and extent of the Congress malady. Unity efforts or a prescription or stern disciplinary action to be effective must first determine the disease.

A thing cannot rest in the air. It must either have legs to stand upon or pegs to hang from. The Congress edifice rested on two pegs. The struggle for throwing off the foreign yoke represented the first peg. The other peg was the constructive activities of the Congress which aimed at replacing the centralised economic order by a decentralised one. Under that scheme each village was to be a small republic, the unit of the State, self-sufficient in primary needs of life. So one peg represented political freedom of India and the other the economic independence of India as Gandhi envisaged it.

Political freedom may be compared to the heart whose function is to pump blood to the limbs according to their needs. And the blood so distributed represents the economic freedom of a country. Economic freedom of a country is good, bad or indifferent according as this distribution is good, bad or indifferent.

Britishers were made to quit. The usurped heart was recovered. And with that the function of the first peg ended. It, naturally, fell off. But it fell off not before it had given us political freedom—the heart—without which you cannot proceed to reconstruct. To construct the other half of our freedom we were now free to push blood to the various limbs equitably, with, of course, a liberal flow to the hitherto starved ones. But at the crucial moment we hesitated. We quailed before the task. The Congress forsook Gandhi, the one true revolutionary. It went the other way about. Congressmen in Government and their

supporters outside chose to walk the way of Western democracies; they blindly subscribed to the unplanned science 'the salvation of mankind' theory. So the economic independence of Gandhi's conception so long subscribed to by the Congress also went overboard. Thus Congress forgot the mission Gandhi gave us, the mission to create a new civilization. And that one urge in spite of our differences bound us together. That mission, the self-forgetting urge, the second of the two pegs that yet sustained the Congress also went. Mission forgotten only lure for political power remained. So the Indian National Congress came to be a party, but it all the same clung to its claim to be the representative of the people it had once been.

Naturally fissures appeared in the Congress. You cannot contain the whole in a part. The container in that case is bound to burst. And so the Congress has burst. Nature provides for checks as it does for escapes. And a thing disrupts to create anew. We failed to recognise this and the malady has gone deep. You cannot restore it to health unless you have given it back some strong cementing force.

The Congress party swears by Democracy. Now, true Democracy invites criticism and evolves opposition. Honest criticism and effective opposition are the life breath of democracy. But the Congress party is behaving to the contrary. Rather than welcome the growth of an effective opposition it has been seeking to prevent its formation. In fact, top Congressmen in Government made no secret of their opposition to the formation of an opposition. They demanded (the word is used advisedly) that there should be no opposition for a decade and a half to come. That, they said, would mean ruin for India. This opposition would have been intelligible if the pattern of the Union Government were not after the Western Democracy, or if the rulers were cast in the mould of Dharma-Asoka or Omar.

To resent opposition is to deny democracy. Gandhi detected this trend in the Congress Government. And it made Gandhi uneasy. How to check that was the question that exercised his mind. This is how one from a Western democracy, Louis Fischer, has analysed it in his *Mahatma Gandhi*:

"Gandhi seldom made an adverse criticism without suggesting a concrete cure. He had criticized the Congress Party and the new Government of independent India. What did he propose?"

"Gandhi was quick to see that the freedom of India raised the question of freedom in India. How could India remain a democracy?"

"There was only one major party, the Congress party, and it enjoyed vast prestige as the party of Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, the party which had fought and won the battle for liberation from Britain. Other parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communists were insignificant."

"The question Gandhi pondered was: Could the Congress party guide and curb the Govern-

ment? He had not studied political conditions in the Soviet Union or Franco Spain or other totalitarian countries, but by intuition he arrived at conclusions which others had reached after long experience and analysis: he realized that a one-party system could actually be a no-party system, for when the Government and party are one, the party is a rubber stamp and leads only a fictitious existence.

"If the one important party in India, the Congress, did not maintain an independent, critical attitude towards the Government, who could act as a brake on any autocratic tendencies that might develop in the Government?"

"Without free criticism and potent opposition democracy dies."

"Without political criticism and opposition, a nation's intellect, culture, and public morality stagnate; big men are purged and small men become kowtowing pygmies. The leaders surround themselves with cowards, sycophants and grovelling yes-men whose automatic approval is misread as a tribute to greatness."

"Could the Congress party, with aid from Gandhi and from the free press, prevent such a development in India?"

We have seen above that Gandhi's recommendation in respect of the nomination of Congress President was rejected. Acharya Narendra Dev was rejected: Gandhi was rejected. That the Congress was unable to guide and curb the Government was plain also from the speech of a retiring Congress President, Pattavi Sitaramayya, and the manner of expulsion of the succeeding President Purushottamdas Tandon.

So that is the complexion of what we parade as democracy. You cannot claim to be a democrat and seek all the same to stifle opposition. And that is exactly what the Congress party is doing. Our constitution is largely an ill-assorted carbon copy of British and American constitutions but minus the most striking trait that there is in the British constitution. The British constitution provides for, fosters and respects opposition. The Government there is called the King's Government, and the opposition the King's Opposition. One may say the King of England asks one party to rule, and at the same time asks the other party to oppose them. Healthy growth needs healthy checks. As in nature, we find in the British constitution provision for healthy checks. But our Congress Government resents criticism and opposes the formation of an opposition.

Now to the 'Serve and save the Congress' slogan. Serve what Congress? And save what Congress? The old Congress is dead. The Gandhian Congress stood for decentralization of industries so as to prevent concentration of capital and hence of power in a few hands. The Congress today seeks salvation in centralised big industries. The Congress was then working for making each village a small republic, self-sufficient in primary needs of life. And the State was to be composed of congeries of such village republics. Through

various works Congress then was seeking to organize the masses for united action against any encroachment on their rights by the rulers. In other words, the aim of the Congress then was to put in the hands of the masses a weapon, satyagraha, which the power-that-be could not snatch away. The post-independent Congress has forsaken that ideal, that path. So 'serve' today means anything but what it meant then. Serving the Congress today is canvassing support for Government policy, good, bad or indifferent. Congress cannot be saved that way. That way you may only kill it. To save the Congress you must give it back the mission it has forgotten—the mission to fashion a new economic order, a new civilization. If you do not, then

there is no resurrection of the Congress that is stone dead. And for that Congress will have to walk the way of a Fakir. They in China are doing that. Outside office hours ministers there jostle their way into buses as others do. No cars are to be seen in the streets. There is therefore small wonder that they have succeeded so effectively to collar corruption and black-marketing. The way of the Ameer the Congress has been walking would involve the Congress in ruin and with that the Government. We may not forget that India today in the name of the Congress is riding to her ruin. And in her ruin India will kill the promise of liberation Gandhi held out to the down-trodden of the world.

—O:—

LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

It was observed when Mr. Churchill rose to make his first speech in the new Parliament he began in gathering darkness. As he proceeded, the lights came on all over the House. This seemed an appropriate and excellent omen—and may it indeed foretell the shape of things to come. But even if the lights after putting in an appearance had ended in a general fuse, I do not think they could have cast a chill on the present purposeful mood of the country.

After six years of Labour Government, latterly working on a shoe-string majority, everyone is glad of a change. Everyone is glad that there is a man at the head of the State whose courage is undoubted and who will have the assistance of able and fresh minds. (There is plenty of new blood in the Government. Indeed there have been several surprises in the people who have been passed over.) Mr. Attlee, perhaps, is the most relieved of all. He has just been awarded the O.M. But no one feels like conceding it to any others in his late Government. And if in fact he had been returned to power, could he have got a team together? My guess is that he would have had to seek a Coalition. In no other way, it seems to me, could he have got over the problem of what to do with Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. Aneurin Bevan. The one is the strongest organizing force in the Labour Party, impossible to pass over, and yet at Albadan he had landed the country in its biggest humiliation since the days of Charles II and, worse still, in doing so had completely upset the apple cart in the Middle East. The other, though returned at the head of the poll in the voting for the party Executive—and so not to be passed over by anyone observing the ordinary rules of constitutional procedure—is anathema to the T.U.C. whose leaders he has attacked and who are determined to be rid of him. Nothing but party trouble was in store for another Labour Government: party trouble piled on top of the formidable troubles besetting the nation. It was a good thing for the Labour Party that they lost the Election. It

will be a good thing for the country if they reflect upon this.

The new Government, for its part, has begun in conciliatory mood. It is plainly anxious to get as much support as possible for the measures that must be taken to overcome the present two-fold crisis in our monetary and our international affairs. It took an early opportunity to prove this. The Labour Party, with doubtful political wisdom, challenged the traditional method of selecting the new Speaker. (The first time this has happened for fifty years.) Though it has been the accepted thing for the Government to choose the Speaker and the Opposition the Deputy-Speaker, Labour put forward its own nominee for the Speakership. Defeated on this they sulked in their tents and declined to nominate the Deputy-Speaker—which meant that the Government must provide both and thereby reduce its voting majority by two as neither the Speaker nor his Deputy vote. The Government could have made good this loss if they had done what everyone had expected them to do and that was to restore University representation. But Mr. Churchill showed a political wisdom of another kind. He decided it was not the moment for controversy. Perhaps the *Spectator* is worth quoting on this point. "The Prime Minister, as he said on Tuesday, would be fully justified in introducing legislation for the restoration of the university seats forthwith. The Speaker's Conference of 1944, on which the Labour Party was largely represented, recommended unanimously that 'the existing University representation and methods of election shall be retained.' From the moment the Labour Party disregarded that decision and carried a clause abolishing the seats Mr. Churchill has repeatedly stated that when the Conservatives were returned to power they would restore them; no one knew then what the Conservative majority, if any, in the House of Commons would be, and its size is, in fact, irrelevant to the main issue. But at a juncture like the present first things must come first. . ."

LONDON LETTER

Close on the heels of the Opening of Parliament came the Lord Mayor's Show and the Guildhall Banquet. If the King had been in good health—and had opened Parliament in state—what a feast of pageantry would have been crammed into our wet and gloomy November streets. As things were, the Speech from the Throne was read by a Lord Chancellor struggling manfully against a heavy cold and the Lord Mayor's Show was shorn of all the usual tableaux. But at the Banquet at the Guildhall there were many consolations. First of all Sir Lealie Boyce is something quite out of the ordinary in the way of Lord Mayors. He is an Australian; he has a flair for history and feels the pull of London's long past; and he is a very good and forthright speaker. Mr. Churchill, as we have seen, is being very circumspect about University representation. He is all for letting sleeping dogs lie. But the City of London representation, also abolished by the Labour Government along with University representation, is in the Lord Mayor's view a dog of another kidney. A watchdog in fact! And the City wants its dog back again. In plain set terms the Lord Mayor asked the Prime Minister to give them an assurance that very night that their representation in Parliament would be restored to them. Mr. Churchill said in his reply that he shared the Lord Mayor's regrets that we have no member for the City of London in the House of Commons. But he added: "We must not introduce party politics on this occasion. . . . But is the representation in Parliament of the ancient City of London a matter of party politics? Mr. Churchill, like King Harry, 'loves a man.' How he must have enjoyed being tackled on a ticklish question by a man who knows his own mind and who more-over took his stand on Mr. Churchill's own chosen ground of history. Indeed our new Lord Mayor is pithy and to be remembered. His watch-dog is stirring in its sleep. "Since Queen Elizabeth opened the first Royal Exchange," he insisted, "it has been not only its pre-eminent position in the world of commerce which has given the City the right to speak with some authority on affairs of State. At many of the most critical periods of our national history it has been the influence of London, and of its Lord Mayors which has turned the scales in favour of the people's liberties. There were even times in the eighteenth century when the City of London turned the scales against the House of Commons, in defence of the people's liberties." I must not linger on this point. But in these days of irksome if inescapable controls, it is stimulating to find a breath of liberty blowing from the City of London.

Mr. Churchill's speech, as with every relevant speech these days on the general situation, was concerned mainly with Russia and her satellites and America and the rest of the world—the Gog and Magog of the present age. The point which everyone has seized on is his allusion to the fact that in East Anglia we have provided the principal atomic base for the United States. It is indeed amazing how few people, either at home or

abroad, seem to be aware of this truly momentous undertaking. For, as he pointed out, we have in consequence 'placed ourselves in the very forefront of Soviet antagonism.'

Soviet antagonism . . . Is there any way of inducing the Russian Government to relax? In England now the magic word is *climate*. The Government attaches tremendous importance to this spiritual thing. Only if they can create the right climate, secure the co-operation of men of good will of all classes regardless of party interest, do they see any hope of pulling the country out of its near to desperate economic difficulties. With Russia also, is not the problem one of changing the mental climate?

I must confess that the idea of getting Russia to change her methods seems to me, on the face of it, about as feasible as drinking oceans dry. For if Russia wanted to change the international climate, she could do so tomorrow by taking a very simple step. She could release those Russian wives and allow them to join their husbands in England. No other action of hers has created more indignation. It is considered on a par with the Nazis' cruel trick of forcing compulsory divorce on German-Jewish couples.

But in Europe of course Russia does her greatest mischief in Jugo-Slavia. Before the War Jugo-Slavia, under King Alexander, tried to bring about an entente between the Balkan Powers. For decades their relations with one another had been bedevilled by Russia or Austria, latterly by Italy and Germany, who were all competing for supremacy in that area. Jugo-Slavia had hoped to give them a Balkan entity, but that hope faded when Alexander was murdered (with Italian connivance). To-day Russian imperialism is the bird of prey which hovers over the Balkans; and her satellites—Roumania, Hungary and Bulgaria—surround Jugo-Slavia, spying on her, harassing her, and kidnapping her nationals. Jugo-Slavia is their victim because she is the only Communist country in existence which refuses to come under the Russian umbrella. (As a Russian orthodox bishop, now ministering to Orthodox communities in this country, remarked the other day: "The present tyranny in Russia is the only tyranny in history which has arrogated to itself the words of the Saviour: 'He who is not for me, is against me'.")

The Russian Government may not wish to do anything to improve the international climate, but the climate certainly has altered a little since Mr. Churchill's Government took office. America, Britain and France have put forward a proposal for the regulation of arms and there is the new project for creating a Middle East Defence Command which is sponsored by America, Britain, France and Turkey. M. Vyshinsky rejected the proposal about regulating arms in a speech which amused himself and the Russian satellites immensely (but if any of them knew their Swinburne it may have occurred to them that such laughter was rather

'like a man's laughter heard in hell.') Russian diplomatic methods in fact have robbed the word *diplomacy* of its age-old attributes. Until the present age, to be 'diplomatic' meant to be tactful and conciliatory in manner. But Russia's principal 'diplomat' glories in disappointing other people's hopes and in employing the brusque and most derisive language he can find. He is not sent to the United Nations, evidently, with the injunction to seek some means of coming to terms with his fellow delegates. He must even pretend that he does not understand them.

But however blind it suits M. Vyshinsky to seem when he attends United Nations conferences, we may feel quite sure that in Moscow Mr. Churchill's speech at the Guildhall has been scrutinised by the sharpest eyes they have. Over and over again they must have pondered what he had to say about Gog and Magog. And in one passage at least it does seem as if he believes that war can be avoided. Here it is: 'World politics, like the history of Gog and Magog, are very confused and much disputed. Still, I think there is room for both Gog and Magog.'

The Government is only a fortnight old and has scarcely had time to look about its business. None the less there is the conviction that Mr. Churchill will make a supreme effort to settle the Russian problem. I cannot recall his exact words but, during the Election, he certainly said that he would like to be able to make one more effort to win the peace. One way of winning the peace is to continue to build up armaments and alliances until Russia is at last 'contained.' Another and better way is to convince M. Stalin and the Polit Bureau that we want war just as little as we want Russian imperialism. At the moment of writing Lord Beaverbrook has informed American newspapermen that he expects Mr. Churchill will try to have a meeting with M. Stalin. This may be merely kite-flying but it is a good kite.

It will not be enough for the West to escape a collision with Russia. Somehow a way must be found of persuading Russia to get rid of her iron curtain. The Russian Revolution is unique in history in that it has never been upset. In other ages there have been revolutions followed by counter-revolutions. But this does not happen in Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution succeeded because Russia was in chaos, as a result of the collapse of her armies, and so a determined minority was able to seize power. No minority now, however determined, could seize power from the Bolsheviks. They would first have to overcome the Secret Police and the Red Army.

Still, a huge segment of the world cannot indefinitely cut itself off from the rest of mankind. Sooner or later, indeed, the Russians themselves will want to get out. For if the Bolshevik regime seems to go on for ever, the nature of that regime itself is undergoing great changes. A most interesting series of articles is appearing in the London newspaper the *Sunday Times*.

It is entitled *Beyond The Iron Curtain* and is written by Sir David Kelly who until recently was our Ambassador in Moscow. It gives a picture of present-day life in Russia and it is not an attractive one. Innocents abroad who imagine that Communism is another word for a worker's paradise will be sharply disillusioned. The one class in Russia which has a perfectly awful time is the working class. 'A worker who is over twenty minutes late gets up to six months' corrective labour in his place of employment and is fined one week's wages a month; for being over twenty minutes late three times in one month he gets two to four months' imprisonment—much longer if the factory is working for defence.'

The ordinary worker in Russia just does not get a look-in. Only the exceptional person can make a good life for himself and his family. In England today a clever boy or girl (often merely a studious one) can reach the university whatever the merits or demerits of his home background. But in Russia this would depend on the parents' earnings. It is the same with housing. Only the exceptional person will get the more adequate living space. It is worth quoting the Ambassador on these very material points. 'Inequality in salaries is now on a scale fast becoming unthinkable in England, but even more important is inequality in privilege. The very fact that all activities are controlled by the State has enabled the use of privilege as a reward and incentive to remain the basis of the whole system . . . the benefits of privilege are extended to all those workers in farm or factory who by super-normal efficiency earn the right not only to vastly greater wages but to greater privileges for themselves and their families in facilities for travel, holidays, amusements, motor-cars, education and, perhaps, most important of all, in housing accommodation. From these privileged workers are recruited the new entrants into the governing class, especially owing to the educational facilities. Not only can they alone of their class afford the fees and expense now necessary for higher education; it is also that their better housing conditions give their children an obvious advantage in scholarship and other competitive examinations.'

The Workers' Republic has lost sight of the worker and it is the old story of 'the zeal of my house has eaten me up.' But perhaps after all Russia will owe her escape from the Bolshevik dictatorship to the privileged class which it is creating. How long can these privileged people, with their motor cars and their travel, be content to remain behind their Iron Curtain? And this worship of efficiency, surely in time it will spread to things of the mind. History students will find their researches leading them to sources in other lands, Greek scholars will want to visit Athens and architects to visit Rome . . .

And then no doubt Russian diplomats will learn to be 'diplomatic.'

Westminster, London, November, 1951

UNION EXECUTIVE IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

A number of learned articles have lately appeared in the pages of this and other journals in this country on the above subject and a good deal of discussion and controversy, sometimes heated and acrimonious, has already taken place. If I am adding another to the already numerous papers on the subject, it is not with a view to entering the lists against those who have already appeared in the field before me, but to give in as clear language as I can, my own reading of the subject, and the only justification that I may offer for my writing on this much debated subject is that on a subject like this there cannot be any last word and hardly any two people will look at a constitutional problem from exactly the same angle or view it exactly in the same light. Moreover, our constitution has only just come out of the anvil, it has hardly had time to take a proper shape which it will do only in course of its working. With the lapse of time it is bound, as any other constitution in the world, to undergo changes both in its form and substance, as in the course of its working it confronts new and ever changing situations, calling for fresh interpretation of the institutions set up by the original constitution. This is equally true of both the so-called written constitutions like ours and of unwritten constitutions like that of England. I have a feeling that this aspect of the matter has not been adequately appreciated, if at all, in most of the previous papers written on the subject. The controversy has mainly turned, as I have understood it, on the question whether the nature of the Union Executive is of a pure and orthodox brand of the parliamentary system as it has evolved in England or not. In the nature of things two constitutions cannot be exactly alike, even though one is modelled on the other; because the constitution of a country is the visible expression of the organic life of the community. It must necessarily fit in with the peculiar conditions of each country and with the passage of time it tends to deviate more and more from the original pattern. We have only to study the working of parliamentary system in France and the Self-governing Dominions to verify the truth of the statement. So it is idle to attempt to describe the nature of a constitution by reference to a particular type and place it rigidly under a known category.

Coming to our new constitution there is no doubt that the system of government both at the Centre and in the States has been modelled by and large on that of England, but not wholly so, we have borrowed extensively from other constitutions also. As Mr. S. N. Mukherjee, Joint Secretary to the Constituent Assembly points out*:

"The authors of the Indian constitution have drawn from the rich experience of the working of the most of the modern constitutions of the world."

In this article we shall confine ourselves only to the Executive of the Indian Union and see how far it follows the English model and also where it deviates. The position of the Union Executive is dealt with mainly in Chapter I of Part V of the constitution. At the very outset it may be pointed out that unlike England and like France and U.S.A. we have set up a Republic with a President as the head of the State. But then our President unlike his opposite number in U.S.A. and like the English King is not the head of the government. Here he is analogous to the President of the French Republic. Like both the French and American Presidents he comes to office by a process of indirect election† and does not hold office by hereditary tenure like the English King. He is elected by an electoral college consisting of the electoral members of both Houses of Parliament and of the members of the State Legislative Assemblies. (Sec. 54). Thus the elective character of the office lends some strength or at least a consciousness of strength to the incumbent which cannot belong to a hereditary king. Of course, that strength deriving as it does from indirect form of election is not of such a character as to make it a rival of the Prime Minister and the council of Ministers who are virtually the direct nominees of the people. It is exactly this consideration that induced the authors of the constitution to discard the process of direct election for presidential election. But the Presidential electors being elected representatives of the people throughout the union both at the Union and the State level, the President is expected to have a consciousness of authority which does not quite fit in with the orthodox type of parliamentarianism which requires an absolutely powerless, ornamental, constitutional figurehead as the head of the State. How far, if at all, this advantage will be utilised by our president only the future can decide and it will also depend on a conjuncture of circumstances, such as personal factors, party affiliation of the President and the ministry, etc. But the fact is, that this is a feature which introduces the potentiality of a departure from the orthodox type as it prevails in England.

*Vide his article "The Constitution of India, An Analysis" in A. B. Patrika, Republic India supplement, January 26, 1950.

†In the case of the American President formally and legally it is a process of indirect election, though in fact it has now been converted into a process of direct election by growth of convention relating to Presidential election.

We shall first of all look at the specific provisions of the constitution dealing with the President and the council of Ministers. The executive power of the Union is vested in the President, as the head of the State.

Let us describe the specific powers granted to the President under different sections of the constitution before dealing with the general executive powers. This will, however, be only illustrative and not an exhaustive list. The President has been given the power of appointment to a number of highest offices within the Union, such as the Prime Minister of the Union directly and other Ministers on the latter's advice (Sec. 75), the Attorney-General for the Union (76-1), the Supreme Court Judges (124-2), the Judges of High Courts (217), the Comptroller and Auditor-General (148-1), the Governor of Part A State (155), the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners (324-2), the Chairman and other members of the Union Public Service Commission (316-1).

The President forms an integral part of the Union Parliament (579). He has the power to summon and prorogue the Houses of Parliament and dissolve the House of People subject to some conditions (85-2); he may address either House of Parliament or both Houses together and require the attendance of members, may send messages to either House (86-1) and (2); he is required to address the joint session of both Houses of Parliament at the commencement of every session (87-1); he is required to assent or withhold his assent to a bill passed by Parliament or if it is not a Money Bill to return it to the Houses with messages for its reconsideration in whole or part (Sec. 111); he is required to cause to be laid before Houses of Parliament the annual Financial Statement of the Union (112-1); no demand for grant may be made except on the recommendation of the President. No financial bills can be introduced in Parliament except on the recommendation of the President (Sec. 117-1). The President has the power to grant pardon and to suspend, remit or commute sentences in certain cases (Sec. 72); when Parliament is not in session and circumstances arise requiring immediate action in the opinion of the President, he may, subject to some conditions, promulgate ordinances having the force of law (123-1). He has some powers with regard to bills passed by State legislatures and reserved by the Governor for his consideration (201). The administration of Part C States is vested in the President acting through a Chief Commissioner (239-1). Lastly we come to the emergency powers of the President detailed in Part XVIII of the constitution (Secs. 352-360). Wide powers are given to the President to the extent of even practically suspending the constitution, only if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists.

It will thus be noticed that the powers assigned to

the President like those of the English crown are sweeping and all-embracing. They are not limited to the executive sphere alone but extend to legislative, financial and judicial spheres also. The question is, and it is moot point, how far if at all, the President is free to exercise these powers independently. In order to answer the question we have to discuss the provisions of the constitution defining the position of the President and the council of Ministers and their relation to each other and the implications thereof. Under Section 53(1), "the executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President." As it is not possible for the President to exercise all such powers personally it is stated further that it "shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him, but in accordance with the constitution." This allows him to delegate the exercise of any part of the executive power to Ministers or other subordinate officers, provided that is in accordance with the constitution as he interprets it. There is a qualifying clause, viz., clause (3) lagged on to the section which provides that no functions conferred by any existing law on the Government of any state or other authority will be deemed to be transferred to the President and enables Parliament to confer executive functions by law on authorities other than the President. The measure of the executive power is defined in Section 73 which states that subject to other provisions of the constitution the executive power will extend to all matters within the legislature jurisdiction of Parliament as laid down in Part XI of the constitution and to rights, authority, jurisdiction, etc., exercisable for implementing international agreements and treaties by the Government of India. There are two limitations to this definition. Firstly, the proviso to the clause prevents the extension of the executive authority of the Union to matters within the legislature jurisdiction of Part A and Part B States, unless expressly provided in the constitution or any law made by Parliament. Secondly, clause (2) of the section protects the power and functions which any State, or any of its officers or authorities might be exercising immediately before the commencement of the constitution, notwithstanding that such power and functions fall within the legislature jurisdiction of Parliament under the constitution, until Parliament by law provides otherwise. Besides the executive power of the Union in general as stated above, Section 53(2) vests another very important function in the President, without prejudice to the former, viz., "the Supreme Command of the Defence Forces of the Union," which necessarily implies the power of declaring war and making peace and directing the armed forces of the nation in the event of a national emergency. Besides these, the President has been granted under the constitution the numerous specific powers already enumerated above.

THE MIDDLE CLASS AND ITS FUTURE

By PRINCIPAL P. C. MALHOTRA, M.A.

According to Marx and Engel, "The History of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." In ancient Rome there were patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves. In the Middle Ages, there were feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs and in almost all these classes there were subordinate gradations. The modern society has not done away with class antagonism, but a complicated social stratification has been the result.

The term "Middle Class" implies the existence of a number of social layers in society, some above this intermediate group and some below it. It presumes the existence of a 'society with classes'. The emergence of a society from the simplest one gives rise to the birth of human groups in it with different statuses. The position is a fluid one to begin with and social stratification takes place later on. The rise of a feeling of class consciousness is a still later growth and is made possible by the shattering of shackles—imperceptible so long as the issues are not raised in a clear form and perceptible when political freedom makes organization possible on the part of the dispossessed or possessionless classes.

Whether viewed historically or as a present-day phenomenon the middle class cannot be considered a homogeneous social layer. The break-up of the feudal economy created a distinction of division of labour as between the producer of raw materials and the small manufacturer. The small manufacturer and trader concentrated in towns created a somewhat cohesive intermediate social and functional group (Middle-stand). The inhabitants of the towns united into self-conscious groups for purposes of securing legal privileges and rights and bringing to an end restrictions imposed by the feudal landowners. This commercial and industrial bourgeoisie of the towns occupying as it did an intermediate status between the older privileged states on the one hand and on the other the serfs and peasants invited to the land speeded up the transition from the mediaeval to the modern economy.

"The gradual transformation of this early 'intermediate estate' (Middle-stand) into a 'middle class,' comprising a mixture of more or less heterogeneous elements, is a reflection not only of the decline of the older privileged estates but also of the tendency toward increasing complexity of social structure manifested in the successive stages of the unfolding of the capitalistic system."

Economically the status of a class may in main be determined by its economic position resulting from its share in the distribution of national wealth. The transfer of the concept of status into that of a class is the result of new ideologies introducing new cleavages in society, viz., the modes of production and with whom the means of production rest i.e., whether means of production are owned by the capitalist or by the society.

According to Marx, the modern bourgeoisie which constitutes the new middle class in present-day society is a privileged upper minority feeding on surplus value and state favouritism and drives its victims into ranks of the proletariat. The new middle class therefore belongs to the same family groups as the petit bourgeoisie of small investors, senior officials, administrators, and minor professional men. The economic importance of this social group has been increasing with the advance of capitalism.

To understand the middle class let us try to understand the basis on which social and economic stratification takes place.

"Social stratification," according to Sorol "means the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower social layers. Its basis and very existence consist in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, social power and influence among the members of society."

Socio-economic stratification in a broad sense means simply the descriptive ordering of people into high and lower categories with respect to some object of differentiation or difference, primarily economic or at least quasi-economic in character. The strata thus formed may or may not form a cohesive group although Marx who reads history along a straight line believes so.

The basis of stratification can be economic, political, occupational, social, etc., and although any one of these may be having a predominating influence, class differentiation may be due to a combination of all the factors.

Stratification is something objective. The process of getting a living imposes upon certain functions statuses and roles. Social and economic groupings are categories of people distinguished on the basis of occupation, power, income, standard of living, educational function, intelligence or other criteria are denoted by the term strata. Classes are psycho-social groupings, something that is essentially subjective in character, dependent upon class consciousness. A man's class is a part of his ego—a feeling on his part of belonging to something, an identification with something larger than himself.

THE MIDDLE CLASS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The middle class has been considered to be the bulwark against sudden changes in society. This class is the preserver of traditions. It believes in tradition and not in change. This class which consists of several layers—the upper and the lower middle class—hobnob with the capitalist and the proletariat. It is averse to sudden changes and has remarkable capacity for compromise. It can think but cannot act. It has divided

intellectual sympathies and is afraid of parting company with its ways of life. It suffers from a queer snugginess which savours of snobbery.

"It is a mixture of heterogeneous elements, some in undisguised conflict. The farmer desires a high protective tariff, but the artisan desires low commodity prices, while the industrialist and merchants export, the public official favours high salaries, the small shopkeeper and tradesman favour low taxes; as regards ways and social policy the salaried employees have the pronounced interests of those who are given work, but the small capitalists have the equally definite interest of those who give it."

The middle class has preferred security with even pittance to uncertain high incomes; it has cherished prestige to power; it has favoured stability to revolutionary progress. The intellectual proletariat—the doctors without patients, the lawyers without clients and the writers without readers—have lip-sympathy with the proletariat arising not out of conviction but born of a natural sense of frustration, and the spirit of rebellion in this class clashes with the remnants of pretensions and ideals implanted in the impressionable years of academic training.

"While the dispirited lawyer or journalist or artist is seldom averse to airing his impatience with the common run of the middle class he shows little inclination to sacrifice his deeply ingrained sense of personal integrity and self-sufficiency to the rigid discipline of socialist organization and tactics. If pressed for his positive social ideals, he would subscribe to diluted co-operationism or anarchism, provided that his own scheme of values was left untouched or not infrequently he might disclaim any ideals In so far as such intellectualization eventuates in any formal point of view the tendency is towards vindication of the status quo."

The middle class has tried to steer a middle course in the midst of conflicting ideologies. In this attempt it has presented a spectacle of a man who seeks escape from his oppressor but who while in flight is recaptured and returned to his former master. This class may well remain in a state of indecision between surrender and resistance, but it will become apparent that merely nominal opposition to financial capital may not be essentially different from outright support and that the logic of the situation demands active co-operation with the workers.

Many writers in the thirties and forties of this century emphasised the importance of increased co-operation between labour and the so-called middle class as a means to peaceful and democratic change towards a socialised order. Fascism succeeded in Germany because of a lack of this type of co-operative arrangement. As socialism approached political power in Germany, declared Covy:

"It was immobilised by failure to get the support of the non-proletarian groups necessary for a democratic majority. The emphasis on the proletariat alienated the middle classes and peasants, who saw in socialism an expression only of proletarian interests."

The importance of alliance between the working class and the middle class so as to enlarge the appeal of the British Labour Party to the nation was pointed out by Prof. Laski in the following words:

"The Labour Party has got to make the man of science, the technician, the managerial class, recognise that the kind of society for which it stands offers them an opportunity, a power, a security, which they cannot attain under the present order. It has got to win for a planned democracy groups that have so far largely failed to recognise its claims, groups, moreover, upon whose contribution the success of a planned democracy in large part depends."

THE MIDDLE CLASS IN INDIA

In India the middle class has often been treated as synonymous with the educated middle class; persons who are not well-to-do enough to dispense with earning their own livelihood, are included in this classification. It is the most vocal and enlightened group of Indian society and yet it is the least organised one. A good percentage of the educated middle class in India is accounted for by employment in public service in which the workers are supposed to have no politics, that is they must keep their views to themselves and because, apart from the abnormal rise in prices since the last World War, conditions of work and emoluments were such as to give status, reasonably living wages, security and consequently contentment. Persons belonging to the liberal professions who had good incomes became leaders of men in Indian society. The middle class has been having prestige, position and even power in contemporary India. The last world depression led to an increase in the value of money-incomes of fixed-income group, but the growing un-employment amongst educated middle classes during this period led to a serious study by various provincial committees regarding the causes of widespread unemployment. The educational system the lack of industrial development and the desire to follow soft professions were considered to be the chief causes aggravating unemployment in this group. But the middle classes in India on account of the general prevalence of the joint family system were able to absorb the shock of educated unemployment amongst their ranks. The small zamindars, the small capitalists, the small enterprisers and the traders also constituted parts of the middle class lump in India. The middle class has been the preserver of India's tradition as well as the harbinger of the new light in the country. The democratic surge throughout the world exempted their class from a sort of antipathy growing against the rich and the sort of condescending sympathy that was developing in favour of the labouring class. The middle class derives its forte from this situation and a sort of middle class complex which was supposed to give to the people belonging to this class the best of both the worlds began to make the people of this class conscious of their special role in society. This middle class com-

plex may as well be called snobbery of the middle class because it began to give itself airs which prevented them subsequently from confessing their miserable plight when the economic tide turned against them during the last decade of rising prices and when this class found itself being ground between the two millstones of the rich capitalist and the labour class.

A middle class family in India is supposed to be one with an income varying within a range of Rs. 100 to Rs. 400 according to *The Report on the Diet and Health Survey of Middle Class Families in Bombay City* conducted by the Indian Statistical Institute. Another enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Commerce in the form of *The Report of Enquiry into the Family Budgets of the Middle Class Employees of the Central Government* found the average monthly income per middle class family varying from Rs. 159-6 in the province of Madras to Rs. 268-1 in Delhi. The report discovered a disequilibrium between income and expenditure everywhere. The deficit varied from Rs. 15-7 per family or Rs. 3-8 per consumption unit in the case of Delhi to Rs. 51-5 per family or Rs. 10-7 per consumption unit in the Punjab block and Rs. 10-2 per consumption unit in Bombay city. Deficits were met in many instances from previous savings made during the good times before the War or from temporary loans from relatives and friends.

The Eastern Economist's Index Number of the Middle Class cost of living in India has revealed distressing conclusions. The Index Number in the case of lower middle class families (income between Rs. 30 and Rs. 300 per month in August 1939) rose to 385.5 in July 1950 as against Bombay Working Class cost of living Index of 303.8. As the rise in incomes in the case of the middle class has not been proportionate to the increase in the cost of living, the burden has been borne by way of cuts in the consumption of those articles which constituted the difference in the living of the middle class and the labour, e.g., fall in the consumption of milk, milk products, oil and fats. The liquidation of this class is a loss which cannot be computed in economic terms, for the characteristics of the obliterated middle class cannot be transferred to the labour class into which it is being transformed. The higher income brackets have not escaped from the attritioning effects of high prices, and there have been increasing signs of uneasiness on the part of this section of Indian society too.

Income, however, is not a correct index of social and economic position. The question is not what a man's income is but what he derives from it. As a consequence of the high prices prevailing, a large section of what now constitutes the so-called middle class may in reality form a part of the proletariat as the merest daily labourer. In fact, economically the position of the labourer may be much better than persons of equal

income belonging to the middle class as the latter has to conform to a certain external standard of life which has made his position pitiable. The business community has been able to pass on the incidence of higher cost of production to the consumers, persons with variable incomes are able to shift the weight of higher prices on to the persons with fixed incomes. The middle class in India has consequently been squeezed between the double pressure of the manufacturing-cum-trading community and the wage-earning class. The question is how long can the middle class stand this double pressure. The middle class from the Punjab, Sindh and Bengal have been crushed as a consequence of partition. Thus the forces tending towards the liquidation of the middle class in India have been gathering force rather quickly.

The epitaph of the middle class is being written. The question is what attitude may be expected of this class in the crisis. It cannot afford to remain in a state of oscillation between surrender and resistance to the forces working against it indefinitely. Mere nominal opposition to these forces may not be different from outright support. The logic of the situation demands a positive attitude and determined action. The Government of the country will also have to follow a positive policy towards this class. Does the ship of the state need the stabilising ballast of the middle class? Can the cultural and social renaissance in the country be accomplished by permitting this class to be attritioned if not liquidated? Can the high tide of the growing power of labour forces be permitted to have their full sway? The attitude of the middle class and that of the State towards the above-mentioned questions is going to be the major determinants of the social and economic patterns of the future in the country.

India's middle class have made it possible for the ship of the country to move on even keel even in the midst of stormy seas. The demoralisation of this class would tend to unleash the forces of an undesirable revolution. It would be a great misfortune if timely notice of this portent is not taken widely. The caveat contained in the following lines taken from the *London Economist* points out succinctly the desperateness of the situation.

"In a normal society the ideals of youth fade away with age and family cares and a secure job. But in an inflation even the able find themselves chasing the pot at the end of the rainbow. No matter how hard they work, no matter how many promotions they receive, taxes and cost of living seem to go up as quickly as their pay, while the average number of the middle class faces a low squeeze of all his standards, a slow destruction of all his hopes for his own future and those of his sons. When the shop-keeper flourishes and the clerk starves, revolution is round the corner, for the educated middle class will tolerate only so much."

THE TRAGEDY OF A WALL

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

A few months ago I had occasion to go and see the sanatorium at Gorakhpur and stayed there for a fortnight at the suggestion of Shri Mahavir Prasadji Poddar. I knew there were a few sites round about Gorakhpur associated with the life of Lord Buddha, but it was a pleasant surprise to hear that the sacred birth-place of Mahatma Kabir was only about fifteen miles away. It is called Magahar, one of the smaller stations on the O. T. Railway. Kabir's tomb is about half a mile from the station; one can even see from the train white structures clustering round the place. The village of Magahar is close by where weavers have been plying their trade since olden times.

I have loved and revered the personality of Kabir since my childhood. His poems are simple but deeply suggestive. Not only was he a saint who had attained the final beatitude but a great synthesizer, one who had striven with might and main to bring amity between the Hindus and the Muslims and to rescue them from the evils of bigotry and fanaticism.

Naturally I wanted to go and pay my respects at Kabir's tomb and one day found myself at the place. It is said when Kabir died, the Hindus and Muslims quarrelled among themselves over the final rites of his remains. The Muslims wanted to bury them, the Hindus to cremate them. Finally, happening to lift his shroud, they found that two flowers were all that remained of his mortal frame. The Hindus took one, the Muslims the other and both erected shrines over them in accordance with their respective customs. The two memorials, one a Temple and the other a Masjid, are still standing, places of daily worship and prayer.

First, I went to the Hindu temple, and found two Kabirpanthis engaged in a religious discussion. I learned that evening poems are recited from Kabir in the temple. Once a year, on the full-moon day of Agrahayan, Mahant Rambilas Dasji of Benares comes to Magahar and a great festival is held which is called Bhandara. I sat in the temple for some time and then expressed a wish to go to the Masjid.

"There is no way from here to the mosque, Sir!" I was informed.

I exclaimed in surprise, "Why, how is that?"

"There is a wall in between."

"And why a wall between two such places as these?"

"Please don't ask that, Babuji! The wall has been there since very long."

"Isn't there even a wicket gate to let one pass from one shrine to the other?"

"No, Sir, what good would a gate be? We don't go there at all."

I felt very grieved to hear this. There are both Hindus and Musalmans among the followers of Kabir who had so tirelessly laboured to bring the two communities together. All that effort has been in vain: a dark wall stands erect between them.

I came out of the temple and wended my way to the Masjid. Entering the shrine, I chatted with a Muslim follower of the saint and learned that here too they held a great Bhandara once a year.

"Of course you all, Hindus and Musalmans, must be eating together on the occasion of the festival," I naively asked.

"Oh no! We send flour, dal, rice, sugar and other things to the temple. All the cooking is done there."

"Then the Hindus too must be sending the same things to you at your own festival."

"No, they send us of the feast ready cooked."

"Now, how is that? Why can't the Hindus eat food prepared by you? Are you not both followers of Kabir?"

"That is right, we are both followers of Kabir. None of us ever takes meat or fish, but the Hindus will not eat food of our cooking. We don't object to eat theirs."

So even the followers of the great Kabir keep to this don't-touchism! It was very sad to hear this. The terrible chasm of don't-touchism that separates the two communities has at last cleft this land of ours in two and verily a wall has been raised between them.

I was curious to know whether the wall had always been there, and questioned my friend.

"No," he said. "There was no wall at first. But always there were quarrels between the Hindus and the Muslims. So about eighty years ago, an English officer raised this wall between the two shrines."

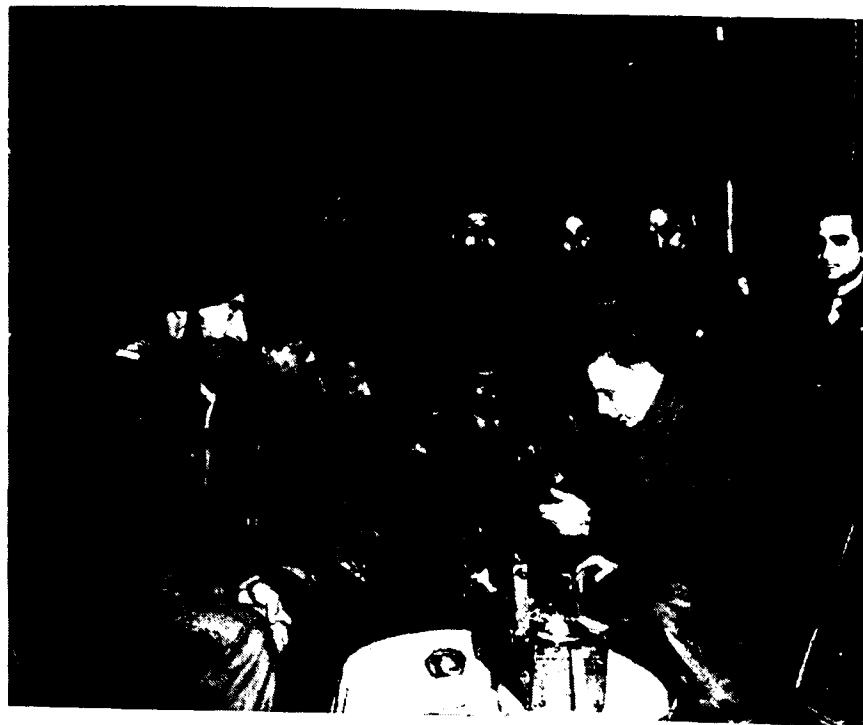
How very symbolic! It was an English officer who raised the wall between the Hindu and Muslim followers of Kabir at Magahar! Eighty years later an English Governor-General raised a political wall between the Hindus and Muslims of the whole country, to rend it in two. Here too no door is to be seen in between! Did not that wall at Magahar rising eighty years ago lay the foundations for a future Pakistan? At least I felt it so. Oh the tragedy of it all!



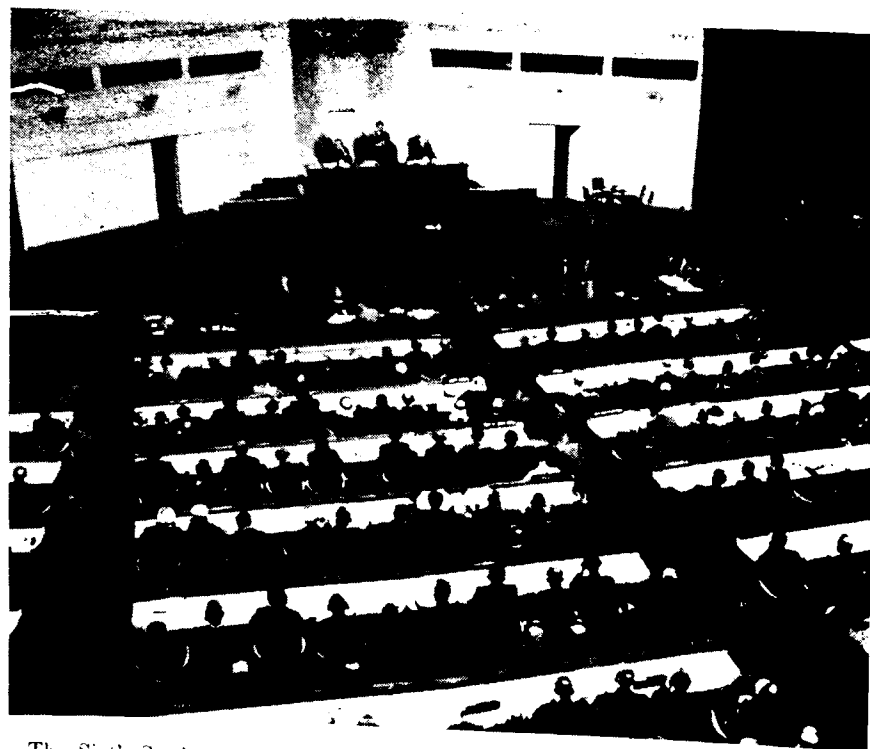
President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Chancellor of the Delhi University, conferring the degree of Doctor of Letters *Honoris Causa* on H. E. Mr. Ting S.-Lin, leader of the Chinese Cultural Delegation at a special convocation



A State Banquet was given in honour of the Chinese Cultural Delegation at Hyderabad House, New Delhi, on November 28, 1951



Major N. Banerjee, seated second from right, and other members of the 60th Indian Field Ambulance Unit in Korea are interviewed by Sergeant Stuart A. Queen of the U. S. Army in Taegu



The Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly opened in Paris on November 6, 1951

POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN SANSKRIT In the University of Calcutta

By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

INTRODUCTORY

As certain changes are going to be made in the near future in the University of Calcutta, likely affecting, among others, the Department of Sanskrit, I may, as a life-long student and lover of Sanskrit and also as a retired Head of the Department of Sanskrit, offer here a criticism on the administration and teaching of the department and make some suggestions which may be considered by the authorities concerned.

Sanskrit, though originally a language of the land, is no longer confined to it, but owing to its intrinsic merits it is studied all over the advanced countries of the world making tremendous progress in its various branches, which can in no way be ignored by a real student of it.

METHODS OF TEACHING

When this department was opened more than three and a half decades ago, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee seems to have thought that neither of the two methods of teaching, indigenous or traditional and modern, should be ignored, but both of them should be given their proper places in the University. Thus in spite of the fact that there was such an institution for Sanskrit education, as the Sanskrit College, so well-known in the country, he created this department in the University and appointed two distinct classes of teachers, one belonging to the orthodox group trained on the traditional line, among them being some renowned Pandits of the Sanskrit College, and the other knowing English, in other words, some M.A.s in Sanskrit, who were supposed only for their knowledge of English to have been familiar, or to become so gradually with the modern method. At first the teaching work of these latter class teachers was very light, being for one or two hours a week, as they were mainly advised by the great architect of the Post-Graduate studies, I mean, Sir Asutosh, first to prepare themselves, so that they might do full justice to their students by their extensive and intensive studies, specially in modern researches on Sanskrit and Sanskritic subjects.

Having arranged thus Sir Asutosh entertained a hope that students even from Oxford would come to this University to learn Sanskrit. But this pious hope of his is not yet fulfilled, nor is there any possibility of its being so, as the present condition shows.

UNSCIENTIFIC METHODS OF TEACHING

Our Sanskrit students are generally not made acquainted with the modern researches of their sub-

jects. Because most of the teachers who were meant specially for the department and were supposed to have been familiar with the subject are in reality not so, nor have they made any serious attempt for becoming so. Consequently in this respect there is, in fact, no difference between the orthodox and modern classes of teachers. I am afraid the majority of the members of the teaching staff of the department are indifferent to the question. And so, speaking truly, the traditional method, too, is not followed properly. Again, the two distinct classes of teachers noted above do not or cannot work harmoniously. For only that teacher who is fully conversant with both the methods referred to above can teach a student well and adequately, but if the same subject is taught by different teachers quite in two different methods the consequence cannot be a good one.

Owing to such defects, the department cannot be regarded as imparting the knowledge either of a University or of a Sanskrit Pathasala.

PRAKRIT AS ESSENTIAL TO SANSKRIT SCHOLARSHIP

In the very beginning Sir Asutosh introduced into the Sanskrit Department also the study of Prakrit, and this shows his deep linguistic insight even at that time. Apart from the question of the high poetic or literary excellence of Prakrit I shall touch only a few other points with regard to its importance and utility. Now-a-days in our University, Prakrit is much neglected among the so-called Sanskritists, but that was not the case with our old teachers. The great Sanskrit poet Banabhatta could not begin his *Harsacharita* composed in Sanskrit, without praising first Prakrit poems, such as *Setubandha* of Pravarasena, and the *Gaṇesaptasati* of Satavahana. The renowned Sanskrit poets, such as Subandhu in the *Vasavadatta*, Banabhatta in the *Harsacharita*, Dandin in the *Kavyadarsa*, and Dhananjaya in the *Dasarupaka* enthusiastically extol the *Brihat-katha* (Great Story) of Gunadhya, originally composed in a Prakrit called *Paisachi*. Unfortunately, it is now extinct. But there are three reductions of this great work in Sanskrit by old teachers. Unlike the present time, none was in the past regarded as a Sanskritist without the knowledge of Prakrit. Prakrit was evidently in old days a compulsory subject for a Sanskrit student. It is to be noted that Sanskrit dramas are composed not exclusively in Sanskrit, but partly also in Prakrit, and

sometimes more than one kind of Prakrits are employed therein. The author of the *Sahityadarpana*, Visvanatha Kaviraja, who was regarded as 'the Helmsman in the Ocean of Literature,' (*Sahityarnavakarnadhara*) knew not less than eighteen languages, and extols himself, poetically saying of the fact that he was a devoted master of eighteen languages just like a paramour much attached to a number of his courtesans, of these eighteen languages except one, i.e., Sanskrit, all others were Prakrit. His father, the author of the *Bhasarnava* (the Ocean of Languages) was also a master of varieties of Prakrit. The renowned poet Rajasekhara was famous as a master of all languages (*Sarvabhasachaura*, i.e., *Sarvabhasachatura*) including, of course, different kinds of Prakrit along with Sanskrit. Celebrated authors of Sanskrit grammar are found also to have been the authors of Prakrit grammars, such as Hemachandra, Kramadivara, and Purusottama.

Our rhetoric literature in Sanskrit also shows that one devoid of the knowledge of Prakrit is not thoroughly conversant with that branch of literature.

The importance of Prakrit can in no way be ignored. One may become a great Vedantist or a Mimamsist without the least knowledge of Prakrit, but it may sound strange to some that without the knowledge of Prakrit a Sanskritist is no Sanskritist in fact, for such a person cannot fully or accurately explain numerous points in the Sanskrit texts before him. Often one takes recourse to such statements as *arsaprayoga* 'employment of the Sages,' as beyond the range of rules of an ordinary grammar, or *Chhandasa* 'Vedic' meaning thereby that like a Vedic speech, the particular point cannot be restricted by ordinary rules of a grammar.

Scholars know that even the speech of the Rigveda and the Upanishada is full of Prakritism or dialectal mixture. As regards the language of the Epics, Puranas, Tantras, etc., the influence of Prakrit on Sanskrit is tremendous.

WRONG METHOD OF TEACHING SANSKRIT DRAMAS

In this connexion I should like to point out a most defective method of teaching our Sanskrit dramas even in some of the University classes. It will be seen that the Prakrit portions of a drama are taught by teachers not reading the original Prakrits, but the corresponding Sanskrit *chhayas*, i.e., approximate Sanskrit renderings. And this is obviously due to the utter negligence of teachers for Prakrit. Consequently the students, though they may come out successful in their examinations even with First Class, will hardly be able to teach the subject adequately, when they will be employed as teachers in a college in future. Thus there will follow an uninterrupted tradition of teaching which is detrimental to Sanskrit learning.

Besides, it is evident that when a thing is devoid

of its own state it can in no way keep its own merits. If milk coagulates, it invariably changes its taste. Similarly if Prakrit is rendered into Sanskrit the former loses all its beauty and charm, it cannot be expressed in words, but is to be felt only by one who has the deep insight into the subject, just like the difference of the sweetness of such things as milk, sugar, honey, etc.

Here the poetical remark of the great Prakritist Rajasekhara as in the prologue to his *Karpuramanjari* may be quoted:

"The composition in Sanskrit is harsh, while that in Prakrit is tender; the difference between them is just like that between a man and a woman."

Now let one form one's own estimate regarding the difference between the originals and their corresponding *chhayas* in Sanskrit dramas with which we are concerned here.

In this actual state of things in the University, I am much surprised to see in the revised syllabus of the department that while such a subject as the 'general principles of Indian Politics' is made a compulsory one for all the students, Prakrit is ignored altogether, though, it may be noted in this connexion that it is a compulsory subject in different Universities here in the country and abroad.

It may also be observed that by not making Prakrit a compulsory subject of studies Buddhist Sanskrit texts, so many in number, such as the *Mahavastu*, etc., various inscriptions and documents are simply made sealed books to most of our students. We cannot also allow our students to remain ignorant of the canonical literature of the Jains, composed in Prakrit. The authorities may now think over the matter calmly and carefully about my insistence on the value and importance of Prakrit as a subject to be taught along with Sanskrit in our University.

THE VEDIC LITERATURE

It is quite befitting for our country that we have the provision for teaching the Vedic literature. But it is to be regretted that not a single Vedic scholar worth special mention has yet been produced in the province after the establishment of the department.

That no student can here make a *padapatha* from the *Samhita-patha*, and vice-versa, nor is he able to recite a single line with proper accents from the Rigveda which is one of his text-books, is to be much regretted, thinking specially that ours is an Indian University, students reading here are Indian and the subject taught is also Indian.

THE MODERN INTERPRETATION

Our students must first know how we the Indians interpret our Vedas, but undoubtedly they require something more without which they cannot do. They

must not be allowed to remain ignorant of the modern interpretation put on the Vedic words by Savants, both of the Orient and the Occident. One may or may not accept such interpretation as always true, but one must know what all views really are, and they must either accept or refute them by advancing reasonable arguments.

THE IDEAS OF VEDIC SACRIFICES

A considerable portion of the Rigveda with the commentary of Sayana dealing with different Vedic rites or sacrifices is prescribed as compulsory for all the students of the different groups, specially for those of the B or Vedic group. In order to give them some ideas of old sacrifices there are collected in the department some Vedic utensils, so that a teacher may deliver some lectures on them demonstrating therewith, so far as possible. There is no want of such a competent teacher yet this lecturing is now unfortunately stopped and as it appears under the present circumstances all the utensils will ere long be removed from the Sanskrit department to that of Anthropology.

THE AVESTA

Again so far as Sanskrit and specially the Vedic Sanskrit is concerned, our students cannot shut up their eyes to the language of the Avesta. And so a few years back, a small text-book of it was prescribed at least in the Vedic group, but unfortunately in the revised syllabus it is cancelled to the immense loss to the students. This among other things clearly shows that the department has now begun to follow a regressive course. Authorities should, therefore, keep a cautious eye on it. In the field of knowledge such consideration of something as being Indian or non-Indian, or Aryan and Mleccha and action, in accordance with it, of accepting or rejecting that thing are simply suicidal.

At least I can in no way comprehend what harm can the Avesta as a language do to Sanskrit or a Sanskrit student.

THE SYLLABUS

As regards the syllabus in general it requires much modification, but here only a few points may be touched refraining from prolixity:

(i) *Vedanta*: One may observe here that though there are so many systems of Vedanta only those of Sankara and Ramanuja are represented in the syllabus, there being even no mention whatsoever of others. Consequently the students are deprived of the benefit of knowing the origin, growth and mutual relation or comparative views of all of them.

(ii) *Buddhist and Jain Logics*: In the Nyaya-Vaisesika group, so far as the Indian logic is concerned a glaring omission is made by completely ignoring the Buddhist and Jain logics, the contributions of which are so great and are for so much glory of the country. It is to be regretted that an Indian student of Indian logic should know absolutely nothing of them.

(iii) *Sanskrit Grammar*: As regards Sanskrit grammar, though the syllabus is high-sounding, it will be admitted on all hands that the teaching of the subject in the department is not satisfactory at all, and it is well-known in the University circle, and felt acutely by the students themselves. Certainly it is due not so much to anything else as to the text-book prescribed for it. The Board may, therefore, consider if the defect can be removed by recommending the *Kasika* in place of the present book. Undoubtedly the former will enable a student to have a firm footing in the subject, helping him thereby much in a very easy way in understanding Panini, which can in no way be overlooked, as it is not merely a grammar but also a rich mine of valuables.

It may be suggested that in preparing the syllabus, attention should first be paid more to the detailed subjects to be studied than to the text-books. This will be more helpful both to the teachers and the students alike. And it goes without saying that in making the syllabus specially with reference to Indian philosophy, Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, the well-known author of the *Syllabus of Indian Philosophy in the University*, may be followed with much benefit.

TIBETAN AND CHINESE IN RELATION TO SANSKRIT

As a Sanskritist I remember here again Sir Asutosh for his introduction of Tibetan and Chinese into the University, sowing thereby a seed of restoration of the invaluable treasure of the Sanskrit lore in most cases now lost in its original form, but fortunately still lying mainly in Tibetan and Chinese. This fact may not generally be known to most of us, but let one cast a glance on Bunio Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (Oxford, 1883), and P. Cordier's *Catalogue of the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur*, i.e., the Speeches of the Buddha himself and of those of the old Buddhist teachers dealing mainly with religion and philosophy (*Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1909, 1915). There is a number of translations in Tibetan also of Sanskrit works on various secular subjects, such as *Kavya Alankara*, *Vyakarana*, *Nyaya*, etc. For instance, *Meghaduta*, *Kavyadarsa*, *Panini*, etc.

This Sanskrit treasure, though originally of India, is now of the world, as shown by its own position held over all the advanced lands of the world. No Indian can rest idle until and unless these works are restored, or retranslated, or their contents are made known in any way. Difficult is the work, no doubt, but the labours of modern scholars show that it is not absolutely impossible. One may refer here to the *Abhidharmakosa* of Vasubandhu edited, annotated and translated into French by the late Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin utilizing among others the materials mainly from Tibetan and Chinese sources.

It is, therefore, our incumbent duty for getting

back our lost treasures from Tibetan and Chinese, to encourage and engage our young and energetic students, both of colleges and Sanskrit Pathasalas alike, for taking up, in right earnest, the studies of Tibetan and Chinese, and this is to be done in relation to Sanskrit.

Here, again, comes to my mind Sir Asutosh, as he himself gave the first start to such a work in the University. On December, 1921, Prof. Sylvain Levi as the first Visiting Professor, came to Santiniketan. The Visva-Bharati was formally established at that time. Sir Asutosh then placed Dr. P. C. Bagchi, then a lecturer in the Department of Indian History and Culture of the University, under him. Professor Levi trained him specially in Sino-Indian studies for a few years, Sir Asutosh meeting through the University all sorts of expenses for him and his publications as noted below. While in Paris with Prof. Levi he edited two old Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionaries (*Fan yu Tsa Ming* of Li Yen and *Fan yu Tsin Tseu Wen* of yi-lsing). These dictionaries were mainly meant for the Chinese people who wanted to read Sanskrit. We have also much to learn from them. These two volumes are published by our University from Paris under the title: *Sino-Indica: Publications de l'Université de Calcutta*. Besides, in the same series Dr. Bagchi wrote in French another two volumes entitled *Le Canon Buddhique en Chine* being the Catalogue of Buddhist saints in China.

We may think here over the nature of the work of translation in the past, and the number of men to whom the work was entrusted extending over centuries. It was simply surprising, yet it was finished. And if it was possible in that time why is it not to be so in the present? And if the Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian peoples having studied Sanskrit could translate the works into their respective languages, why cannot the Indian people do the similar work in the present days?

It goes without saying that the liberal help from the State is a great factor in such performances, without which no encouraging attempt can be made on such work in a large scale. Unfortunately neither the state nor the University pays any serious attention to it. But this condition of things should no longer be allowed to continue when the country is independent.

LANGUAGE CLASSES

It is now known to us all that language classes in Tibetan and Chinese are being held in the University. It is good undoubtedly. I feel inclined to believe that this has been done probably with a view to meeting the political, commercial, economical, or some similar requirements of the people. But the authorities of the present University and those who are interested in Sanskrit can never remain complacent until and unless there is the complete restoration from those sources of the lost Sanskrit works, referred to above.

A NOTE OF WARNING

In connection with the Tibetan and Chinese works I should like to strike a note of warning to the authorities of the University requesting them humbly to be careful about the keeping of the rare and valuable books in the Library. Once a big collection of the Chinese *Tripitaka* of the Shanghai edition was completely eaten up by moths and whiteants. Again, when I was directed to arrange the Tibetan works in Xylographs and manuscripts deposited in an obscure corner of the Darbhanga Buildings, they were found not to have been kept properly.

It is to be specially noted that there is in the University a number of Tibetan manuscripts, viz., of the *Prajnaparamitas* written in gold and silver. They are extremely rare. If they are somehow or other lost, there is hardly any hope to replace them in any way.

PRESERVATION OF A VIDYA (SCIENCE)

En passant it may be observed that if a most important, yet much neglected *vidya* or science is acquired from a foreign land it must be preserved by all possible means, so that none should take again the same trouble for its acquirement. The preservation of a particular branch of knowledge is nothing but to offer an opportunity to the man eager for acquisition of it, so that a school of teachers and students may be created to work properly. Here every one interested in the University will be glad to know that such a scholar with a study experience of about ten years, so far as the Sino-Sanskrit studies are concerned, is among the students of the Sanskrit department itself. He has recently returned from China where he went as a Government scholar. The University will be a gainer if such a scholar could be given a suitable appointment in the Department.

SINO-SANSKRIT STUDIES

In connection with the Sino-Sanskrit studies Sir Asutosh appointed here one Prof. Yamakami Sogen of Japan for delivering some lectures on Buddhism mainly from Chinese and Japanese sources. These lectures are embodied in a volume entitled *Systems of Buddhist Thoughts* and published (1912) by the University.

TIBETO-SANSKRIT STUDIES

A few years back in the University Tibeto-Sanskrit studies were taken up seriously and rather in a short time a few Tibeto-Sanskrit books were published therefrom, viz., Dandin's *Kavyadarsa* with both the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions and *Hetutattvopadesa* of Jitari, a work on Buddhist logic, being restored in Sanskrit from Tibetan by containing both the versions.

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that long before it, it is again owing to Sir Asutosh that two more Tibetan works one a grammar and the other a dictionary, viz., *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*

by H. B. Hanna (1912) and *An English-Tibetan Dictionary* by Lama Dawasamdub Kazi (1919) were published from the University.

FRENCH AND GERMAN

It is well-known that as in other subjects so in the field of Sanskrit, too, the contributions made by French and German scholars are by no means negligible. High scholarship even in Sanskrit is therefore not complete without the knowledge of those two languages. It is difficult to study Sanskrit thoroughly without keeping up-to-date information from the researches of foreign scholars. Therefore for a University student those two continental languages, at least one of them, must be made compulsory, without any further delay.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT

Here is a pertinent question and every one interested in the University would like to have an answer to it. Since the establishment of the department an enormous sum of money amounting to about fifty thousand a year is spent for its maintenance. But excepting the passing of some students in the M.A. examination what is the contribution of the department to Sanskrit learning taking the teachers individually or collectively? Has it produced a single page that can be considered as essential to or indispensable for learning Sanskrit, even just like Jacob's *Concordance to the Principal Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita*, which is merely a mechanical work, not to speak of such monumental books as the *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by Monier Williams? The public demands a reply.

THE WORKS PROPOSED AND UNDERTAKEN

One would also like to know as to what has become of the *Darsanamahakosa* or the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophy in Sanskrit*. The scheme of it was formally presented to the President, Council of the Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts by Sir Radhakrishnan who declared: "If it is completed it will immortalize the University." Unfortunately it has been given up.

Similar is the fate also of some useful works that were undertaken, such as *Sankhya-yoga-kosa* and *Kalidasa-kosa*, i.e., (i) *A Concordance to Sankhya-Yoga*, and (ii) *A Dictionary of Kalidasa*.

These were being prepared by a Union of teachers and students, present and old, belonging to our University as well as to other institutions. There was no arrangement of any remuneration for this work, yet the output was considerable. Much enthusiasm was evinced specially by the students. But as ill luck would have it, these works could not progress much. If the schemes alluded to above are not commendable and as such are rejected, new ones could easily be made. But this, too, is not being done. We also hear nothing now about the already started *Asutosh Sanskrit Series*, nor of the manuscripts for which a separate man

appointed. But let us hope that both of them are being continued.

We were discussing the achievement of the department through useful works by our teachers, which may justify their own appointment there. But there may not be any commendable or useful literary work produced by a teacher, yet his appointment may be quite justifiable if his teaching is of extraordinary quality. We should feel proud of such a teacher whom in the word of Yaska we may rightly style as a *nidhi-gopa* (protector of a treasure). But there are not many such teachers in the University.

TOO MANY TEACHERS

Many new part-time lecturers have recently been appointed though not a single new subject is added to the syllabus and naturally to accommodate all these old and new teachers, necessity was keenly felt to increase the number of classes to be taken by them even on Saturdays and for six hours a day in contravention of the time-honoured convention of the department, which was introduced solely for the benefit of students. Once the then President of the Council of the Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, having come to know that classes were then being held for *eighteen hours a week* strongly expressed his disapproval in the following words:

"Do you want to kill the students? Have you forgotten that they are Post-Graduate students? They are not only to attend classes, but also to make private studies by reading in the library! When will they do so?"

Comment is not necessary.*

CONSTANT CHANGE OF NECESSITY

As regards the necessity of the department there is a constant change. Applications are invited from candidates for a particular subject, but the appointment is invariably made for another subject. This has become a practice in the department, as is well-known in the University circle for the last few years. But why so?

SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

Finally, apart from the question of the acceptance of the modifications suggested above it may be taken into serious consideration, under the present circumstances, if the teaching of some of the subjects common to both the department and the Sanskrit College, such as *Veda-Vedanta*, *Nyaya-Vaisesika*, *Sankhya-Yoga* and *Smṛti-Mimamsa* can be arranged in the Sanskrit College only as there is hardly any remarkable difference in this respect in these two institutions. Now let the authorities and the old and new friends of the University ponder over calmly and seriously on what is really good for it and act accordingly, so that it may bring about the actual "Advancement of Learning" for which it stands.

* Since then the routine has been changed.

MECHANISATION OF AGRICULTURE

By "KISHAN"

MECHANISATION of agriculture began when man used his first primitive tool to grow crops. Animal power was introduced and machines were improved. With the invention of tractors, the designing and improvement of machinery took a new turn and this new turn has brought revolutionary progress in agriculture. Now-a-days by mechanisation of agriculture we generally mean this later stage of development, i.e., the use of power-driven machinery.

AIM OF MECHANISATION

Increase in economic efficiency is the primary aim of mechanisation. Efficiency is measured by the ratio of output to input. The main inputs in agriculture are measured in the form of land, labour and capital. Capital includes outlay on homesteads, live-stocks, deadstocks, fertilizers, seeds, irrigation facilities, machinery, etc. All these affect output directly as also indirectly by affecting land and labour. The last two also affect the output directly. Let us see how far are these affected by mechanisation.

It is still a debatable point whether mechanisation in agriculture increases the output per unit of land. It has been seen that lands heavily infested with weeds yield better when tilled with power-driven machinery. This is, however, not the case when weed infestation is not very heavy. On the other hand, mechanised farms being large farms, and the farming system being extensive, the yield per unit of land is lower than small farms where farming system is usually intensive. This has been shown in a recent survey in England and Wales. In India in absence of proper statistics we may tentatively conclude that keeping other factors, such as manuring, irrigation, use of seeds and weed control constant, mechanisation alone does not affect the output per unit of land.

Output per unit of labour is, however, strikingly affected. By utilising the high power of tractors and with the help of time and labour saving devices of modern implements one can do the work of many. The requirement of labour is cut down. Hence the output per unit of labour is increased considerably; that means increase in the efficiency of labour.

On the other hand, output per unit of capital is lowered since the gross output remains the same whereas capital investment increases very much due to the use of costly machinery and increased expenditure in its running, maintenance, repair, depreciation and interest.

If the saving due to increase in efficiency of labour is more than the extra expenditure incurred on run-

ning, maintenance, repair, depreciation and interest, mechanisation will be financially successful. Otherwise it will fail.

ESSENTIAL PRE-REQUISITES

The factors which can bring about this condition are, therefore, essential pre-requisites for the success of mechanisation. Low pressure of population, scarcity of labour, high wage level and high economic standard are some of these. In addition, the people should be enterprising and mechanically minded. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Argentina and Russia, mechanisation is successful for these reasons.

In densely populated European countries like Germany and U.K., high industrial development has created shortages in agricultural workers. In thickly populated countries industrial development brings about conditions suitable for mechanisation. In U.S.A., there is vast land compared to its population and industries are also highly developed. The result is that mechanisation has reached a very high stage of development in that country.

CONDITIONS IN INDIA

India is thickly populated. Absence of suitable occupation in other directions during the last 200 years has compelled most of the ever-growing population to work on land. Hence we find the small scattered holdings of peasants who are hardly productively employed more than half the period in a year. People are backward educationally. Low economic standard has kept the general mass far away from the modern scientific achievements. That is why they are not mechanically minded. Physical and mental impoverishment have left them anything but enterprising. Due to inflation wage level is rising. Labour is very dear. People who farm by hired labour have been hard hit. Those who have got large blocks of lands are now in search for tractors. The peasants who work their own land do not pay for labour in cash and therefore do not feel the bad effect of increasing wage so much. The condition is, therefore, favourable to mechanisation but the obstacles, such as overpopulation in agriculture, low average income and absence of mechanical mindedness have yet to be overcome.

OVERPOPULATION IN AGRICULTURE

Collective farming on co-operative lines is sometimes the remedy suggested for small holdings. Those who have attempted consolidation of holdings in India, know the difficulties due to social customs, ignorance and illiteracy. Then again, the introduction of co-operative farming particularly on mechanised lines will

increase the efficiency of labourers thereby decreasing considerably the number of men required for farming the consolidated block. Either all of them will work and derive their income from this consolidated block, meaning thereby, that each individual owner does not gain much in the form of increased income, or a very small number of men will derive increased income at the cost of others. The question is where to find the employment for these displaced persons. If it could not be found, general introduction of mechanised farm on co-operative lines may not succeed. Russia is often cited as an example of the success of mechanisation on co-operative lines. In Russia, however, there is enough land to keep the whole population fully occupied in agriculture alone. In India even if all the available land is ploughed up it will not raise the average holding appreciably.

The alternative suggestion is to go in for industrialisation (both factory and cottage) to absorb persons displaced from the land. At present in India roughly 69 p.c. of the population depend on agriculture for sustenance. England with less pressure of population only engage 6 p.c. of the population in this line. To reach the standard of mechanisation of England, and that is not very high compared to other advanced countries, over 60 p.c. of our population should be employed elsewhere. And 60 p.c. of our teeming millions is a fairly large number for our industry to absorb within the next 100 years. Still this is the only line of approach to bring about a radical solution of our problem, the problem of unemployment which is frustrating all our attempts for agricultural progress in this country.

TECHNICAL EFFICIENCY OF MACHINES

Success of mechanisation depends to a great extent on the technical efficiency of the machines, since on it, depends the extent of labour that can be cut down for a given work. Machines that are on the market are mostly designed to suit the country of manufacturers and therefore fit in well with their crops, system of cropping and the environmental conditions. These differ widely from what we find in many parts of India. As such many of these machineries cannot cut down labour to the extent they should do. There are certain distinct stages of operation from the time a land is ploughed up till the crop is made ready for marketing. These distinct stages are broadly: preparation of the land, sowing, intercultivation, harvesting and post-harvesting operations. The nature of operation depends on the type of crop and the local practice of growing it. The latter in most cases is the product of environment. Requirement of labour also differs in different stages according to above. It is generally high for intercultivation and harvesting stages. For certain crops sowing and post-harvesting operations also require a fairly large number of labourers. The machines that are available at present can fairly efficiently cut

down the labour required for preparation of land and sowing. In some cases harvesting and post-harvesting work can also be done mechanically quite efficiently. In many cases the present mechanical aid can do very little to replace manual labour in sufficient numbers. Take for instance, the crop of jute grown so widely in Bengal. Weeding, harvesting and post-harvesting work cannot be done mechanically for want of suitable machines. In this particular crop, expenditure for those works will account for 90 per cent of the total expenditure on labour head. Similarly in the case of transplanted aman paddy mechanical help can do very little to reduce puddling and transplanting cost. At the time of harvesting, if the land goes dry, machines can be used but that not without difficulty. In the case of aus paddy mechanical intercultivation work will not be possible unless a suitable drill is designed and the crop is sown in rows instead of broadcasting it. Then again, at the time of harvesting aus paddy, there is usually rain and the land remains too wet to receive any heavy machinery. In Bengal, with the present machinery and with the present system of cropping, a very high level of efficiency in general, cannot be expected since the performance of the machines with regard to two of the major crops, paddy and jute, is low.

To be efficient mechanically either such crops should be grown as fit in with the present machinery, or cropping system and designing of the machines should be so altered that crops, cropping system and the machines fit in with each other. To do that extensive field trials and research work are necessary. The urgency of this line of work cannot be over-emphasised since it is the high performance of the machines which can increase the output of work per unit of labour, so essential to make mechanisation financially successful.

DECREASE IN CAPITAL OUTLAY

It has been said before that mechanisation decreases the output per unit of capital. Every attempt, therefore, should be made to decrease the capital outlay. The price of tractors and machinery should be lowered. At present the price of tractors and machinery is very high in the world market. Over and above a heavy amount is paid as freight, duty, clearing and insurance charges, in addition to the profit charged by the local dealers. All these sometimes increase the cost by over 60 to 70 per cent. Development of industry to manufacture these in India will cut down these costs and will thus help towards mechanisation with these costly machines, every attempt should be made to select only those which can be put to economic use. At present the public has to depend entirely on the dealers and therefore machines are sold mostly on advertisement and salesmanship.

Investigations, therefore, should be made to find out the suitability of machines of every kind and make that are on the market so that the ordinary public may not suffer for wrong selection. In U. K., the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering is meant for these purposes. The machines which have been purchased should be maintained properly so that they may not fail when needed. Agricultural machinery work under rough and difficult conditions. Breakdown is, therefore, natural, particularly in our country where trained and skilled hands are so few. This occurs usually when the machines are at work and that is in busy seasons when they are needed most. Quick repair is, therefore, of utmost importance. This greatly depends on the ready availability of spare parts. While in advanced countries there are spare parts and repair shops almost in all county towns, in India this facility is available only in two or three important cities. One has to wait several weeks before one can get the help. Sometimes, and this happens fairly frequently, the part required is not in stock and in such cases one has no alternative but to keep the machine idle for several months. The position, therefore, should be improved by making spare parts and repair services available in at least all the provincial capitals. Incidentally it may be said, that the development of tractor and machine industry will solve the problem of spare parts.

MECHANISATION IN SMALL HOLDINGS

As India is a country of peasant farmers there is often the idea of introducing baby tractors and equipments suitable for their small holdings. Several types of such machines are on the market. Most of these, if not all, depend on petrol for fuel supply. This means that the running cost is tremendously high in addition to the very high capital cost per unit of land. The cultivator, however, does not gain much by increasing all these costs. He reduces the labour cost and that mostly on account of preparation of land. For sowing intercultivation and harvesting the crops he usually grows, he will have to depend on manual labour. Furthermore, a peasant who is farming on subsistence level does not usually engage hired labour and therefore there will be no visible saving from mechanisation. After all a cultivator who is already under-employed does not gain anything by the help of costly time and labour saving devices. On the other hand, these small machines are suitable for market-garden crops. When such gardens are near large consuming centres the

value of crops is high and at the same time labour is very dear. Higher capital and running costs, therefore, can be justified in such cases. The use of small machines, therefore, may be successful in market gardens but not in small holdings of the peasants which are usually grain farms.

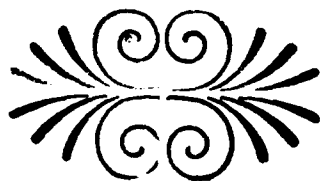
SPHERES OF SUCCESS OF MECHANISATION

From what has been said before it appears that in general we will be at a low level of efficiency if mechanisation is adopted as such. There are, however, certain spheres where mechanisation will be of immense value. The big farms, which grow specially sugarcane, cotton, potato, wheat and big livestock farms which grow fodder, can very profitably go in for mechanisation. Machines for these crops will fairly efficiently cut down labour requirement and therefore will increase considerably the output of work per unit of labour.

There are wasteland areas which remain uncultivated since in most cases reclamation of these lands without proper mechanical aid is either impossible or involve heavy expenditures. Machines will do them at a very low cost but their job will be finished as soon as the land is reclaimed. It is, therefore, neither possible nor advisable for individual owners to buy these sets of machinery unless the area owned is large enough for the machines to be used for several years. Government and private parties can buy these sets of machinery and hire them out to the public. They will thus render a great national service and at the same time will receive good financial returns.

CONCLUSION

The economic aspect of mechanisation is sometimes overlooked. Mechanised agriculture is recommended very often since advanced countries have adopted it. It is forgotten that these countries have adopted it only because of economic reasons. It is primarily a natural consequence and not a cause. If in India conditions are made favourable, mechanisation will come in automatically. The main obstacles are under-employment in agriculture, low average income, low technical efficiency of imported machinery, high capital cost and running expenditure, absence of quick repair service, absence of trained men and absence of mechanical-mindedness amongst the general mass. Development of industry alone will remove the major obstacles. Other obstacles are not difficult to remove if the people so desire.



COURTALLUM

Where Lord Vishnu Turned Lord Shiva

By O. S. KRISHNAMURTHY

COURTALLUM, a very ancient place of Hindu pilgrimage in South India, lies at a distance of three miles from Tenkasi Railway Station in the Mathurai-Shenkottah line of the South Indian Railway. *Sthalapuranas* refer to this place by various names, such as Tiru-Courtallum, Kuttalum and Tirukudam.



The temple at Courtallum with the waterfall and picturesque landscape in the background

Courtallum is in proud possession of a beautiful shrine dedicated to Lord Shiva, the presiding deity being called Courtallaswamy (the Lord of Courtallum). The extant Tamil literature testifies to the antiquity of the temple and the local folklore narrates an interesting story about the origin of this temple. At the time of Lord Shiva's marriage in Mount Kailas, there was such a vast concourse at the gala function as to seriously disturb the balance of the earth and the South began to rise up. This situation created a sense of consternation in the minds of the Devas who ran up and reported the matter to Lord Shiva. At Lord Shiva's injunctions, Rishi Agastya, being the shortest figure known to Hindu mythology and having the stature of a thumb, went to the south and corrected the balance. During his peregrinations in the south, Agastya came to Courtallum where he found a temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu. Being a Shaivite, Rishi

Agastya was refused entry into the shrine. With much chagrin, he went to the temple of Lord Subramania (son of Lord Shiva) nearby to seek his advice. Accepting his advice, Agastya returned the next day to the Courtallum temple with *namam* (Vaishnavite caste mark) and *Tulsi* beads and obtained an untrammelled admission into the *sanctum sanctorum*. By his touch he converted the idol of Lord Vishnu into Shivalingam.

The legend of Lord Vishnu turned Lord Shiva has gained wide currency in Tamil literature. Though much veracity cannot be attached to the magical touch of Rishi Agastya, the story itself cannot be summarily dismissed as the figment of the imagination of the Tamil litterateur. Those were the days of regular polemics in South India between Shaivites and Vaishnavites as to the superiority of their respective religious creeds. The ruling chiefs of the South were not free from these sectarian rancours and it is not improbable that a fanatic Shaivite king in his crusade against Vaishnavism wrought destructions



Mendicants swarm about the Courtallum temple for alms

to the temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu. In one such incursion the idol of Lord Vishnu at the Courtallum temple might have been replaced by a Shivalingam.

WATERFALLS

Nowadays, Courtallum is chiefly remembered for its

waterfalls—the bewitching beauty of this place. During the season which generally lasts from July to September, there is a considerable influx of visitors from all parts of Madras State and the Union of Travancore and Cochin. The Chittar (little river) or in its Sanskrit form, *Chitra Nadi* (beautiful river), being a tributary of River Tambraparni flowing in the extreme south, has its source in the hills above Courtallum. It reaches the plains at Courtallum after precipitating into a succession of beautiful cascades, the three main being *Then Arivi* (Honey Fall), *Shenbaga Arivi* and *Vada Arivi*, otherwise called the Courtallum waterfall. The



The famous Courtallum waterfall

former two are within easy reach from Courtallum. Viewing from the foot of the fall, the Courtallum fall rushes headlong from the jungle above over a precipice of about 180 feet. A few feet above the base of the hill there is a pool 30 feet deep called Ponguma Kadal or the 'boiling sea' into which water from the top plunges in. Presumably the pool was carved slowly in the surface of the rock by the constant beating of water from immemorial times; and this check on the way retards the velocity of water reaching the base where all classes of people delight to bathe. This is the cascade which evoked the praise of the Right Rev. Cald-

well, the famous Christian missionary, who said, "It may be asserted without risk of exaggeration that Courtallum is the finest freshwater bathing place in the world."

PICTURESQUE SCENERY

The jungle scenery which abounds in this place is extremely fascinating. Courtallum is a cynosure for plant-collectors and the forest is reputed to possess about two thousand species of flowering plants. Dr. Wight who explored the region in the beginning of the last century seemed to have actually collected 1200 species in an area of 20 sq. miles.

DELIGHTFUL CLIMATE

With an elevation of about 500 feet only, Courtallum is gifted with the salubrious climate of Ooty and Kodaikanal, the premier hill-stations of the South and this is attributed to the very location of Courtallum on the southern arm of a deep gap in the Western Ghats. The winds of the south-west monsoon during June-



The Courtallum waterfall with landscape on both sides

September and the north-east monsoon during October-December blowing through the rains falling on the Ghats reduce the temperature of this place and substitute for sand storms and stormy winds a cool and delightful breeze.

SANATORIUM AND A PLACE OF TOURIST TRAFFIC

Courtallum is a rendezvous not only for pilgrims and philosophers but also for convalescing patients. It has been recognised as a Sanatorium from early times and was also a place of regular resort for Europeans during the British regime. The Report of the Medical Committee as early as 1811 stated:

"What conduces much to the restoration of invalids at this singular abode is the waterfall under which most of the Europeans daily bathe. . . . The falling of the water, after its first shock is over, gives an indescribable feeling of pleasure by its constant beating, it quickens the circulation and produces a fine glow all over the body."

Some years back the Tourist Traffic Committee was set up by the Government of India with a view to work out practical schemes for development, particularly of

foreign tourist traffic and to show to the foreign tourists the best things in Indian life, past and present. Courtallum has a wealth of attraction to offer to the tourists—the temple of historical importance, the fine cascades, an infinite variety of scenery and a whole-

some climate. However, amenities at present available for foreigners such as accommodation, catering of meals in the western style, conveyance, publicity, provision of basic information, etc., are far below the standard and need improvement all round.

—:O:—

CLIMATIC CHANGES IN KASHMIR

By R. L. MEHTA, M.A. (Hist.), M.Sc. (Geol. & Geog.)

THE intermontane valley of Kashmir is a perfect natural region as it has been carved out by nature as a separate physiographic unit amidst the largest mountain ranges of the world, the Himalayas. It has a typical relief,



The valley is now passing through a temperate cycle of climate

Photo by Datta Studios

characteristic rainfall and vegetation as well as a distinct culture of its people which they have gradually evolved through course of centuries.



The embankment of the Jhelum, on which stately houses stand, runs along its course

Photo by Royal Photo House

There have been marked changes in the climates of the valley of Kashmir since time immemorial as in other parts of the world and this scientific truth is writ large on the pages of its natural history.

In the past and present there have been many changes in climates of the different parts of the world. Old men have often been heard saying that when they were children they used to experience "intensity of cold during winter season" or "intensity of warmth in hot weather."

Tourists and travellers, geologists and geographers like Visser and Huntington who set out to study the past climates of a vast part of Central Asia have made numerous scientific observations regarding Kashmir.

The valley of Kashmir has experienced all those climatic changes as witnessed by Northern Europe and



The mountain-girdled, serene lake of Manasbal formed part of a once mighty lake which filled the valley from end to end

Photo by Royal Photo House

North America in the great glacial ages as well as the interglacial periods. The morainic matter at the base of the Mahadev mountains beyond Harvan, about 20 miles from Srinagar bears testimony to the fact that the adjoining mountains of Srinagar were, once upon a time, buried under a thick covering of snow and ice that moved in the form of glaciers. This was in the glacial epoch when northern Europe and British Isles were covered under a huge mantle of ice and snow and formed part of the Arctic glaciers. Even the profiles of the Kolahai valley that contain enormous morainic stuff bear testimony to the fact that once they were thronged by numerous valley glaciers.

The interglacial periods in the valley, as in Europe and America, modified the rigours of climates of the

at Mahalaxmi started by the Society for the Rehabilitation of Crippled Children, under the able and indefatigable social worker Mrs. Fatima Ismail. This has seen three years of active life in caring for crippled children. Whilst the third, the subject of this article, "The Occupational Therapy Training School and Clinic" of Bombay, is a pet project of another equally enthusiastic and enterprising lady Mrs. Kamala V. Nimbkar, for the benefit of the handicapped ones of this our country, India.



In the occupational therapy workshop at the King Edward Memorial Hospital, Bombay, a paralytic works a treadle

OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY

Quite a unique system of remedial treatment, Occupational Therapy, is harnessed for the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped men, women and children, to whom it gives a new start in life, thus creating for them a sort of new existence from an otherwise dry and drab listless life of despair. This prevents them from brooding over their dismal destiny and staring at the ceiling, or enviously watching the able-bodied ones from their solitary windows. Hence, this sort of active life engaged in a useful employment helps them earn their own bread, as per the output of their work which depends on their physical or mental capacities. So, they are enabled to raise their heads in confidence and look to a blissful life that is "something, sweet, sound and serious."

REMEDIAL MEASURES OF OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY

The Medical Fraternity has found by experiment, observation and research that, Occupational Therapy is a physical or mental activity prescribed as a valu-

able remedial measure to hasten the recovery of the disabled and for their rehabilitation. The remedial measures employed are the following:

1. Thorough Medical Examination that determines the extent of disability and the disabled person's capacity for work.

2. Counsel and guidance of the Therapists to assist them in choosing an occupation.

3. Surgical and psychiatric treatment to remove or reduce their disability.

4. Fitting of Artificial Limbs, Hearing aids, Trusses, Braces and other equipments of the like.

5. Specialised training in trade, business, or art schools and colleges under tutors or on-the-job instructions.

6. Maintenance and transportation during treatment and training process, tools, licences and other necessities needed to start the rehabilitant on his new job.

7. Follow-up contact with the disabled person to ensure that he is satisfied with his job and that his employer is satisfied with him.

THE OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY TRAINING SCHOOL AND CLINIC

The Occupational Therapy Training School and Clinic is located in the commodious premises of the King Edward Memorial Hospital, Parel, Bombay 12. It was founded by Mrs. Kamala V. Nimbkar in 1949, and is one of the first of its kind in the whole of South-East Asia. It is financed by both Mr. and Mrs. Nimbkar with their innate desire to serve the physically and mentally disabled of their country, and is running with success.

MRS. KAMALA V. NIMBKAR A GENIAL PERSONALITY

Mrs. Kamala V. Nimbkar as the Director of the Occupational Therapy Institution looks after its all-round activities herself. She is by birth an American who has adopted this country as her own by right of her marriage with Mr. Nimbkar. Born at Mount Holly in New Jersey, her former name is Miss Elizabeth Lundy. She spent her childhood in Pennsylvania and after graduating from the Columbia University, she was for some time an Economist and Statistician in some business firm there. It was there and then, that she met Mr. Nimbkar and accompanied him to get married in India. This was about two decades ago. She has adopted all the various customs, etc., of her husband's people even in the matter of dress, and has

OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY

taken great pains to learn the language of this country which brings her closer to the heart of its people.

Under such a genial personage as Mrs. Nimbkar who has adopted this country as her own, its disabled and despaired ones will find in her great relief and refuge, thereby, diverting their minds from their dismal lot in life. Engaging themselves in suitable occupations taught to them with cheerful words and smiles of encouragement, they will find that life indeed is a great comfort. One will observe this from the great sigh of relief they find in her cheerful presence. To assist Mrs. Nimbkar is Mrs. Gerda Boggild, a lady from Denmark who has a wide experience in Occupational Therapy work in her own country. To get such an equally genial lady to help her in her work in the service of the handicapped, is indeed very fortunate.

LIFE BEGINS AT 45 FOR MRS. NIMBKAR

Life begins at 45 for Mrs. Kamala Nimbkar as it had begun for the late Mrs. Ford (senior) of the automobile industry. For, at such a period of her life she yearned to serve India's disabled through Occupational Therapy. Hence, proceeding to the country of her birth in her middle forties, she received training at the Occupational Therapy School, at Philadelphia. Thus, fully equipped in this novel system of remedial treatment for the handicapped ones, she travelled widely in her own country, as well as in England and Europe. This gave her quite a familiar grasp of the practical sides of occupational therapy employed there and emboldened her to launch a school and clinic of her own to train personnel and to look after the rehabilitation of the disabled.

TRAINING OF OCCUPATIONAL THERAPISTS

In 1949, through the financial help of Mr. Nimbkar, she founded the Occupational Therapy Training School and Clinic at the K.E.M. Hospital, Bombay. Although at the initial stages she met with obstruction and discouragement which usually such novel ventures have to meet, she overcame all these with tactful patience and received her first batch of eight students to be trained as full-fledged Occupational Therapists. Within three months of its inception, she observed much progress with her work. So that, at present the strength of the school is 17. All of these have to undergo a full two-years' course in theoretical and practical sides of Occupational Therapy.

The subjects which the would-be Occupational Therapists have to master consist of Anatomy, Pathology and Psychiatry, along with Social Hygiene, Old-Age Problems, effects of infectious diseases and corrective exercises. They are also expected to have a knowledge of something of medical and surgical conditions of the body and the various diseases that affect it, and about the nervous, visual and auditory disabilities. This knowledge, combined with 20 handicrafts, makes them full-fledged Occupational Therapists attached to Clinics or Hospitals. Mrs. Nimbkar says



Class room of occupational Therapy School, K.E.M. Hospital, Bombay. Mrs. Kamala Nimbkar, standing at centre and her assistant, Miss Gerda Boggild, standing left, watch some of their students at work

that she has at her Institution students from Matric to M.A., and that it makes no difference in their qualifications, for they have all to undergo the complete two years' course, including 20 handicrafts.

THE CLINIC

Working with patients in the various wards of the K.E.M. Hospital at the beginning, a separate Clinic and Workshop has been set up early this year to look after the rehabilitation of the handicapped through remedial treatment in Occupational Therapy. After the patients are hospitalised, they are thoroughly examined by the doctors concerned and sent to the Occupational Therapists after being prescribed suitable remedial treatments, etc. The Occupational Therapists give them various occupations that will help them strengthen particular parts of the body that are affected or disabled. In due course, these remedial measures help them either to fully eradicate their disability, or enable them to do work in spite of their

disabilities helped by artificial equipments as limbs, hearing aids, etc. At the Occupational Therapy Workshop various handicrafts are taught to disabled patients. Paralytics are made to work on the treadle or bicycle saw or to prepare toys out of fret wood. Polio-affected children are given at first beads to string, cloth rags to make dolls and toys, such as Rabbits, Toddy, Bears, etc., out of them. Some are able to weave braid rags and mats, after gaining control of their nerves. Whilst, patients who cannot raise themselves from bed are taught to work out embroidery designs on clothes. They make beautiful coloured designs as per their artistic urges. Thus when discharged, these disabled patients are able to make a living from their earnings. For instance, a boy who lost his legs in some accident was made to use artificial limbs and taught carpentry. In due course he was able to walk by himself using his artificial limbs and attend to his work under his employer cheerfully. Whilst another young man, who had lost one leg and two arms was in due course able to regain the use of the amputated arms and practise writing with great skill. Thus, learning some suitable crafts every disabled patient, partially or completely cured of his disability, is found some suitable employer who can pay him well for the work he does in some industrial craft of utility, through the efforts of its ever-kind Director Mrs. Nimbkar.

MRS. NIMBKAR HAS MUCH WORK AHEAD

One visiting the Occupational Therapy Training School and Clinic on any day of the week, will find the alert and active smiling Mrs. Nimbkar and her equally kind-hearted assistant Miss Boggild at the workshop with their disabled patients and students teaching them some crafts or adjusting some of their artificial limbs, etc., enabling them to do some crafts of their own accord with their disabled organs as fingers, arms and legs with their minds diverted from their miserable plight of their life. In all this a word of encouragement here, and a cheerful smiling appreciation there make the patients feel their lives are worth-while. During school hours they are busy with

their students in their class rooms either instructing them in handicrafts or technical lessons in Occupational Therapy subjects. When Mrs. Nimbkar is not at the School or Workshop, she is found outside with patients searching for them some suitable employers who can offer them work and pay them good remunerations.

Mrs. Nimbkar has much work ahead. At present, the financial aspects of the school and workshop are met by Mrs. Nimbkar, herself contributing monthly about Rs. 500 and the Municipality giving an aid of Rs. 12,000 yearly. Though these resources help her to manage her work at present, she has to get more monetary help when the institution gains popularity and work increases, which means more expenses for personnel and other necessities to run her noble institution efficiently. She has also an idea to start work with outdoor patients when trained personnel and funds permit it. But Mrs. Nimbkar is averse to receive any donations, as she finds that most donors offer conditional donations with directions that are impossible to be carried out and mar the high standard of efficiency she wants to maintain at her Institution. Provided funds are forthcoming from willing and large-minded donors with no conditional directions, they are welcome and the donors will be doing a great and noble service to disabled sufferers. In case the State also co-operates much can be done for India's disabled.

INDIA FIGURES AT THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR THE REHABILITATION OF THE DISABLED

Mrs. Nimbkar who is now attending the International Polio Conference at Copenhagen will also attend the conference of the International Society for the Welfare of the Cripples at Stockholm where she will read a paper on evolving a world-wide Occupational Therapy Organisation. She will along with Mrs. Fatima Ismail be sharing the great honour of representing India as a leading Asiatic Nation in the South-East to start work for rehabilitation of its cripples. Thus India will be placed on the World's map along with other forward nations.



BRITAIN MEETS SHORTAGE OF SKILLED LABOUR

By HAROLD HUTCHINSON,
British Industrial Correspondent and BBC Economic Analyst

EXPANSION of industrial production in Britain since the war to about 50 per cent above 1938 has taxed the national resources of manpower—as well as raw materials—to the limit. The three-year rearmament pro-

gramme will require about half-a-million additional workers, mainly in engineering and shipbuilding. They can be drawn from the less important industries, but a proportion of them will have to be fully skilled workers.



Young apprentices in Britain, busy at work at the carpenter's bench

Normally the flow of skilled men is supplied by the apprenticeship system, in which a boy enters a trade at 15 or 16 and serves five to six years. The war created a six-year gap, so that an expanded industry in Britain has been short of fully skilled men ever since. The normal development of industrial production has reduced the proportion of craftsmen needed, but even so there can be no further substantial expansion of production in some specialised fields without a nucleus of craftsmen.

To make full use of existing manpower, 22 specialised training centres are being run by the Government, in addition to courses at technical and commercial colleges and in the factories

themselves, where any suitable man can get an intensive training and emerge a skilled worker. The courses are drawn up with the help of employers and trade unions representing the skilled workers, and both sides of industry recognise the trainees as having served the equivalent of an apprenticeship.

BIG EXPANSION

A training scheme in Britain was established in 1945 to give men whose careers had been interrupted by war service a chance to re-enter their chosen trades as fully skilled workers. The purpose has largely been served now, but a skeleton training scheme continued for ex-Regular Army men who returned to civilian life after 12 or 21 years with the Forces, and for the disabled.

Since February, 1951, training has been greatly expanded, so that it is now open to any suitable candidate, regardless of age or occupation, who is ready to spend from four months to two years of intensive training for skilled work in a



Young miners receiving instruction in the various kinds of drills used in British coal mines

limited number of crafts, serving industries whose development is important to the national economy.

It has been found by war-time experience that adults

with some training in industry, and who are anxious to become craftsmen, can wholly qualify for most trades in 12 months; some can become proficient in less time. A few trades require a two-year course.

Training is, therefore, open to anyone in those jobs where there is a shortage of labour—for example, draughtsmen, electrical engineers, turners and fitters, instrument makers, heating and ventilating engineers, carpenters, and so on. Needs differ slightly in different parts of Britain, and the scheme is flexible enough to allow a fairly quick switch in the nature and method of the training available.

ALLOWANCES PAID

At present about 4,000 men can be trained simultaneously at Government centres, but not all complete their training at the centre. Many proceed from

the centres to factories for the final part of the course, so that the number of unskilled men being turned into craftsmen is always considerably greater than the number of places in the training centres.

All men accepted for training agree to take jobs in certain selected industries, and during training they are paid allowances according to age and need. The maximum amount is just slightly less than the basic skilled wage for the industry concerned.

The range of training available to men from the Forces is very much wider than this specialised scheme, which was designed to meet an emergency demand. About 80 courses are open to men leaving the Services. In 25 crafts where the demand for skilled workers is very limited, training is given only to disabled men and women. These are all crafts in which it has been found that disabled workers can succeed.

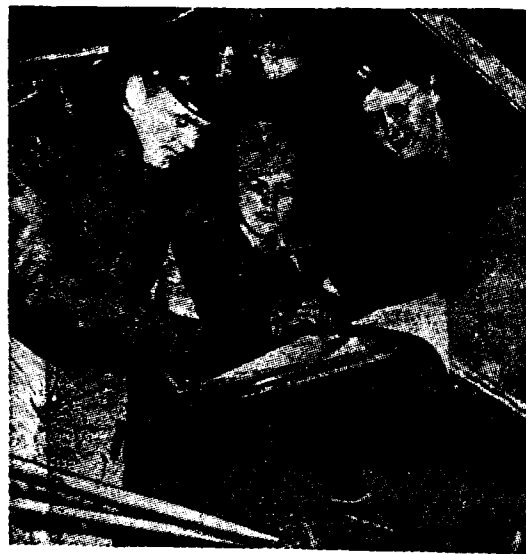
—O:—

AMERICAN RED CROSS MOBILIZATION FOR MERCY

President Harry Truman proclaimed March, 1951 as "Red Cross Month" in the United States. Almost 2,000,000 Americans were helping collect \$85,000,000 in voluntary contributions to finance the international humanitarian program of the American Red Cross.

of the American Red Cross, in a Nation-wide appeal for funds.

A Nation-wide radio broadcast from Washington's Constitution Hall launched the drive. U.S. Secretary of Defense, George Marshall, who headed the American



An American woman pilot and observer, members of the U. S. Civil Air Patrol, are shown just before taking off in their plane on a search mission for a missing pilot.

"The Red Cross is a potent force in the fostering of international good will and understanding which is so necessary to develop amity between nations and maintain the peace," said E. Roland Harriman, national president



An American soldier, wounded while fighting with United Nations forces in Korea, is served refreshments by American Red Cross volunteers.

AMERICAN RED CROSS MOBILIZATION FOR MERCY

Red Cross last year, led a list of high-ranking Government officials participating in the program. Travelling from Hollywood to the Nation's Capital were the stars of the motion picture "Father of the Bride"—Spencer

Tracy, Elizabeth Taylor, and Joan Bennett—who recreated their roles in a radio version of the comedy for the broadcast.

quakes in Ecuador and Peru, and typhoons in the Philippine Republic.

The American Red Cross maintains a close liaison with the United Nations and the League of Red Cross Societies in 67 other nations. The United Nations named the international League to co-ordinate all Red Cross aid to the war refugees in Korea. Already this aid has totalled more than \$1,000,000 of which the American Red Cross contributed nearly one-half. In addition, the American Red Cross has sent materials and advisory assistance to the Korean Red Cross. It also plans to send health and welfare teams of American Red Cross workers to Korea.

Scholarships and fellowships in the United States were provided for 26 Red Cross workers from 13 nations during the past fiscal year by the American Red Cross. It also supplied American consultants to work with 17 Red Cross Societies of the international League.

Helping to develop better understanding and good will among the children of the world is the Ameri-



A nurse helps a doctor examine a diseased child.

A similar "mobilization rally," held in New York City's Madison Square Garden, followed the Washington show. Carried over the Nation's radio network and on television, it featured appearances by Margaret Truman, daughter of the U.S. President, and celebrities of the opera, stage, screen, radio, and television. President Truman closed the program by broadcasting his annual appeal to the Nation for public support of the Red Cross campaign.

Approximately \$1,000,000 in material aid was given to 48 nations by the American Red Cross during the last year. For example, it provided diagnostic equipment for five children's clinics in Italy, technical equipment for the Finnish Red Cross blood program, and completely furnished Red Cross sewing rooms in Austria and Germany. It also sent relief supplies to victims of floods in Guatemala and Canada, earth-



American girls, who are cadets of the U.S. Civil Air Patrol, join with boy cadets in learning to pack and rig a parachute.

can Junior Red Cross, composed of 19,283,000 school children in the United States. Through their National Children's Fund, they conducted an international service program, during the past year costing

approximately \$1,278,200.

It included training teachers in Ecuador to instruct more than 30,000 children in the latest methods of making clothing and furniture. It provided milk centres and sent shipments of new garments for needy children in the Near East. It furnished sewing equipment and 70,000 yards (6,300 meters) of cloth in a self-help program for Italian school children. The American children also sent overseas more than 1,000 school correspondence albums, 6,000 pieces of student art, and 527,000 gift boxes of books, toys, recreational kits, and school and health supplies.

The domestic program of the youth organization includes service to their local communities in all parts of the Nation. They participate in fire prevention programs, clean-up campaigns, pedestrian and bicycle safety projects, aid to the handicapped, and learn swimming and life-saving.

More than 1,615,000 adults in the United States work

for the American Red Cross as unpaid volunteers. They give millions of hours of service in disaster aid, in assistance to the armed forces and war veterans, in health and safety programs, and in social welfare activities. They also participate in the national blood program which includes the collecting, processing, and distribution of blood and blood derivatives to the armed forces and to more than 2,100 of the Nation's hospitals.

The American Red Cross also celebrated the seventieth year of its founding in the United States on May 21, 1951. It honored the memory of the American philanthropist, Clara Barton, who had headed the organization during the first 24 years of its existence. It was Miss Barton's suggestion that the Red Cross should provide relief, not only to war victims, but also to sufferers of famine, floods, earthquakes, and pestilence.—USIS

—:O:—

HOMAGE TO THE MEMORY OF ABANINDRANATH



Bust of Abanindranath Tagore garlanded

The students of the Government College of Art and Craft along with the teaching staff of the college paid their homage to the memory of the departed Acharyyadeva Dr. Abanindranath Tagore on Saturday, the 8th December, 1951 in the lawn of the college. For this purpose all of them assembled quietly in the college lawn, garlanded the bust of Abanindranath preserved in the college and eulogized the Great Master, after which they departed. The day was observed as a day of mourning.

DANCE IN EDUCATION

By Miss KAPILA MALIK, M.A. (Delhi), M.A. (Michigan),
Lecturer, Miranda House, Delhi University

EXPERIMENTS in the technique and content of education are taking place all over the world and, perhaps, the civilization of tomorrow will be born out of a new orientation of education rather than from the staggering discoveries of science. The aesthetic element in education needs to be given its proper place in our school curriculum so that all forms of expression and growth of personality are available to children. In aesthetic education the dance occupies a very important place and this is increasingly recognised by the leading educationists in many countries.

In his well-known book *Foundation of American Education*, Prof. Rugg emphasizes the Creative Act as one of the most important foundations of education. Tracing the aesthetic revolution in American education from the sixteenth century, he says:

"The creative teachers will find no more profound revelation of concepts that will rebuild their school than those of the Modern Dance."

According to him, the creative art is based on three assumptions regarding the human being: Firstly, expressive and appreciative acts take place through any medium with the experience of the human being, such as words in poetry, the movements of the body in dance, the use of form and colour in painting and so on. Secondly, every human being has within himself some potential capacity to express himself in one or another medium and to respond appreciatively; from this follows the concept of 'man as artist' which is the goal of aesthetic education and which assumes that every child under effective educational conditions can grow to the maximum of his capacity, both to express himself and to appreciate his surroundings aesthetically. Lastly, according to Prof. Rugg:

"There are vast differences among the people in sensitivity and in potential capacity . . . and the creative and appreciative capacities follow the law of distribution that has been well-established for the anthropometrical and mental traits, intelligentsia, temperament and emotional dietetics."

These three basic assumptions are accepted expressly or implicitly by every dancer and dance educator. At a time when we in India seem to be at the threshold of introducing the Creative Arts into our school curricula, it is well to examine the ideas and values of those who have already introduced these into their educational systems. The above assumptions of Prof. Rugg are important in so far as they recognise the need of the individual to be creative, expressive and appreciative of the 'aesthetic' element in life. Unless this is granted we cannot launch any further arguments because the dance is not entirely an essential part of subject-matter and skill learning in normal education.

With these general observations we may proceed to examine the value of the dance in education from various

standpoints. We have somehow stopped thinking of the Arts and of the Dance in particular as an educational medium. It is for us something which we are entertained by and which remains the business of select groups of professionals: it forms no part of our daily life, and it almost sound strange to consider the dance and its value in individual (personal, subjective and emotional) and group (social, cultural and democratic) education; but it is time that we gave up our limited, narrow ideas of the dance as a technique or skill on the one hand and a divine madness on the other. We are already trying to broaden its sphere and it will be worthwhile here to study its value as physical, spiritual, intellectual and emotional experience.

Let us examine here a few of these values of the dance and see what a fine medium it can be for the education of the individual as a balanced integrated personality. It will bring out the acute need for considering the dance as an important force in education rather than as a specialized art—meant only for a select few. It will show us the need for the introduction and production of dance education in our present-day educational institutions.

Since the physical form of the human being is the instrument, let us first begin with the physical consequences and the educational level. Dancing is certainly organically stimulating, developing heart, lungs and digestive processes and other bodily functions to high levels of power and efficiency. For dancing feeds all-round development and this is very different from other large muscle activities; its superiority in this respect is enormous. Unlike games or sports, for example, dance does not require actors to exert their powers to abnormal limits of performance. As the famous American dancer, Martha Graham, said once:

"Artistry lies in restraint as much as in expression and the ideal of technique is the absence of strain; it is the rhythmic building of the body to a perfect form."

Games and sports need not aim at straining oneself to the utmost capacity. When indulged in proper restraint and right proportions these activities serve a very useful purpose, but the spirit of breaking records is too deeply ingrained in the pursuit of games and sports. In dancing, on the other hand, to break a record would be completely inimical to its spirit. Even if dance is not superior to games in organic development, it unquestionably has more desirable effects on the symmetry of the body and the beauty of facial expression. Sports sometimes develop athletic bodies unsymmetrically, occasionally to deformity. Dance, on the other hand, develops exquisitely proportioned as well as powerful bodies. Immensely more important is the idea of balance that is manifest in the dance. Unlike sports, it bears in mind the masculine and feminine rhythms of the human body. In a word men dance like men and women like themselves. The nineteenth century idea

in India of calling dancers effeminate is of course wrong, though it is not uncommon to see a conspicuously 'masculine woman' as a result of sports or physical education. An exquisite form and a graceful expression are the prime consequences of proper dance training.

Finally, dance is an artistic art form and a means of self-expression; the body, the human form, is only a means to an end, not the end itself; it is a method of communication between independent microcosms which utilize large and small muscles in rhythmic movements, to convey feelings and ideas. It is as Martha Graham has said, 'an animate composition in space.'

"Dancing is movement made significant: techniques used to express spiritual content."

In this respect dancing is more important than sports in the educational system. It has advantages over strenuous gymnastics not only as a physical exercise but also as a true education in something beyond the form and techniques of the good physical figure. It combines in itself all that the typical education connotes and much more. Its great value as a corrective in physical and mental therapy has been emphasized both by doctors and educators. Elwood Murry's study of speech training as a Mental Hygiene method emphasizes the fact that mal-adjusted children have been cured through the dance.

But dancing is not merely a superior physical training for the growing youth, it is important as a tool for the growth of social virtues in education. Through the poised figure dance promotes courage, initiative, perseverance and creativeness in man; beauty, grace, generosity, sympathy and sacrifice in woman.

Certainly the dance can be a tremendously potent tool to develop co-operative practice and spirit. Due to professional jealousies, our dance groups have not proved this so far, but we know that competition is abhorred by sincere dancers. The very fact of co-ordinated movements among several dancers acting as a unit show the possibilities of reaching exciting heights of perfection and joy.

Dancing provides excellent opportunities for group work and experience in democratic method. It fulfils its function in the curricula of democratic schools because it serves as a laboratory in democratic living for the youth of a nation. It serves as an ideal tool in forming wonderful group habits: in it they exercise not only their right to freedom of expression but also the responsibility of respecting the right of others and the cheerful assumption of obligations that are entailed in any group activity.

We in India should realize the need of initiating such a group activity as dancing more than any other people of the world. In a new system of education required by a free and creative India we need this type of a socializing influence. Dance teaching accomplishes a great deal in the informal set-up where the give-and-take of ideas between the student and teacher is much greater and much less inhibited than in the classes of formal academic studies. Even more is 'dance' a tool in the inculcation of cultural ideas, in the achievement of a higher civilization, in the

promotion of national and international relationships between different cultures. Dance has no age, it only demands a new freedom in all departments of living. It has always been the great responsibility of the arts and the artists of any civilization to hold up before the people all that is noble and not decadent, all that is beautiful and not ugly. After literature, dance has striven to do this. The Oriental and Greek dances of Ruth St. Denis and Isadora Duncan, Simkie's Indian dancing, and Uday Shankar with his stamp of the ballet are enough to show much can be accomplished in bridging gaps and chasms between cultures. Students can easily break the narrow domestic walls of nationalism in their minds if they learn and practise national and international dances, folk, or classical. The universal language of the dance has only humanity behind it; there are no passports, no visas, no conflicts, no strifes.

Dancing above all is the perfect medium for the development of the total personality—the intellect, the mind and the spirit—teaching logic and discipline. It is a means of giving each individual an opportunity for the expression of his conflicts, of his ideas, of his intellectual beliefs and doubts; it aids every person in reaching his full status as an individual. In his *Rhythmic Art and Education*, Jacques Dalcroze has offered sound advice to the teachers:

"The main thing to remember is that the function of parents and teachers is to strengthen and develop the child in such a fashion that the mind and the body form a perfect instrument wherein to play the song of life. . . . It was my wish to manifest the power of rhythmic gymnastics in transforming the mind along the lives of greater self-possession, stronger power of imagination, more constant mental concentration."

Creative work in dance is one way of assisting a person in the development of his unique personality. For dance is today not only a group activity, but also a highly individualized form of expression. Working in the medium of movement each person may make up a dance in his own way about whatever seems significant in his experience. To compose in dance, the artist examines his ideas and probes to their essential meanings; by organising movement in time and space with the use of his reason and logic he makes them objective. In this process he may find both intellectual and emotional resolution of conflict. He can be helped to face his own problems and develop constructive ways of attaching problems. Dance, thus, can focus our attention upon the unrealised potentialities of our being: its introduction in education means the imparting of some of this to the average child.

The foregoing are the values of the 'dance' in the very broad and universal sense of 'education.' The individual is enriched by it physically, intellectually, and socially. Let us now for a moment look into the values of the dance in the educational curriculum itself and see how it can be of help there. It will continue to serve all the functions described above and many more in the academic training of the individual.

DANCE IN EDUCATION

In this age of fragmentation in all spheres of life, literature, arts, natural sciences and social sciences and above all in the human psyche itself, we have made compartments and departments through our over-specialization. Everything is split and analysed to the electron and proton stage and even beyond. The analytic process is realizing the acute need for synthesis, and for integration. The need for co-relating knowledge and synthesising the various strands and aspects of our modern existence is only too great. Life is a combination of all these parts and art aims at synthesising and organising the chaos of life into an harmonic pattern. Dance aims at the perception of this harmony in a very humble and yet successful way and this harmony through movements is not out of reach for the average individual who finds poetry and literature beyond his grasp. Being the most accessible of the arts and utilising the human form alone as its instrument, the dance can co-relate any field of knowledge.

As a matter of fact, dancing by its very nature is a training in co-relation and perception of links between the various arts and forms of knowledge. Literature forms an essential background to dancing. Both the arts derive their inspiration from human life and human personality. Dance works with the materials that literature provides through rhythmic forms and movements. Without the rich background provided by literature dancing would fall to the level of sheer physical gymnastics or cheap night-club dancing. What is true of literature is even more true of music. The two art forms have developed hand in hand from their very inception: they are inseparable and each loses by the absence of the other. Interpreting and enacting musical themes is most important in the dance, and the understanding of rhythm in music can be best understood through movements in dancing. As for sculpture, the first inspiration of a sculptor must have been a dancing figure. The aim of sculpture is to recapture a moment of life in dance and movement. The impulse behind the two arts is almost identical. Dance can teach balance and sense of proportion through painting and sculpture, and painting and sculpture can teach life-movement through dance. All arts come to the dance not only for visual imagery but also for kinesthetic sense of line movement and grouping which dance alone can give, dealing with the entire body as it does.

The integrating values of the dance are, however, not at all restricted to the arts only. Dance serves as a medium to integrate other forms of learning. Through dancing, history and geography can be communicated successfully to the pre-school and elementary school child. The entire process of learning can be made so much more meaningful, so much more lively and interesting through the medium of the dance. If this integrated training is provided in the formative years of a child's development, we will have given the child a very useful skill to perceive the unity and co-relation between the things he learns and does in later years. Dance provides the platform where all can mingle and blend. Since it does not claim to

stand by itself it draws from the great and vast sources of all knowledge and experience the great vistas of thought and emotion and it expresses through the most accessible of media the human form, much of what is artistic and aesthetic in life. The full richness of its character gives it the possibilities of multiple dimensions and as such it becomes more than a foundation of 'good education.'

In India where we are not used to teaching the dance as part of the educational curriculum many readers will particularly ask the question, 'What style of dancing are you going to introduce in the schools and what are you going to teach them?' This is exactly where we must have our aims clearly defined before we begin to confuse the students regarding such dance education and its value.

Learning techniques and the particular classical styles of dancing like the Bharatanatyam, Kathakali or the Kathak is very different from the type of dancing that has been proposed here; these styles, excellent and perfect in themselves, aim at the professional perfection of the Art-form, whether attempted by amateurs or professionals. Their teaching aims at perfect imitation and understanding of the technique which is a highly specialised subject in itself.

For our purposes we need a new type of dancing, where there is very little of the imitative and the repetitive, and where the individual is only made aware of his potentialities and is given a language to express himself. It is thus more for the purposes of fulfilling the individual's need as a person than his accomplishment as a renowned dancer. The student must not be presented these dual aims, because not all will become professional dancers through this process. We must keep clearly in mind where the educational process of creative dancing and learning ends and where the professional begins. We, in India, will have to develop our imagination more and not confine ourselves to the teaching of things that have been handed down to us century after century. This new educational dance will not become like the Uday Shankar style where one man created and others followed blindly. We will completely defeat our purpose by doing this. Our dance teachers will need to be trained so that they impart only the basic skills to the student and make him aware of the scope for force and creative expression in which he experimented to derive artistic satisfaction. To inculcate all the values mentioned earlier, the teacher will have to draw from the sources of the already existing dance styles and present these in a way so that all the personal, individual, social and cultural values evolve out of this teaching. Folk dances, for example, are a very fine way of inculcating group feeling and organisation. Individual dance themes can be worked out for the intellectual and subjective values of the dance and the student can learn to express himself through this medium.

It might be said in conclusion that a dance programme with the above values in mind should be planned according to the needs of a cultural group, for educational values as described above rather than

for professional goals, with the intent of expressing that culture in a manner which can be universally understood. The benefit of the dance for educational purposes lies in the practice of present-day dance styles and forms which help to further the growth and development of an understanding of the twentieth century arts and the inter-relationship of the individual to other subjects and to society. It is the teacher's duty to prepare the dance student for complete awareness of movement—movement as an experience of the individual and in relation to a group. Further, the dance should aim mainly at enriching the student's

imaginative powers which do not necessarily have to find expression in dance, but which can be of assistance in related artistic activity. The achievement of this goal should be kept in mind when we focus on the student whom we wish to introduce to the dance. Such a proper emphasis on the educational dance would produce a most responsive generation possessing artistic appreciation. Von Laban is right when he says:

"The educative value of the dance is made apparent through healthy mastery of movement and by enhancement of personal and social harmony promoted by the exact movement observation."

—O:—

REVERENCE FOR LIFE

Monument to Gandhiji

By DR. I. E. J. DAVID

A party of men and women were having a picnic. They went swimming. All were caught in a fierce current which was carrying them to their death-bed at the bottom of the sea. One of them, a young man, barely twenty years old, battled the waves and brought one by one, seven of them, to the shore, and when he rescued the last one, he himself was exhausted and was carried away by the waves and was drowned, and fishermen later brought the dead body to the shore. He was the only child of his widowed mother and his body was embalmed and sent to her. The same night of this tragedy, the party rescued, attended a grand dance totally wanting in heart, feeling and reverence to one who laid down his life for them. Society was so shocked, that they were boycotted by all decent men and women. To cover their shame and disgrace they built a monument, a beautiful arch, in memory of the lad, which now stands, as a monument not only to the self-sacrifice of a mother's only son, but a monument to the heartlessness and irreverence of man for man.

I know a graveyard. There stands a most beautiful, exquisite and a costly statue, a monument over a young woman's grave. This monument was built by the man who betrayed her and made her last years a tragedy.

There was a man, called "The naked fakir," whose earthly possessions consisted of a loin cloth, and he lived in a hut. He was the greatest man of our times. He died that a nation might be reborn and live. He was

assassinated. He was betrayed, not only by the man who murdered him, but by a whole Nation, who cast his teachings to the four winds, and instead are building sky-high monuments, temples, pillars, and museums worth tens of lacs which should go to schools, hospitals, the sick, the hungry, the naked and the man in need. They wear his cap, the symbol of sacrifice and humility, but which today is stained with the blood, corruption, arrogance and hypocrisy. His name is always on their lips and his portraits hang everywhere. With these monuments of their betrayal they think they revere him.

There was a man, and what a man! He was betrayed and was crucified. The traitor had at least the decency to hang himself. The monument to His memory lives in the hearts of men, and in the Cross—just two pieces of wood. But sometimes the monument to Christ takes the form of "Police Action" in Korea, Atom Bombs in Japan and concentration camps and scorched earth and firing squads in Europe, while the monuments to Gandhiji are hypocritical white caps, the black market, communalism, sectarianism, provincialism, arrogant imperialism and intolerance of language and "culture", and feuds and treachery within the fanks, and above all lack of reverence of man for man, and the forgetfulness of the fact that all men are created equal in the sight of God and have equal rights.

Nagpur

THE BANK RATE IN INDIA

By PROF. V. N. HUKKU, M.COM.

THE decision of the Reserve Bank of India about raising the Bank rate from 3 per cent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent with effect from the 15th November, 1951 was received as a shock in the Money market of India. It will be a historical event in the life history of the Reserve Bank of India. Though not quite unexpected, it is really a remarkable action on the part of the Reserve Bank of India to remove the rust from the stationary and stagnant Bank rate which remained pegged at 3 per cent, since the 28th November, 1935. The increase in the Bank rate in India cannot be considered to be a novelty. In the recent past, a number of countries in the Western world have endeavoured to combat 'inflation monster' which has attacked almost all the nations with a terrible blow. The following are the names of a few countries where the Bank rate has been raised:

Name	Past Bank Rate	Present Bank Rate
1. Belgium	$3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent	$3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent
2. Canada	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "	2 "
3. Denmark	$3\frac{1}{2}$ "	5 "
4. France	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "	4 "
5. Finland	$5\frac{1}{2}$ "	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
6. Netherlands	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "	4 "
7. Sweden	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "	3 "
8. United Kingdom	2 "	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "
9. United States of America	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
10. West Germany	4 "	6 "

The change in the Bank rate in the United Kingdom and France is also notable. In the United Kingdom the Bank rate has remained almost unchanged since 1932. The Bank rate as it prevailed in France before 11th October, 1951 was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent from which it was raised to 3 per cent. No sooner had the Bank rate been raised by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by the Bank of England from the 7th November, 1951, the Bank of France decided in favour of raising the Bank rate once again from 3 per cent to 4 per cent within one month's time.

The Bank rate indicates somewhat different significance in India. The Bank rate is the minimum rate at which the central banks discount first class bills of exchange and make advances to the commercial banks on the approved securities. In India, however, under the peculiar circumstances of the absence of an organised bill market, the Bank rate has truly been considered to be the rate at which accommodation is made available to the scheduled banks. The Bank rate or the discount rate as it is popularly known in some countries was a common principal weapon for credit control right from the times even before the World War I, during the era of International Gold Standard. Since after the liquidation of the Gold Standard it receded to the background giving importance to other

weapons, viz., open market operations, moral persuasion, direct action and rationing of credit, etc. The birth of the International Monetary Fund has once again added some importance to the effectiveness of the Bank rate.

Dealing back with our own case in India, we have reasons to believe of the ineffectiveness and a dormant influence of the Bank rate over the credit structure in the country since the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India. The main reasons for its ineffectiveness were the lack of a close contact between the Reserve Bank and the Commercial banks and the indifference of the latter in respect of approaching the former for financial assistance. It must not, however, be left out to be mentioned that the effectiveness of the Bank rate depends to a considerable extent upon the extent to which the scheduled banks depend upon the Reserve Bank. Moreover, the easy money conditions prevailing in the country and the Imperial Bank of India rate were also obstacles to the influence of the Bank rate. The Imperial Bank of India who has been working in close association with the Reserve Bank of India as the latter's agent, since the latter's establishment, has maintained the lending rate at a level of (lower than the Bank rate) $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent against Government Securities worth Rs. 5 lakhs or over and at 3 per cent for those worth less than Rs. 5 lakhs. During the last busy season the Imperial Bank of India could not face the heavy demand of loans and it had to raise the lending rate by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The increase in the lending rate of the Imperial Bank of India transferred the pressure on to the Reserve Bank. The *hundi* rate of the Imperial Bank of India which after a fall from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 3 per cent in November, 1935, rose to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in January, 1949, and prevailing at 4 per cent in 1951 together with an all-round increase in the lending rates, again gave an impetus to the Bank rate in India. Consequently, with a view to contract credit expansion and curb the inflationary trend, the Reserve Bank of India finally resolved to raise the Bank rate by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It was not a mutually consulted plan with the Bank of England but it was a mere coincidence by chance that the increase in the Bank rate in India followed the increase of the Bank rate in England immediately. A statement has been issued by the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India conveying the decision to stop buying of the Government Securities (as the Reserve Bank has been usually doing in the past) in the ensuing busy season except in certain emergencies. The usual practice, adopted by the scheduled banks, was to sell the Government Securities to the Reserve Bank of India in order to increase their lending resources. The expansion of credit, though made through the assistance of the

Reserve Bank of India, remained almost out of the latter's control. Thus while the advances made by the scheduled banks rose tremendously to about Rs. 585 crores their investment in Government Securities declined heavily. The holding of the Government Securities with the Reserve Bank of India stood as approximately Rs. 468 crores as on 16th November, 1951.

The underlying idea which has caused an increase in the Bank rate is to bring about a cessation of the cheap money conditions which have been ruling in the country for the last sixteen years and even more. This increase in the Bank rate has been so designed as to make the bank credit dearer and to discourage the establishment of weak industrial units. The general consequences of a dearer bank credit reflect upon the cost of holding goods and the amount of the deposit of the savings with the banks.

The immediate effect of a change in the Bank rate was visible on the Indian Stock Exchanges, wherein the change was received as a stunning blow to the operators. The change in the Bank rates in the United Kingdom and France was enough to indicate the adoption of a similar action by the Reserve Bank of India, but the speculators could not foresee the haste with which the decision was given. The greatest effect of the Bank rate in connection with the Stock Exchange Securities can be judged from the changes in the values of the 3 per cent Conversion Loan (1986) and the 3 per cent 1970-75 Loan. The former which was issued in 1946 to replace the 3½ per cent Non-terminable Loan stood at Rs. 92-11 on the 13th November, 1951. For the first time its price went down to Rs. 82-8 thereby increasing the yield from 3.24 per cent to 3.63 per cent. The latter one which stood at Rs. 92-14 on the 13th November, 1951, slid down to Rs. 88-4 thereby increasing the yield from 3.44 per cent to 3.75 per cent. Other Government Papers also witnessed a depreciation in value due to the announcement of the policy of the Reserve Bank of India to abstain from dealing in the Government Paper. Not only the Government Securities but others also suffered a fall in value like Tata industrials which were quoted at about Rs. 60 lower, soon after the declaration of an increase in the Bank rate.

The change in the Bank rate, according to the economic principles, caused an increase in the general lending rates of the banks in the country by ½ per cent. The Imperial Bank of India *hundi* rate immediately rose from 3 per cent to 3½ per cent and thereafter to 4 per cent, while its rate for call loans to banks against Government Securities for sums of over Rs. 5 lakhs underwent a meagre rise from 2½ per cent to 3 per cent.

I fully endorse the views of Shree L. S. Vaidyanathan, Manager of the Oriental Government Life Assurance Company, Ltd., in connection with the effect

of the change in the Bank rate on the insurance business of the country. He opines that the already invested funds especially in case of the old established Insurance companies will undergo a depreciation due to a fall in the value of Government Securities (though the yield will become greater). As far as the amount of premium to be realised on the existing contracts as well as that on the new business contracts to be made, it would give benefit to the Insurance companies on account of a higher yield brought about in the Government Securities due to a fall in their market value.

Despite the virtues contained in the Bank rate there is no dearth of criticism against it. There has been vehement criticism that an increase in Bank rate would bring about an increase in the cost of production to the industries through an increase in the rate of lending by other banks in the country. It has been further pointed out that the high rates prevailing in the market will assist the 'Shylock' of the Money market to increase the lending rates, thereby making agricultural finance more expensive and ultimately it will lead to an increase in the cost of production of goods. It can safely be said in this connection that although the increase in the rate of interest influences the cost of production, changes in it, as it bears a nominal proportion to the entire cost, would not materially affect the production. It would, on the other hand, reduce the speculative demand and would lower the price level by making the holding of goods dearer.

Those who want to accuse the Reserve Bank for having brought about a sudden fall in the gilt-edged market thereby shaking confidence in it, should be convinced that the Reserve Bank has not totally abandoned to deal in them, hence there is no question of a show-down to the prestige of the Government. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India stated in a meeting of the representatives of several scheduled banks in Calcutta on the 19th November, 1951:

"The Reserve Bank was responsible for the maintenance of the financial credit of the Government of India, and, if the circumstances justified, they would, of course, take appropriate measures to maintain the Government's credit. The time and stage at which such measures might be necessary would, however, be determined by the Reserve Bank in the light of developments in the Money market, which they were carefully watching."

It was however not very wise on the part of the Reserve Bank of India to declare its decision in such a way regarding dealings in the Government Securities as it has led to great bearish sentiment in the market. However, this change in the Bank rate would bring about cherished results. It is yet to be seen as to how much it will affect the conditions. The future is pregnant with possibilities and we may hope for favourable disinflationary economic conditions in the country.

THE MECHANISM OF HEREDITY

By MRIDULA DUTT

WHEN Leeuwenhoek and Robert Hooke and the brothers Jantzen fell in with the newest craze of making optical lenses and peering through them at the world around them they filled ecstatic paragraphs on the marvellous order in a bee's wing, in the eye of a fly, and in the circulation of blood in the toad's tail. The wondrous tracery of tissues in a plant section held them in thrall and for a long time its cell inclusions were unaesthetic hindrances to be put up with in one's rapturous contemplation of the subtle and precise hand of the Infinite. Two centuries later the nucleus, a small grey mass in the less dense jelly of the cytoplasm has come into its own and has rapidly undergone many vicissitudes of fame and disgrace. It has been called the brain of the cell, the bearer of heredity, subsequently shorn of much of its glory, it has had its separate functions taken apart, doubted, some of them restored, while some have been relegated to other structures in the cytoplasm. As a strange finale, a particular view as to the exact role of the nucleus in heredity has become tangled up with the political ideology of a nation, and the well-being of a scientist may depend on the specific functions he is willing to assign to the nucleus.

As in everything else the life history in a species follows a cycle and it is difficult to put one's finger on where anything may be said to begin. Thus the problem as to which comes before, the egg or the chicken, has not been solved to this day. In the pursuit of the why and wherefore in Heredity, or the principle that like begets like, this problem is simplified in that it is known that the male contributes the knob or head of a single sperm towards the creation of a new individual and this knob is simply or mainly the nucleus. The nucleus must then in its tiny frame carry all the aptitudes that will tend to make a son the "spitting image of his father." The cytoplasm in the female and perhaps races of that of the male also contribute their quota, but they are never the necessary and vital characters without which an individual cannot exist. Thus one nucleus, a microscopic drop of protein jelly, may be said to be one individual in capsule form. The individual it will stimulate into being will be considerably modified by its environment. This is seen in a pair of monozygotic twins, sharing the same nuclear material, who grow up away from each other. They may share many traits, such as a taste for music and a dislike for cheese, but one twin may smoke while the other does not, and this habit can directly be put down as due to environment.

A son will resemble his parents to a certain extent and may differ from them in respect of others. Often quite unexpected characters will crop up in a sibling.

Even when considered against a foundation of Mendelian law and the cytology of chromosomes, it is largely a matter of chance which form the offspring will take depending on its genic exchanges before chromosome division, and the breeder can but cross his fingers and hope for the best. This uncertainty is exemplified in the familiar story of the Beautiful Lady who once said to Bernard Shaw, "If we married we should have wonderful children with your brains and my looks;" whereupon Shaw with his customary gallantry, replied, "And what if they have my looks and your brains."

Mendel's clear and specific laws were derived out of the chaos of this variation. Working on a simple clear well-thought-out and far-reaching experiment covering four generations of inheritance he was able to coax out from a wealth of detail the working principle behind the distribution of each pair of segregating allelomorphs. His ratios were later correlated to the exact number of combinations found between the two types of four gametes produced by each parent during sexual reproduction. His laws correspond with the behaviour of the chromosome system—the biological basis of distribution of character, and any variation from the original ratio can be traced to the modifications of genes which obtain in the chromosome complex in question. When two strains of Red and White flowers when crossed give approximately 15 Reds to 1 White in the third generation, or 9 Reds to 6 Pinks to 1 White or two Whites crossed give 1 Red in every sixteen, the breeder can infer the genotypes involved and plan his future crosses accordingly. Mendel's law has stood the test of Time and of Scientists because it is simply a statement of observed fact, while only a fraction of Galton's law or the voluminous theories of Weismann, Darwin or Lamarck find acceptance and even those not on the grounds offered by their sponsors. They have, however, served to direct men's minds to what is now the science of Genetics, and but for them Mendel might never have been.

Mendel's character determinants are now identified as the genes borne along chromosomes, and they are both found to share the following traits in common, exemplified in the following casts. The daughter of an Anglo-Indian mother and an Indian father, both with dark eyes, is born with eyes blue like her maternal grandmother. In the case of Jews who were a mixture of Amorite, Hittite and Philistine strains at the time of the return to the Promised Land, and who also picked up Arab blood on the way, the Hittite nose has prevailed over all other types and is the most characteristic feature of a Jew anywhere in the world. The Hittite nose has

also prevailed in crosses with Greeks possessing classical features. The gene thus remains quite unchanged both in the dominant and recessive state. Each gene retains its own character in spite of all admixture with foreign protoplasm, and the recessive has been known to emerge unhurt and smiling after 350 generations of suppression, when restored to its homozygous state in *Drosophila*. In the life history of an individual the gene retains its essential nature through all changes of growth, development, chromosome balance and modes of reproduction—unless of course it mutates, and then it is no longer the same gene but a new unit in inheritance.

Observation of the constancy of the gene in action and reproduction through several cell generations as also the continuity it maintains in the life cycle of an individual from daughter cell to mature cell to daughter cell again, brings home the tremendous fact that it must have thus been continuously kept on the move through an unbroken series of cell generations, reaching down through time right back to the momentous occasion when Life on this Earth breathed its first. The basic unchanged genes are therefore as old as the hills, if not older.

Higher forms of life have acquired new characters as they have gradually evolved from their ancestors. This change, however, must not be measured in terms of our human span of life. A mural of the Saffron Crocus painted in Mexico 3000 years ago shows precisely the same characters as those of its descendants of the 20th century. Yet that Crocus had already evolved to its particular form from the primeval slime. Date palms have not mutated a great deal since the time of the Pharaohs, yet the number of cell generations they have passed through must be legion. Small mutations are constantly occurring, but they have to happen in the germinal line in order to be passed on. Certain mutations are found to occur again and again in populations under observation, e.g., mutations of red eye in *Drosophila* and the change from red to white grain in wheat. This mutation within a gene is not random and takes place within certain limits. Thus red eye never mutates to green, a colour common in insects. Once a gene mutates it becomes stable in inheritance. Mutants are usually recessive and usually harmful. It may be as Morgan points out that the useful mutations escape our eye. Wild populations are usually so balanced that any change is probably for the worse. Man has tried his hand at mutation, and temperature treatments and radiations are found to give the desired results, but the organism so treated usually survives in an undermined state of health. Artificial mutations are in the nature of hits in the dark as there is no knowing what character will be affected and how. A gene mutates as a result of interaction with the environment, and the environment does not affect all genes at a time nor even both alleles together. Mutation is thus quite unpredictable and hardly ever adaptive. Many mutations are known which are lethal and are

prevented from killing the organism by simply being under the firm thumb of a beneficial dominant. There is also the consideration that in highly specialized social groups the preservation of all types has an ethical significance and man tends less to keep his stock pure by putting the tubercular or the leprosy man out in the wilderness to perish. What is to the savage a physically weak type may have more value to the group as a whole than the average. Thus Shelley and Handel, Pope and Swift, Lamb and de Maupassant, Van Gogh and Elizabeth Browning could hardly have been fit types in the Darwinian sense.

Radiations issuing from the earth's crust can cause mutation at a slow rate. The first case of the harmful effects of artificial atomic fission is now known. A Japanese school girl has been found to have developed cataract in her eye, four years after the blast. The poison is acting slowly and cases of mutation in human inheritance are not yet known. Carrying further this idea of mutations in humans as a result of radio-active weapons used in warfare, Aldous Huxley has conjured up a nightmare world in which monstrous babies constantly crop up and the more monstrous ones are massacred in a public ceremony. Abnormalities such as seven or eight fingers or even fingers on the chest are politely ignored as the usual thing.

The genes are borne in linear sequences in the chromosomes, which protect them from direct exposure to the cytoplasm by embedding them in a matrix and providing protective caps at the end. The centromere, a differentiated body in the chromosome, regulates the movements of chromosomes during pairing and division as the nucleus is then in a disintegrated state. The gene chains cannot remain exposed in the cytoplasm, and if a chain gets broken it seeks to be joined linearly to another chain, and if it cannot it curls up and disintegrates. If such a chain possesses a piece of the centromere, it can go through division and persist as a separate chromosome in the complex. Translocations, inversions, and loss of or addition of parts are constant occurrence in hybrid protoplasm.

Life utilizes two substances to give expression to itself and maintain its continuity. These are proteins and nucleic acids together forming the stuff which has conjured up movement out of the inanimate, and gaining from complexity to further complexity, has at last created the mind of man,—the highest point as yet reached in evolution. Proteins sufficiently complex are elsewhere found able to maintain themselves as autonomous systems such as found in viruses. The chromosome string is built up of fibrous protein, of two degrees of complexity Eu,—and heterochromatin, and in these the genes reside. Certain localized sites of basic protein dotted along the string synthesize deoxyribose nucleic acid from the ribose nucleic acid of the cytoplasm. These sites become more and more visible as division approaches, the chromosome coils at the same time,

and by middivision is a dense spiral bundle of nucleic acid, not breakable even by ionizing particles.

During cell growth and differentiation the genes act rather like enzymes, by speeding up processes without being used up themselves. The dormant egg is roused to resume growth and differentiation when the new chromosomes from the male cell come in, and the gene quota is sufficient unto launching yet another individual out on the voyage of Life. The cytoplasm of the egg is already zoned and differentiated and institutes a series of interactions on certain genes which then form products to regulate the cytoplasm, and these in turn react back on the genes. The cytoplasm starts the cycle moving towards the differentiation of parts by first being differentiated itself, but its own differentiation had probably been arranged by the nucleus of the egg mother cell. Thus it is that although all genes are present in every part of the cell, sometimes in duplicate or triplicate in parts of the same organism, yet their effects are differential in different parts according to the hormones and enzymes released by them in each direction at the embryonic stage, which has shaped future development.

Each gene gives rise to another during the growth of a new chromosome and as a gene molecule is too complex to split into two and yet retain its essential structure it is probable that each molecule promotes the growth of a like particle outside of itself. The genes are, however, not identical with the particles.

The process of mutation cannot satisfactorily account for the growth of new characters nor of adaptive additions or changes. Darlington and Mather have worked out a system in which new characters may be realized, not as sudden acquisitions, but through a process of gradual accumulation and incorporation into the germinal line. The beginnings of a new character such as a larger and more highly coloured standard in a papilionaceous flower, first occurs in the simple unspecific plasmagenes of the cytoplasm which may even be left out of inheritance without injury. The next stage occurs in the more specific heterochromatin genes whose effects are not sharp and distinctive, but graded and quantitative. Lastly, it is incorporated as a complex heritable element of euchromatin, showing visible "factors" in test crosses. The usual belief is that euchromatin degenerates to heterochromatin and the latter is inert. Wright's system of gene activity assumes that nuclear genes migrate to cytoplasm to form plasmagenes. Darlington's system provides for a gradual building up of stable characters which is not unlike in concept to Darwin's pangenesis.

A gene when present may differ in its expressivity in as to whether it is heterozygous or homozygous, dominant or recessive, one of a number of allelomorphs or whether simply of low penetrance, even in the homozygous state. Nearby genes also influence each other's expression, and the diffuse action of polygenes, which Darlington identifies with heterochromatin, is quite

characteristic. They, as also certain other well-known genes, show position effect to a marked degree.

In the drama of nuclear division which provides the key to the nature of inheritance, the strings of genes known as chromosomes act as units. Genes are borne in a fixed sequence and this sequence is very important for the process of division to be smooth and exact. Changes in gene order have their repercussions on the offspring who may lack in or have more of certain characters and will thus be unbalanced. If sequences are similarly changed in both homologues no harmful effect is seen and division runs its course without incident. Some chromosomes do not allow their parts to break away and join up with another, all characters are closely linked in inheritance, and the whole chromosome acts as a super gene. Increase of cell number is effected by the cytoplasm cleaving into two and the longitudinal halves of chromosome migrating to each of the daughter cells. Each cell is exactly like its predecessor. In meiosis, the diversion specialized for sexually reproducing organisms, distribution of nuclear material takes quite a different direction.

Each organism here is composed of two similar sets of chromosomes, all of which have attained a perfect balance and harmony with each other. Partial loss or addition to genomes is found to throw development out of gear. Addition of another pair of complete sets does not, however, disturb the balance and indeed the organism shows an improved though certainly not changed phenotype, as undesirable recessives are all the more effectively gagged. Balance in division is thus essentially between two allelomorphs and the various movements of division are based on attraction and repulsion between a pair. Triploids or very dissimilar chromosome sets cannot survive the rigorous test of meiotic division, and many useful plant hybrids have to be propagated vegetatively. Meiosis not only entails halving of the chromosome number and precise distribution of the genes, so that the new cells do not lack in any but it also provides for the exchange of allelomorphs between the two genomes, thereby shuffling the genic material to some extent each time and ensuring variation. The number of possible variations at each division corresponds to Mendel's laws. Meiosis runs its course by first staging an attraction of homologues resulting in gene specific pairing, then in breakage at corresponding loci in paired homologues and rejoining of broken ends in such a manner that each string joins up with its homologue. Then there is repulsion which spaces out the chromosomes, or their split halves the chromatids. The next phase of attraction is of the organized nuclear sap called the spindle body, for the centromeres. The centromeres drag down the chromatid arms to the equator of the spindle and then neatly arrange themselves along it, homologues facing each other. Then there is either further repulsion between the homologues or attraction of the centromeres for the spindle poles, or

both, and homologues separate to the poles. The next division is mitotic during which the centromere splits and the paired chromatids are dragged away in opposite directions to be included in the two new cells. Four such cells or gametes are formed at each meiosis and each of two of such pairs differ in character from their parents and from each other.

It is not clear what forces regulate the flow of such a precise and by no means simple sequence of movements, and electricity, hydrodynamics, diffusion, and tactoid growth and hydration have been offered as explanations. This most delicate of all vital phenomena, the exact splitting up of germinal material, nevertheless follows the everyday laws of physics and chemistry.

The quantitative division of the cytoplasm in contrast to the qualitative one of the chromosomes serves to emphasize the difference between the two kinds of genes. Any number of plasmagones may be included in a daughter cell. All plasmagones are in a sense homologues and one more or less in the genome does not upset balance as in the case of the nuclear genes.

The importance of chromosome balance can be realized in the beautifully simple mechanism there exists for the determination of sex, though it is not in the Mendelian sense a heritable character. The whole of the sex chromosome with its linked characters, acts as a unit in inheritance, and the chromosome may in this sense be taken as a super gene. There is no single gene for sex, the start of differentiation toward maleness or femaleness depending on the balance established at fertilization between the sex chromosomes, and the rest of the chromosomes termed autosomes. Insects and animals and man have two similar sex chromosomes in the female and a dissimilar pair in males, one of them being similar to the ones in the female. The complex is expressed as 2AXX for female and 2AXY for male. Each of the gametes gets one of the sex chromosomes and their recombinations give male or female offspring. The Y is very small and heterochromatic and may sometimes be absent, when the sex mechanism is accordingly the XO type. An X gamete if fertilized by an X sperm gives rise to a female, if by Y to a male. If the X is lost from the egg and it is fertilized by an X sperm, the individual which should have been a female is an XO male. If both X's are present and a Y is added, it results in an XXY female. A 8AXXX female is not a better female by virtue of its extra chromosome. It is a weaker individual owing to balance not being maintained. XXXX4A females and XXYY4A males are perfectly balanced and healthy, as expected. In the insects the sex chromosome directly influences the growth of sex organs. If an ovary is trans-

planted to a male both sex organs grow in perfect harmony. In birds and higher forms however sex chromosomes institute the secretion of hormones which regulate the growth of organs. Castrated cocks or spayed hens lose all colouring and beauty, feathers, wattles and spurs and become poor listless individuals. Such hens may even develop functional testes and male feathering. The addition of sex hormones helps to restore the original feathers. This indirect process explains the apparently contradictory phenomena that in a cock with a male sex complex, his sex characters should be absent.

The process of meiotic division finds an individual at the weakest and most unprotected part of its life history and it is consequently tucked away in the inner recesses of the organism in a comfortably moist and warm atmosphere. Life seems essentially a process of going on and on against the destructive forces of time and tide, against the environment and against other forms of life. As it goes along it picks up many experiences and has somehow found a way to incorporate these into a single body, part of which it passes on to its offspring in digest form. The offspring plant of today can automatically safeguard itself against the various phenomena it must encounter in life—cold, drought, rain, a blazing sun, bacilli, and other forms of life which may look on it as a meal. It can also utilize the good salts and water of the earth and the elements of the air around it. The behaviour of the protoplasm towards each of these phenomena has been determined by centuries of experience. This it passes on to the next link in the chain of life, through one single body, the nucleus. Bernal has speculated that the complex protein molecules of living matter have been built up by the elements being accidentally incorporated in a particle of clay, the intricacies of whose layered structure can speed up chemical processes. Since then these protein granules have been carrying along without a break. The development of the sexual method of inheritance has helped this amalgamation of experience to be aided by the building up of one individual out of the parts and parcels of two. Thus various lines of experience from two corners of the world can meet and invest their portions in one single individual.* The wonder of the process is that it is carried out right under the nose of rigid natural laws of inanimate substances and it violates none of them.

Inheritance is thus all the time being improved upon. The end of the drama is not yet.

* The constant shuffling of dominants and recessives sometimes come up in rare combinations which may show a desired development in a very marked degree, and the type can subsequently be preserved. Lethal or too harmful combinations are automatically eliminated.

NEW LIGHT ON THE BELAVA GRANT OF BHOJAVARMAN.

By ASOKE CHATTERJEE

It is admitted that the Varmans play a prominent part in re-building and re-shaping of the history of Bengal after the extinction of the Palas. Of all the inscriptions of the Varmans so far available to us, much importance is given to the Belava Copper-plate grant of Bhajavarman. It not only deals with the heroic achievements of the various Varman kings, especially that of Vajravarma, Jatavarma, Samalavarman and Bhojavarma but gives a mythological and historical list of genealogy, and by mentioning the contemporary kings or rulers of other dynasties, it helps much in checking up the list by the actual date of those contemporary rulers, known to us.

Different opinions have been given by manifold scholars regarding verses ten, eleven and twelve of this inscription; still there is enough scope of discussion and invention in those verses.

Perhaps the latest and now-a-days accepted theory regarding this knotty point is upheld by Prof. N. G. Mazumdar in the *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III. His opinion does not tally with R. D. Banerjee and N. N. Basu or with Dr. R. G. Basak.

In verse 11, he takes Trailokyasundari as the daughter of Samalavarman through his wife Malavyadevi. The verse 12 mentions that Samalavarman had other wives besides Malavyadevi (*tasyasidagramahisi*). One of them, whose name does not occur in the inscription may be the mother of Udayi.

It means then, that Udayi was the brother of Bhojavarma and most probably, as the name is mentioned before Bhojavarma, Udayi was the elder brother of Bhojavarma. First of all, there is sufficient doubt in the theory that Udayi belonged to the Varman dynasty for his name did not end in Varman. Taking Udayi as shorter form of Udayivarma for argument's sake, it is hardly possible to give explanation as to why instead of the elder brother, the

younger brother occupied the throne? Why the poet is silent about Udayi?

Moreover, in the verse eleven, we have Malavyadevyasit and according to Prof. Mazumdar, it is a case of Saptami-tat-purusa Samasa. (*Malavadevyamasit*). But the Sanskrit grammarians do not allow such type of Samasa. It is obvious that it is not a case of Samasa.

Hence taking all these circumstances into consideration we see that Prof. Mazumdar's theory does not hold good.

The theory that Udayi means an epithet and not a name and it refers to Bhojavarma, falls to the ground as why Bhojavarma should be mentioned before? He should have been spoken of in its proper place, after Samalavarmadeva.

No question can arise if we construct these sentences as *Tasya Jagadvijayamallasya sunurabhut Udayi*, and *Tasya (Jagadvijayamallasya) Kanya asit Maiavadevi*. It means that Jagadvijayamalla (there is no necessity in connecting him with Jagaddeva, the son of Udayaditya, the Paramara King as is done by M. M. Sastri and D. C. Ganguly; for Prof. Mazumdar aptly shows that Jagaddeva and Jagadvijayamalla are two names) had a son named Udayi who was very powerful and he had a daughter also named Malavyadevi who was the beauty incarnate of the three worlds and whom he gave in marriage with Samalavarmadeva.

Thus by reconsidering and re-arranging the view of Prof. R. D. Banerjee, we can reach a safe conclusion.

If it is argued, in course of mentioning the genealogy of the Varman dynasty how can the poet narrate the story of brother-in-law of Samalavarman, it may be said in reply that in many inscriptions we find such examples.

—:O:—

SWEDISH CULTURAL PARTY'S VISIT TO INDIA BY BUS

In a communication in Swedish addressed to the distinguished Indian Linguist and Journalist, Mr. P. K. Banerjee, N.K.I. (Sweden)—the Editor of the most widely circulated Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*, Mr. Åke Fredriksson, has informed that he with his party consisting of an Artist, a Photographer, a Doctor and a few University students will shortly be coming out from Sweden (Stockholm) on a study trip to India and Pakistan via Middle Eastern countries in a specially equipped self-contained bus containing eight sleeping berths, a kitchen and a little surgical chamber so that the members of the cultural mission won't be required

to put up at any Hotel during their long tour. Mr. Fredriksson has specially invited Mr. Banerjee to join them in their tour. During their stay in India lasting for about 3 months the party will visit places of interest and establish cultural contacts with leaders of thought and culture and students' organisations in this country. Mr. Fredriksson has acknowledged with thanks all the assistance and advice he has received regarding the trip to India from His Excellency Manilal J. Desai, India's Ambassador in Sweden. On their way back to Sweden they would (like to) pass through Afghanistan.





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 or 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

GANDHIAN ETHICS: By Benoy Gopal Ray. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1950. Pp. xii + 70. Price Re. 1.

Shri Benoy Gopal Ray has tried to examine Gandhiji's ideas from the critical standpoint of a philosopher. He has come to the conclusion that Gandhiji reached the greatest heights in the ethical plane, but both philosophy and spirituality remained beyond his immediate concern. He was a great 'aspirant,' and not a 'perfect' man in the spiritual sense. On the basis of his moral stand, Gandhiji built up a new technique of collective action. His bias in favour of non-violence showed that he had not reached the condition from which 'violence' and 'non-violence' can be taken as equals.

Readers will be grateful to Prof. Ray for his critical, though slightly academic, essay; and it is hoped that this will further stimulate other scholars to study Gandhiji much more systematically than is usually done.

The reviewer, however, feels that a few minor inaccuracies have crept in here and there, and these might be profitably corrected in any future edition of the book. Thus, on p. 43, it is said that Champaran was Gandhiji's first experiment in mass Satyagraha in India. This is not quite correct; because the only disobedience undertaken on that occasion was by Gandhiji himself; the rest was purely an exercise in constitutional redress of a long-standing grievance.

It is again said that Gandhiji suspended his movements when violence crept into it. It would perhaps be more correct to say that Gandhiji was not afraid of violence from the masses, as such; he could indeed take very great risk as in 1942. But he did suspend movements when he felt that the violence was also being sponsored by the organization through which he was operating. Then he cried halt, and tried to set his own house in order.

SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI: By Krishnadas. Abridged and edited by Richard B. Gregg. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. xii + 272. Price Rs. 4.

The original book by Krishnadas was published many years ago. Then it deservedly became very popular because it contained an inside story of the Non-co-operation Movement of 1921-22. Mr. Gregg has reduced the book into its present shape by eliminating chapters and sections which have lost some part of their interest at the present time. All that was of permanent value has, however, been retained. In its present form, the book will be welcomed by all readers of Gandhian literature.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE VIJAYNAGAR EMPIRE: By T. V. Mahalingam. University of Madras. 1951. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 8.

It was almost half a century ago that Robert Sewell, a member of the Madras Civil Service, published the first historical sketch of Vijayanagar under the title *Vijayanagar: The History of a Forgotten Empire*. Since then the accumulation of material, both literary and archaeological, has been so great as to permit a detailed account of the great Hindu Empire of the Middle Ages in its various aspects. In the present work (which is a Madras University prize thesis) the author, who is the Indian History Reader in the University, has attempted a detailed survey of the economic life and conditions in the Empire, supplementing his earlier publication, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar* (1940). The work consists of six chapters bearing the titles "The Country and the People," "Agriculture and Land Tenures," "Industries," "Trade and Commerce," "Taxation, Currency and Measures," and lastly, "The State and Economic Well-being." The author has made an exhaustive study of all available material and the result is a well-documented, well-arranged and well-written work which does credit to his learning and critical acumen. The author's style is lucid and clear throughout.

While the merits of this work are undoubted, we may be permitted to offer a few criticisms. In his Preface (p. 1) he states (it is not known on what authority) that the Vijayanagar Empire for a time included a part of Burma. On pages 8-10 he rightly rejects Moreland's estimate of the total population of the Empire based on comparison of its admitted military strength with that of France and Germany before 1914 in ratio to the known populations of the two latter states. But his argument is weak and unconvincing. In fact, he misses the essential point vitiating the parallel with pre-war France and Germany, viz., that Vijayanagar had no exclusive citizen-army. On pp. 82-83, while discussing the highly important question of proprietorship of the soil, he quotes the valuable testimony of Madhava (*Nyayamala-vistara*, p. 358). But he ignores the fact that Madhava's opinion which occurs in course of discussion of a text (vi. 7.2) of Jaimini's *Mimamsa-sutras* (and not of *Jaiminiya Nyayamala*, as the author thinks) strictly follows the long commentarial tradition from Sabaravamin (c. 5th century A.D.) down to Khandadeva (17th century) and later times. On pp. 130 and 136, the author uses the opprobrious term ('native') which was discarded even by the British in the last phase of their rule over this country. The author's bibliography is exhaustive so far as it goes. But unhappily it makes no mention of the date of publication of the

BOOK REVIEWS

books concerned, while the division under three heads, i.e., (i) contemporary sources (including, strangely enough, such works as Sir Thomas Munro's *Selections from His Minutes* and Taylor's *Oriental Historical* (1883), (ii) 'published works,' and (iii) journals, is open to serious criticism from the point of view of terminology. We may lastly point out that the author should have added to his single map of 'ports and towns (sic) of Vijayanagar' a few others illustrating as far as possible the extent of its foreign trade and its chief trade-routes.

U. N. GHOSHAL

VEDANTA FOR THE WESTERN WORLD: By Christopher Isherwood and others. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Pp. 452. Price 18s. net.

At a time when the world is almost wholly infected with doubt, distrust and hatred, and conflict of various cultures and ideologies, there is need for the propagation of a system of thought and culture which can remove all these barriers that separate man from man or man from the rest of creation. Such a system is the Vedanta Philosophy of India. Although India is the land of its origin, it is a philosophy for all times and climes. For it, Reality is one, universal, formless and infinite Being or Existence which is the same as pure consciousness and bliss. Although formless it is manifested in all forms of existence and although infinite it is revealed in all finite beings. Such is the inscrutable creative energy of reality, its indescribable power of *Maya*. Every thing and being of the universe, therefore, a form or manifestation of Reality which is given such different names as Brahman, God, Self, life, etc., in different systems of philosophy and religion. Man as the manifestation of God is essentially divine, although in his ignorance he forgets his real nature and thinks of himself as limited, imperfect and sinful. The aim of man's life is the realization of God within him and within everything. Such realization comes by way of self-control, moral purification, philosophical contemplation and *yaogic* intuition. When a man realises God or Brahman, he sees the same Reality present everywhere in the universe and finds his own self in all other selves and all other lives in his self. He feels the pulsation of one universal life in all beings from the creator to the reaper. With this he becomes free from the sway of his ordinary passions and impulses of life, from greed and lust for pleasures of sense, and from ill-feeling and ill-will towards other beings. It is he who passeth from darkness to light, from death to life, and from truth to truth. In other words, such a man attains freedom from all bondage, equanimity in all conditions, mity towards all beings, and perfect peace and bliss. Since man of God-realisation and self-possession. Since Reality manifests itself in different ways and forms in all things of the universe we are to say that different systems of philosophy and religion are but revelations of the same Reality relatively to the different intellectual capacities and cultural attainments of different groups of individuals. There is, therefore, an essential unity among all religions of the world, and it is sheer folly and conceited purlindness or the followers of one religion to stigmatise all other religions as irreligion and condemn their followers as infidels and unbelievers.

In the book under review the different aspects of Vedantic thought and culture have been explained and examined in turn by a group of eminent scholars from East and West. It is a collection of essays and poems, each of which represents Vedantic thought in some form or other. Some of them bear on the main

principles and propositions on which Vedanta philosophy is based, some on the methods of Vedantic knowledge, while others either relate to the implications and applications of Vedanta to practical life and its problems or describe some illustrious lives illustrative of Vedantic realisation. The Introduction by the editor, Christopher Isherwood, is very valuable for its sympathetic and authentic exposition of the main principles of Vedanta philosophy and the account of the life of Sri Ramakrishna as the living embodiment of Vedantic thought and culture. The book is a valuable contribution to Vedanta literature which, although intended for the West, should be widely read in the East. The more the modern mind is imbued with Vedantic thought the better for the future of mankind.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

VEDANT PHILOSOPHY: By F. Max Muller. Sunit Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 109. Price not mentioned.

Our hearty thanks go to the publishers for bringing out cheap and handy reprints of famous books on ancient Indian Philosophy and Culture which have long been out of print. This is one of them. Prof. Max Muller's treatises on the six philosophical systems are classics by themselves. Three of his popular lectures on Vedant Philosophy delivered at the Royal Institute, London, in March 1894, are here reproduced. They will remind us once again of the lifelong labour of Max Muller to unearth India's brilliant past lost to Indians themselves. We await with interest the other volumes to follow.

B.

THE WEB OF INDIAN LIFE: By Sister Nivedita. With an Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Pp. xii + 324. Price Rs. 3-8 and de Luxe Rs. 5.

The first edition of the book was published abroad in May 1904. Four subsequent editions, from August 1904 to July 1918, were all exhausted, and the book has been long out of print. Hence our hearty congratulations to the publishers bringing out this first Indian edition and removing a long-felt want.

In his Introduction, Poet Rabindranath writes: "What you feel as the truth of a people, has its numberless contradictions, just as the single fact of the roundness of the earth is contradicted by the innumerable facts of its hills and hollows. Facts can easily be arranged and heaped up into loads of contradiction; yet men having faith in the reality of ideals hold firmly that the vision of truth does not depend upon its dimension, but upon its vitality. And Sister Nivedita has uttered the vital truths about Indian life." The perusal of the book at once brings to the reader's mind the justness of what the Poet has said by way of appreciation as well as criticism of its contents.

In different chapters, sixteen in number, the authoress has poured forth, in inimitable style, the knowledge and experience she had gained of men and things in Bengal, and for the matter of that, in India. The first few chapters (II-VI) deal exclusively with the woman in whom she has found not only the Bengali mother, sister and wife, but also something more; she is the "feeder and sustainer of our national culture and traditions." In very little things she has discovered great meanings and truths. She has rightly anticipated the future role the Indian woman would play in moulding our nationality. In her words: "It is quite evident that if the centre of social gravity is some day to be

shifted, if the intellectual atmosphere of India is yet to be saturated with fresh ideals, not only must her womanhood participate in the results of the implied revolution, but they must contribute largely to bringing it about. For it is the home, not the factory, that fills life with inspiration; . . ." (p. 94). In these chapters many thoughtful expressions occur, only a few are given here: "In a national character we always find a summary of the national history" (p. 78); "Freedom is granted only to the self-disciplined" (p. 82); "The national ideal cannot be imposed from without—it must develop from within" (p. 100); etc.

In Chapters VII, XIII and XIV the authoress has dwelt on such important topics as the Indian sagas, Indian caste system and Islam in India. In the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the great sagas, we find the cradle of Indian civilization. True significance of Indian caste system has been overlooked by many, and this negligence is mainly responsible for the failure of reformers to strip the system of its evils. The place of Islam in the evolution of Indian nationality has been very ably elucidated by the authoress. In some other chapters she has brought out the underlying truths and ideals of the Hindu life and the continuity of his religious thought. In diversity she has discovered source of unity which will cement our nationality. And for this the ultimate responsibility rests with the woman and the people, and to none else. The book was meant for the Westerners. Necessarily she has very often compared things Western with Eastern. For a student of comparative sociology, the treatise is all the more useful. As a true interpreter of India to the West, the Sister's place is far above the commoner.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

- (1) 'PLUM' WARNER: By Laurence Meynell.
- (2) MAURICE TATE: By John Arlott.
- (3) C. B. FRY: By Denzil Batchelor.
- (4) DON BRADMAN: By Philip Lindsay.

Phoenix House Limited, 33 William IV Street, London. With four plates each. Each volume: Price 4s. 6d.

Cricket is the national game of England. Because of her association with Britain for more than a century and a half, it has also become the most popular game in India. As in various other fields of life, in cricket also there are personalities who will be ever remembered as great figures. W. G. Grace of England, Ranjit Singh, or as he is lovingly called Ranji, of India, and Don Bradman of Australia are perhaps names to conjure with. The volumes under review along with other volumes which will be available later on form a series entitled *Cricketing Lives*. So far as the first books of the series are concerned, each volume contains the life and achievement of a great cricketer who is still living but has retired from cricket.

Laurence Meynell is a novelist of repute. His 'Plum' Warner is the first volume of the series. Pelham Francis Warner (now he is Sir Pelham) was a fine batsman of his day, and more than that he may be said to be a cricket ambassador, for under the aegis of the M. C. C. he took part in a great many foreign tours either as the captain of the team or as its manager. Meynell not only writes about his hero but he also gives us short accounts of the Marylebone Cricket Club (M.C.C.) which is the controlling body of English Cricket, of the Ashes which are so frequently referred to whenever Test Matches are played, of the Lord's and of the other things connected with cricket. John Arlott, a well-known sports writer, writes about Maurice Tate, a great bowler who retired

from cricket just before the Second World War. Denzil Batchelor, a famous special correspondent on sport, conjures up his memory of C. B. Fry. Charles Fry, a contemporary and friend of the great Ranji, was not only a very fine cricketer and famous sportsman and athlete of his time but he is also a great classical scholar and a man of action. The enthusiasm and fervour with which *Don Bradman* is written is very rarely to be met with in books on sports. Philip Lindsay is a distinguished Australian novelist, and he conjures up his memory of that cricket genius, Don Bradman. As regards spectators of matches who are so often attacked as idle and inactive watchers Lindsay remarks: "That is the great value of sport, this association of spectator with player. Those moralists who rage against idle folk sitting and watching others at work fail to have any understanding of the spiritual value of games. It does not pander to idleness; far from it, indeed; it inspires to action, as a work of art can inspire one to be up and doing . . . Yes, sport can do that to a young man: it can stiffen the backbone and exalt the heart. Bradman helped to keep my faith alight."

Of sports, perhaps more has been written about cricket than any other game. A fine literature has grown up about and around it. The volumes under review constitute a valuable addition to that literature. A novel way has been adopted for the presentation of the subject. The essays are short biographies of the heroes of cricket written by their hero-worshippers. Not only lovers of cricket but general readers also will find them interesting. The books are finely written. We await the forthcoming volumes.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

SRI BASAVESWARA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES: By A. R. Jayaram. Published by Sri Siddhaganga Mutt, Siddhaganga, Tumkur District, Mysore. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 3-8.

This book gives in brief the life-sketches of Sri Basava, the founder of Virasaivism, and his twenty-two contemporaries who brought about a profound revival of Saivism in the Karnataka in the twelfth century. This religious revival started in the eighth century lasted till the twelfth, pervaded the whole of South India and was led by the great Samayacharyas Sri Manickavachakar, Appar, Sambadar and Sundarar. But for this revival Hinduism had little chance of surviving the Buddhist and Jaina influence and onslaught. Hence the book forms an important chapter of the religious history of Medieval India. This work is based almost entirely on the *Basava Puranam* in Tamil. The Tamil Purana was first published in 1873 A.D. and is now out of print. It is based on the Kannada version of the Basava Purana by Bhima Kavi. The Kannada version is again based on the Telugu version of the Purana by Somanatha of Palkurki. Thus we see that Puranas have grown in three leading languages of the South—Kannada, Tamil, and Telugu on Sri Basava and the epoch-making religious upheaval initiated by him. The book under review gives in English for the first time this valuable chapter of our religious history quite unknown to those who are ignorant of any of the three languages mentioned above.

Sri Basava, regarded as the incarnation of Nandiswar, was born in 1132 A.D. of Brahmin parents, Madiraja and Madamba, in Ingulapura in the northern part of the Karnataka. As a child he flatly refused to undergo the customary *upanayan* ceremony arranged by his father Madiraja, left his paternal home, and accompanied by his sister Nagambike went to the abode of Sivasarana, a learned ascetic in Kudala. He

RESULTS SPEAK

HINDUSTHAN'S 1950 Valuation

for the four years ended 31st. Dec. 1950 discloses a **SURPLUS** of over Rs. 1 Cr. 25 Lks. as a result of which BONUS has been declared in respect of all with profit policies (per Rs. 1,000/- sum assured per annum) on

Endowment Assurance } Rs. 8
Whole Life Assurance }

The results have been obtained after strengthening the reserves by reducing the interest basis by $\frac{1}{2}\%$ and providing for depreciation and all contingencies.

In spite of having to work under several adverse factors such as low interest earning, high costs and depreciation the results prove once again Hindusthan's economical management, unimpeachable security and strong financial position in all respects.

- Policies in force... Over Rs. 73 Crs. 16 Lakhs
- Life Fund..... " Rs. 15 " 97 "
- Premium income... " Rs. 3 " 40 "
- Claims paid..... " Rs. 7 " 20 "

HINDUSTHAN
CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE
SOCIETY, LIMITED
4 CHITAPANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA

accepted the ascetic as his guru and was initiated into Siva mantra. Then he was married to the daughter of his maternal uncle Baladeva, Prime Minister to King Bijjala of Kalyan. Ere long he succeeded his father-in-law as the chief minister of King Bijjala and in collaboration with his distinguished apostles withstood the fierce attack of Jainism and Buddhism and re-established Hinduism in the Karnataka. At the end of his life's mission he attained eternal union with his Ishtadeva Sangameswara at Kudala. The life-story of Sri Basava is as interesting and instructive as those of other Medieval Indian saints.

Virasaivism of the Karnataka goes by the name Satsthal Siddhanta and differs much from the Saiva Siddhanta of Tamilnada. It is so called as the aspirant has to pass through the six stages of ascent in his spiritual progress for final union with Siva. The six stages are called Bhaktasthala, Maheswarasthala, Prasadiasthala, Pranalingasthala, Saranasthala and Aikyasthala and correspond to the six chakras of Kundalini Sakti, named Muladhara, Swadhisthana, Manipura, Anahata, Visuddha and Ajna. The four special chapters added in the appendix on Linga, Bibhuti, Rudraksha and Panchakshara furnish a wealth of information of inestimable value. This book, therefore, not only contains a short life of Sri Basava and his contemporaries but also an excellent outline of Virasaiva philosophy. Written in a readable style and printed nicely on good paper it is very well worth an attentive study.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE TRIAL OF ST. JOHN: By J. S. Turner. Published by A. Mukherjee and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

A play in four scenes, depicting the martyrdom of St. John the apostle—more lyrical than truly dramatic in vein. The dialogues are partly in prose, partly in verse. The work leaves, on the mind of the reader, the imprint of a heroic soul, who courted death for his unflinching devotion to truth. The language is melodious. There are experiments with sprung-rhythm and inner rhymes, but at times they are overdone: "Heretic; Lunatic; Fanatic; Fool, tool, sold to Satan . . . ; Hold your bold tongues, you've said enough; Hear what the prisoner says." (Sc. II).

Expressions like "autosuggestion" (p. 44), "the extension in politics and economics of love's vital dimension" (p. 47) appear rather out of place.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

THE ETHICS OF ISLAM—WITH THE POLITICAL SPIRIT OF ISLAM etc.: By Syed Ameer Ali. Published by the Noor Library on behalf of the Academy of Islamic Research and Academic Learning, 12 Serang Lane, Calcutta. Appendix XII. Pp. 52. Price not mentioned.

Janab Moin-ud-Din Husayn, B.A. has made a speciality of his own to throw up a bridge of knowledge between the various cultures of India since his youth. His family traditions have been "nationalist," to use a term that is popular today. These have entailed humiliations on them since Muslim conceit of a separate nationality in India raised its poisonous head.

But it has not stood in his way; undismayed he has been continuing his self-chosen work. The present booklet is Islamic Series—No. 2, and it embodies a reprint of an address by Syed Ameer Ali, then a young barrister at the Calcutta High Court, to members of the Society for the Higher, now the University Institute. The date on which it was delivered is not mentioned.

The idea inspiring this reprint that a knowledge of the basic ideals and practices of Islam on the part of non-Muslims, even of Muslims, will help smooth their relations that have not yet been very happy during the last thirteen hundred years. What is generally known as "religion" has very often been the breeding-ground of wars in the name of peace and amity. Even Islam has not escaped this stigma, though it means Peace. Syed Ameer Ali has extensively quoted from the Q'oran to re-emphasize his belief. And the Appendix is made up of extracts from his famous book *The Spirit of Islam*. The compiler has done a more valuable service to human understanding by publishing the charters granted by the founder of Islam to Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. The charters, however, had been effective only for the "Golden" 30 years of Islam, the period covered by the administration of the first four Caliphs. After that with the spread of the Islamic State, a spirit of intolerance spread which did not spare even the Muslims. But religion had nothing to do with it. Human ambitions ruled the conduct of Muslim rulers. A new era did not dawn.

S. C. DEV

THE NEW YEAR BOOK: Edited by P. C. Sarkar. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1-C Col. lege Square, Calcutta. Pp. 366. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is the eighth issue; as it is published in the middle of the year it contains the latest information about the State and Central Budgets—information which is not available in other Year-books. Besides, it has given the basis of the Pakistan Constitution—the full text of the Committee appointed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This is extremely useful for public men. The printing and get-up is good.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

RAJAGRIHA O NALANDA: By Dr. Amulya Chandra Sen. Published by Bharat-Vidya Vihar, 21 Balaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta 4. Price Re. 1-12.

The author is well-known as a devoted scholar in the much neglected domain of Jaina-Buddhist culture and he has spent years in visiting the different sacred places of Jainism and Buddhism. Both are well-represented in his recent book on *Rajagriha and Nalanda* which is much more than a mere travel or guide book. He has incorporated in it the latest findings of eminent archaeologists as well as the publications of the Archaeological Department. The major part of the book is naturally devoted to the historic site of Rajagriha, both in its Buddhist and Jaina context, which he alone could bring out, because he is a specialist in Pali and Jaina Prakrit literature. We may suggest, however, that he should devote a special monograph on Nalanda which is equally important in the religious and cultural history of ancient India. Naturally Nalanda was the centre of a truly international University not only in India but in the entire continent of Asia. That is why eminent scholars like Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsing and others from China and the Far East spent years as the guest-scholars of the Nalanda University. The book is excellently printed with many illustrations and will be helpful to scholarly visitors as well as to ordinary tourists. We congratulate the members of the Bharat-Vidya-Vihar and the energetic publisher who have published this dependable Guide Book at a very moderate price.

KALIDAS NAG

(1) **PASCHIM BANGER ARTHANAITIC BHUGOL:** By Prof. Sivapada Mukherjee. Published by H. Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pages 140. Price Rs. 2.

(2) **BHARATBARSER PARIBAHAN BYABASTHA:** Author and Publisher same. Pages 64. Price Re. 1-8.

The first one is a book on Economic Geography of West Bengal in eight chapters dealing with National Environment, Agriculture, Animal products, Mineral and Forest resources, Industries, Transport and Ports and Towns. Since the partition, India (particularly West Bengal) has become a deficit area, short of raw materials and food. Thus the entire economy has been thrown out of gear. The problem requires special study by all concerned—students, businessmen and the government. The author has done a good service to the country by bringing a volume in Bengali for the benefit of the common man without whose knowledge, help and co-operation and correct understanding no amount of State-planning can speed up reconstruction of the country. We would recommend this book to our young men without whose help, devotion, energy and perseverance West Bengal cannot be strong as an economic unit in the Indian Union deficient as it is agriculturally and industrially.

The second one is a book on communications in India. It gives a short account of roads, railways, waterways and airways in the Indian Union. This country is very deficient in communications and any economic planning is sure to suffer from this handicap. And as such the government has planned for its development. Even this seems to be slow compared with the immediate need. The author has suggested speedy development.

A. B. DATTA

BANGLA BARSALIPI (1358): Sanskriti Bai-thak, Calcutta. Pp. 384. Price Rs. 2.

This is the eighth year of the publication of this Bengali Year-Book. It contains much useful information and some informations which are not easily or usually available. But it is full of mistakes; it seems to have been edited carelessly. For example, the names of the Chairmen of the Municipalities are given at pp. 132, etc. Against Howrah, there is the remark the post is vacant. This is positively misleading—at all material times S. J. Salla Kumar Mukherjee was the chairman, similarly the name of the chairman of the 24-Parganas District Board is left vacant, although the well-known Congressman, S. Prafulla Nath Banerjee is the chairman for the last 3 or 4 years. Again the dates of the foundation of the Indian Universities as given are often wrong; e.g., Hindu University (1911—it should be 1915); Aligarh University (1929!); Patna (1927!!); Punjab (1947!!!). Those who edit Year-books should take more care.

J. M. DATTA

RABINDRANATHER SAHITYADARSHA: By Prof. Prabas Jiban Chaudhuri. Published by Sanskriti Bai-thak, 17, Panditya Place, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

In a treatise containing 13 chapters the writer has ably dealt with the literary ideal of Rabindranath. The fundamentals of literature and its relation to life, science, philosophy and truth form the subject-matter of several chapters. The writer's mode of exposition is clear and attractive.

RAHITE NARINU GHARE (I could no longer stay at home): By Sri Kalipada Ghatak. Published by Mitralaya, 10, Shyamra Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.

A romantic 'long story' depicting 'love of the spirit' between Sribilas, a kirtan-singer and Lakshmi, a simple, pure-souled village-girl. Owing to village-intrigues they had to pass through many ordeals. Sribilas leaves his native village and his enemies come to repentance in the end. The easy, unruffled movement of the story suggests to the mind the graceful flow of a woodland rivulet, charming in its simplicity.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

KALPANA KANAN: By Brijlal Biyani. Published by Hind Prakashan, Akola, Berar. Pp. 79. Price Rs. 2.

A collection of thirteen delightful essays (including the Preface), dealing with such commonplace events and individuals as birthday, the *tongawala*, the glow-worm, etc., with an ecstatic extravagance of imagination, held however, in check by the cry and claims of the human heart. The result, therefore, is that there is a touch—the master's touch—of a Charles Lamb in the author's creation.

VIRAT: By Stephen Zweig. Published by Hindi Sahitya Prakashan, Ajmer. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.

This Hindi rendering by Yashpal Jain of one of the greatest "human documents" in the literature of the world is a valuable contribution to the cause of inter-literary mutual appreciation and edification. The translator has done adequate justice to the original while Benarsides Chaturvedi has contributed an appreciative biographical sketch of Zweig and his philosophy of life, which may be summed up in the words of the original author's wife:

"Man in his blindness, not knowing whom he strikes and judges, should judge not and strike not."

A story, which is the story after the heart of the Poet Tagore and of the Prophet Gandhi.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **RASHTRAVALLABH SARDAR VALLABH BHAI:** Cloth-bound. 1948. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2.

(2) **MAHADEV BHAI HARIBHAI DESAI:** Cloth-bound. 1948. Pp. 103. Price Rs. 2.

(3) **SIR SHAPOORJI B. BILLIMORIA, Kt.:** Cloth-bound. 1945. Pp. 264. Price Rs. 5.

All three written by Ambalal N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Sold by the Sahakari Prakashan Ltd., Bombay 1, and published by the Brihad Gujarati Publication House, Bombay 7.

All three biographies are the result of a facile pen, and they are couched in terse language, but not omitting a single important detail in the lives of any one of the three. They read more like a narrative than a list of the incidents in the lives of the distinguished three. Mr. Joshi has about six or seven publications to his credit, mostly on topics relating to the Zoroastrian community. He is contemplating publishing the lives of some Parsi Shethias in English. Sir S. Billimoria is a well-known Parsi philanthropist, though an auditor by profession. All three books are worth reading, so replete with information they are.

K. M. J.

CALCHEMICO'S
Quality Toiletries



MARGO SOAP HIGHCLASS NEED
TOILET SOAP
CASTOROL PERFUMED
CASTOR OIL
LABONNY SNOW & CREAM
RENUKA TOILET POWDER

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL - CALCUTTA

M. B. SARKAR & SONS

Our new show room
and work shop at
167/C, 167/C/1, BOWBAZAR ST.
CALCUTTA.
AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR
ST. JUNCN
(Opposite Our Old Show Room)

**M. B. SARKAR
& SONS**

Jewellers & Diamond merchants
Phone: B. B. 1761 Gram: BRILLIANTS
Branch—HINDUSTHAN MART
159/1/B, Rashbehari Avenue, Cal.

ব্রাহ্ম চিকিৎসান মাঠ বালিগঞ্জ
১০৮/১ বি. বাসবিহারী এডালিউ কলি-মাতা
১৯৬১ খ্রি. ১৯৬১
গ্রাম ব্রিলিয়ান্স

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Ideal of Man

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

According to the Vedanta, the ideal of man is the immediate and direct realization (*aparokshanubhuti*) of Brahman as non-different from his own Self (*Atman*). for, from the standpoint of the highest Truth, Brahman alone is real and all else is an appearance of name and form. Brahman pervades everything everywhere. The personal God is the highest reading of the Impersonal Absolute that the human mind, with its limitations, can attempt, accept, love, and worship. God realization is, therefore, the goal of human life. Even the rank atheist or agnostic, apparently unconcerned about God or the Reality behind all existence, is seeking God, though he may call the object of his search by some other name. The very fact that God or the Self is the subject of human enquiry indicates their existence. In the words of Descartes, God exists because of the very question arising in the mind of man regarding His existence (*cogito ergo sum*). There is no love that can satisfy the heart of man but the love of God. The basis of human love is the spontaneous longing for the infinite bliss (*ananda*) that flows out of the soul towards the one universal Self that resides in all. This truth was imparted to Maitreyi by her husband Yajnavalkya, who taught her saying:

"It is not for the sake of the husband, my beloved, that the husband is dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of the wife, my beloved, that the wife is dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of the children, my beloved, that the children are dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of the wealth, my beloved, that wealth is dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of itself, my beloved, that anything whatever is esteemed, but for the sake of the Self."

No individual or nation can reach the heights of excellence in things spiritual without enthusiastically coming under this great and powerful ideal of man. Each individual has to work out his own salvation; there is no other way to ensure permanent peace and joy within and without. The more a man thinks of God, the stronger and better he becomes. What can be a higher ideal for man than the intense pursuit of God through sincere love and service? And what can ennoble man better than pure love and unselfish service offered to God and man?

To love man is to love God; to serve man is to worship God, to realize God and live constantly in Him is to become identified with the whole of humanity.

Sri Ramakrishna used to sing, "Mind, struggle unto death. Can any pearl be found in knee-deep waters? If you want to realize Him, dive down into the very depth of the ocean."

Science and politics have come to stay as powerful forces that sway men's minds in the present age.

They are good and necessary as means to the End which man is seeking to reach as early as possible. But what makes the power released by these forces terror to humanity is not anything intrinsically wrong with science or politics but the shifting of emphasis on the End, the Ideal, which man should seek to attain through them. Self-interest and greed have driven out love and charity, greed a lust, have put a premium on fraud and immorality and the hedonistic and secular ideal have sought to captivate man by catering to his baser instincts, passions and urges. The spiritual ideal, which directs man's vision to an integral conception of life as Reality is looked down upon with curious distrust. The prevailing scientific temper and logicity have complacently ignored even to consider intuitive mystical thought and realization as worthy of investigation. Writes Alexis Carrel:

"The brutal materialism of our civilization not only opposes the soaring of intelligence, but also crushes the affective, the gentle, the weak, the lonely, those who love beauty, who look for other things than money, whose sensibility does not stand the struggle of modern life."

There may be innumerable ideas and idols, but the Ideal of man is universal. The remaking of man and the re-establishment of peace and brotherhood depend upon the re-awakening of the individual spiritual consciousness. The truths of science have to be understood and utilized for human advancement, a means to the perfection that man desires so earnestly but not dissociated from the spiritual values of life. "Arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached"—was the exhortation of Swami Vivekananda to every one aspiring to strive after the Ideal of Man. He said, "Here is the ideal. When a man has no more self in him, no possession, nothing to call 'me' or 'mine,' has given himself up entirely, destroyed himself as it were—in that man is God Himself; for in him self-will is gone, crushed out, annihilated. That is the ideal man."

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

50 TABLETS Rs. 3 100 RS. 5-8
At All leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
Himco Laboratories
231, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

The Poetry of the Rigveda

The *Rigveda* is the earliest book of humanity, held for long centuries in the highest esteem by the scholars of India. Dr. Matlal Das observes in *The Aryan Path* :

Our task here is not to explore the religious or mystic symbolism of the Vedic singers, whose revelations were the fountain source of the elevated Upanishads, but merely to discuss the richness, the beauty, the depth and the fervour of the Vedic hymns as poems. The strength of these lyrics and verses arises equally from an inward profundity and a generous sensuousness.

The poet is a seer, perceiving the beauty and the truth which lie hidden from ordinary sight. The rhythm that vibrates around us, the sweetness that pervades the most commonplace things of life are not felt by us, but a poet sings of his joy in communion with the worlds of mind and of matter. But the mystic has a gift rare even among poets. He sees into the inmost soul of life and nature, not by aesthetic sensibility alone, but by developing his inner consciousness by some mysterious power—an illumination which can be felt, but defies analysis and explanation. The taste of sugar has a special quality which can be perceived only by tasting sugar. It is so with mystic perception. Unless the mind is attuned to this outlook it is not possible to grasp the mystic idea. This is in essence a training of the heart, by which the ultimate truths flash upon the pure mind like the sudden flash of the dawn. The mystic feels them though he may not be in a position to make them pass the test of reason. Mysticism is thus a particular method of the search for truth by which, through intuition, we arrive at fundamental verities.

The Vedic poets are essentially mystics.

Produced in an atmosphere surcharged with ritual, their poetical images, their idioms and the form and colouring of their poems are different and a modern man may find it difficult to go below the surface to understand the inner meaning. But the difficulty is not insurmountable for one who seeks to penetrate the Vedic poems' inward depths of harmony. We must, however, bear in mind that the *Rigveda* is not the work of a single poet. It is an anthology and its verses represent different strata of thought, though there is an underlying unity of purpose and of outlook.

It will not be possible to deal adequately with the varied beauties of the hymns. I shall give a few examples only. In the famous "creation" hymn, lofty and grand in conception, rich in idealism, deep submission to the mystery is felt expanding into prophetic utterance.

"There was no life then, nor what is non-being. There was no atmosphere or sky beyond. What covered all? What sheltered? What concealed? Did it lie in the deep abyss of the waters?

"Neither death was there nor immortality. Neither the light of day was, nor the night. The One breathed by its inner power without breath; Other than It there was nothing . . .

"Desire arose in the beginning in That; it was the primal germ of spirit.

"The sages searched in their hearts and found by wisdom the root of being in non-being."

There are few poems in world literature which can stand comparison with the original for its superb glory, its matchless diction and its philosophic depth. The Absolute Reality which is behind phenomena is

beyond all human categories. It is only possible to explain reality to the uninitiated in terms which are vague. The word-music of the poem, its imaginative fervour, its sheer beauty and sweetness are lost in translation. The sob and surge of the eternal sea weave a charm round this poem, unique in its lonely grandeur.

For inner light the grand Prajapati hymn, which we shall quote in part, is no less important. In its elevating tone it outdistances all rivals in the whole Vedic literature. The accent is one of experience and wisdom. It is at once human, happy and powerful.

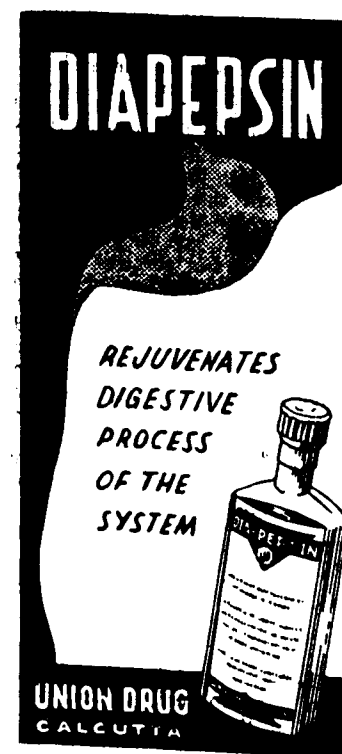
"A golden germ arose in the beginning. He was born, the only Lord of creatures. He established the earth and the firmament: What god shall we adore with our oblation?"

"He gives the vital breath. He gives power and vigour. He whose behests all gods acknowledge—the shadow of whom is life immortal as well as death: What god shall we adore with our oblation?"

"Who is looked up to for help by the trembling earth while battle rages over it between the powers of evil and of good; when over it the risen sun shines in splendour: What god shall we adore with our oblation?"

The poem inspires awe and that sense of mystery which arouses insistent questioning. The mystical experience of the poet is felt in its subtle depth and poignancy by even the most casual reader.

Let us turn from these songs of profound philosophy to some simple poems of everyday life, where the poets feel the beauty and the joy of nature.



The poems on the dawn are remarkable for fine imagery and pleasing technique. I select for its brevity this poem on the dawn:

"O thou beautiful dawn, come hither by auspicious ways, from above the golden realm of the bright sky . . .

"O thou bright dawn, when thy hour comes, men and cattle stir in joy.

"And from all quarters flock together the winged birds.

"Thou, when thou comest with thy golden beams, fillest the world with radiance and splendour.

"The sons of Kanva invoke thee for glory and joy and pour forth their fervour in sacred songs."

Like children we travel into fairyland with the poet, who is not only a poet of imagination but also a poet of innocence. Like all fine poetry, it is a union of images and music. We escape from the four walls which confine us and travel forth into a world of beauty and rhythm. Those who want to enjoy the superb skill of the Vedic poets should read the longer poems on the dawn which reach the height of poetical fancy by a realization of the unearthly which is yet earthly-entwined and remarkably concrete.

The hymn on night from which we quote the following few lines, is equally beautiful in its symbolism and imaginative sensuousness:

"With her shining eyes the Goddess night looks forth and moves in many places. The void she fills, she fills height and depth—the immortal Goddess. Her splendour covers the darkness. When she comes she places her sister the dawn in her place and so the darkness smiles on her. Just as birds rest on the tree, we tread on her pathways. O thou Goddess, give us shelter this night . . ."

The description is vivid. The starlit night, the magic and music of the incoming dawn and the departing night are put forth in images which are obvious but none the less delightful for that.

The hymn to the forest is marvellous for its grace and beauty:

"O thou wild forest, wild art thou, pathless thou roamest. Why dost thou not seek the village? Art thou not afraid? The bull roars somewhere; the cricket chirps. Thou, lady of the forest, playest as it were on a harp. The cattle graze yonder—there shines what seems to be a dwelling-house.

"At eve one hears the rattling sounds of carts. Here one calls his cow—there someone has felled a tree. A dweller at eve fancies that a cry rings somewhere. She does not slay unless one goes with evil intent. One can have sweet fruits and then can rest where he wills.

"O thou lady of the forest, accept my songs—thou sweet-scented queen, redolent of balm. Thou art the mother of fawns. Thou hast a rich store of food though thou hast no tilling."

It is a pure nature-poem, its bare simplicity and sensuous appeal wedded to imaginative power. The poem stands the test of true creative art.

The hymn to Mother Earth which we have not space to quote, makes the reader feel that he is looking at our well-known globe for the first time, with the wonder and joy of the first child on the face of the earth. The poet extends the boundaries of reality and reveals the significance of the known in words of music that are true and sincere. The naturalistic impressionism of the poem is interwoven with human emotions. The vital energy finds soft and lucid expression even in its brevity.

There are some ballads in the *Rigveda* which cannot but fascinate even the most acute critics.

Rich and sensuous, they inspire us with their beautiful strength, their terse and tense dialogues and their overwhelming human sympathy.

I shall conclude with a quotation from the last hymn of the *Rigveda*, which is a clarion call to universal unity and should have, in these days of world-planning and internationalism, a universal appeal:

" . . . Let us assemble together, speak together, let us have one mind, just as the mighty forces of nature move and act under law. Let our goal be common, common the parliament, common our desires, so will our efforts be joint.

"A common ideal is before us all for one acceptance and let us fulfil it with common sacrifice.

"Let our resolve be one and let our hearts be together. Let us bring happiness and joy by uniting our thoughts and deeds."

The *Rigvedic* poems have a reserve of power and a depth of poetic radiance which, being inward, penetrate to the dynamic centre of life.

Picturesque many of them are; some seem wild and rugged; but there is something organic in the spirit and atmosphere of the poems which gives them a perfect poise and a noble suavity. There are endless repetitions but this is obviously inevitable, if we bear in mind the background of the poems. A sanctity pervades them all. They draw our attention to the vast cosmic whole. It is idle to criticize the poems from our modern stand-point; we should, on the contrary, try with humility to understand them. To realize their import fully, we must revive the passionate devotion and wonder of those days.

The images and symbols of the Vedic hymns are symbols of far-off days but they are full of ever-widening sense and harmony. They have a white purity round about them. They spring forth with superb ease from the hearts of the mystic bards. The diction is sometimes archaic, the meaning is at places obscure, but there is the joy of the creative urge in all of them, a vigour, a dynamic force, a buoyant optimism. They are the expressions of men to whom life was bright and joyous, who loved life in its fullness. Morbid pessimism is conspicuous by its absence.

Modern man may not enter into the keen religious fervency that expresses itself in the poems but he can recognize the burning sincerity of the utterance and can appreciate not only their grandeur and the profoundly penetrating insight of the mighty singers but also the supreme beauty of the poetry as such. The study of these hymns will help to open the intuition to a new world of beauty and of joy; they lead us towards the realm of the eternal and the infinite.

Internationalism Through Ages

Dr. Amaresh Datta writes in *Careers and Courses* :

That the solidarity of any kind in a wider sphere has been possible only against a common danger is as much a fact of history as of human nature. Whence it follows almost necessarily that the greater the consciousness of a threatening menace the wider is the scope for international cooperation. Be it plague or Napoleon, dangerous and narcotic drug or Hitler, when it is branded as a common enemy, any opposition against it forthwith assumes the sanctity of a crusade.

It also shows what men can achieve in unity and how they can resolve even their basic differences in a fighting camp. But speaking exclusively in terms of politics the whole problem cannot be reduced to such a simple statement. Change the point of view and the enemy nations can also with equal justification brand the other party as their common enemy. That means two parallel developments of the concept of solidarity on apparently similar lines. All attempts of this kind, I fear, cannot be properly called real attempts at international solidarity.

The word international in this context is rather misleading, especially if we go by its derivative meaning. For that puts the attempts by Napoleon and Hitler on a par with those made by Wilson and Roosevelt. But at least in intention and motive if not in technique and method they are widely different from each other and in some respects even fundamentally. If, therefore, we refer to attempts made with a benevolent purpose, we would prefer to call them attempts at multinational or intercontinental solidarity. At least the two mighty efforts of our century have been aimed at promoting an understanding not only among the nations of one continent but of all the continents of the world. In common parlance the word internationalism is used not only to signify an idea disagreeable to nationalism but also to a dogmatic way of thinking. But because of common cultural heritage and traditions and in some cases religion, each continent, in spite of various divergences among its nations, forms, broadly speaking, a characteristic attitude towards life—a soul, a spiritual principle—as Renan calls it while speaking of the nineteenth century nationalism. Any move to organise an international society worth the name, therefore, is one which has tried to weave the enormous differences into a grand pattern and treating them as 'brotherly dissimilitude,' to synthesize them into an orchestral harmony. In fact the vaster the scope for coordination among basically different nations, more evident are the bonafides of the attempt of that kind. In these days of political resurgence and social and economic interdependence mostly due to the innumerable advantages of science for easy contact and contamination, any narrowing of the boundaries of our visualized 'one world' is bound to be suicidal if not impossible.

But the conclusion from the above is not that the concept of international solidarity is the product of our age, nor that its conception in the preceding ages, was wholly cribbed, cabined and confined. No doubt our conception of the cooperative world is more extensive but this advantage of the modern age is only circumstantial.

The idea of international solidarity is perhaps as old as human civilization.

In all the different regions of the world which have witnessed the flowering of rich cultures and civilizations, the idea of a greater unity, the desire to transcend the geographical barriers, has always captured the imagination of the wisest and the best. At the dynamic stages of these civilizations artists and poets, philosophers and religious preachers have always addressed themselves to an audience infinitely wider than the one just near at hand. That perhaps easily explains the eternal and the universal appeal of their immortal works. By implication these poets and artists, philosophers and men of religion, always visualized a united world of men. Walt Whitman was once asked by a nationalist: "Must you not take care of home first of all?" His reply was: "Perhaps, but what is home? To the humanitarian what

is home? I am for getting all the walls down, all of them." What Whitman declared so explicitly, was and is tacitly meant by all the artists and idealists. But each of them in a sense, has been an idle dreamer of an idle day; for this abstract idea of unity though inspiring and indispensable, has failed to recognise human nature as it is. And because they have always been guided by an uncompromising idealism these religious, poetic and philosophic concepts have ever remained a tantalizing treasure of a forbidden land to the self-seeking men—unimportable and impractical.

Our concern, therefore, is with the political concept of international solidarity, with political utopias, not with unrealizable dreams. Not that by being political an utopia ceases to be unreal; by being political it attains some amount of workability, practical bias.

PRACTICAL INTERNATIONALISM

Prof. Toynbee maintains that the utopias are generally the products of civilization in decline. If the above view is historically true, which in nine cases out of ten, it is, then, disintegration in any form, caused either by war or pestilence of any other kind appears to be the force behind all these schemes for international solidarity.

The mighty abstract idea of peace which seems to be the aim of most of the internationalists is only an important aspect of the main issue.

It assumes a pride of place in our thought when the common danger is war. But problems of humanity particularly in our days are political, social, economic and cultural in the same degree. Peace merely as the negation of the idea of war may soothe our ruptured

POPULAR BOOKS BY

DALE CARNEGIE

Author of

'How to Win Friends and Influence People'

Biographical Roundup

Rs. 5-12

39 Colourful biographies of famous persons of our time including those of Lord Louis Mountbatten, Churchill, Bernard Shaw, Stalin, Eisenhower, MacArthur, Madame Curie, Clark Gable, Mark Twain, and others.

Five Minute Biographies

Rs. 4-12

Fifty short but fascinating little life-stories of illustrious people. Unusual and incredible events are brought into light in the lives of Leo-Tolstoy, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, etc.

Little Facts About Well-Known People

Rs. 4-12

A book full of little known facts, habits, tastes, and idiosyncrasies and astonishing inconsistencies of well-known people.

VORA & CO. PUBLISHERS LTD.

3, Round Building, BOMBAY-2

hearts for a moment but it will never solve our problems even if the miracle happens—peace is attained without any change of hearts in the present state of world affairs. Our common enemy today, as it has been always in some form or other, is a type of mentality represented by a class of people, that is dogmatic, self-seeking, unable to see beyond their noses and what is worse, capable of sugar-coating their intentions by such catch phrases as 'bearing the whiteman's burden,' 'mission civilisatrice,' 'spreading enlightenment and culture.'

Before enumerating the earlier attempts, the circumstances under which they were made, should also be taken into consideration. For obvious reasons their scope was limited; in some cases the area visualized had included only the surrounding neighbourhood, but seldom had it gone beyond the continental boundary. Science had not yet knit all the countries into an easily communicable world and economic and social interdependence had not yet been an undeniable fact of life. Nationalism had not yet gone the whole hog to show the disastrous form it might take and produced the reaction in favour of internationalism. America was still a land of mystery, a vast Eldorado. Africa could still hide herself in her dark forests and Asia was still considered to be a paradise for invaders and exploiters. So the barriers were not merely physical; cooperation with the so-called dependencies and barbarians could not even be thought of, and in the absence of any global war the urgency and need for a better and united world was not so irresistibly felt. These schemes, therefore, were made usually by well-meaning persons either well-read or widely travelled and capable of taking a synthetic view, sometimes for meeting the demands and needs of their ages and sometimes for the wishfulfilment of their cherished dreams. Here distinction should also be made between the innumerable alliances made for emergent purposes and the attempts at international solidarity.

Some rudiments of international organization were developed in the Amphictyonic Council of Greece, and state systems of ancient China and India.

In the days of Roman supremacy the ideal was one of imperial unity: the most realistic and typical of the series of schemes of that period, one formulated by Pierre Dubois, was directed to that end. The 'Grand Design' of Henry the IV was based on the assumption that no single state could attain ascendancy over others permanently and designed for maintaining peace only among European nations. Hugo Grotius's treatise on international law is no doubt a landmark in this field, but one obscure monk Emeric Cruce in his *Le Nouveau Cynece* made a very significant proposal for international organization in which he included China, Persia and the Indies, and suggested that unity should be maintained by freedom of trade, construction of interoceanic canals, negotiations and arbitration and in cases of emergency with the intervention of a world court.

At the end of the seventeenth century the quaker missionary and colonizer William Penn with his *Essay towards Present and Future Peace of Europe* also trod upon the same ground. He suggested the adjustment of territorial controversies by representation in the international parliament based upon national wealth. He was followed by the Abbe Saint Pierre, who with his *Project of Perpetual Peace* aimed merely at a strong alliance, though it inspired Rousseau to work out a substantial scheme in his *A Lasting Peace*

through the *Federations of Europe*. Rousseau suggested a solid confederation with coercive power to enforce its decision. In the *Principles of International Law*, Jeremy Bentham following Rousseau suggested defensive alliances, general guarantees, disarmament and the abandonment of colonial imperialism.

'Holy Alliance,' 'Concert of Europe' and such other schemes of the period which came out as a strong reaction against the ideas of revolution and Napoleon and which were efficiently worked out by the Tsar of Russia, Alexander I and Matternich, were at least in scope no improvement upon their predecessors. Mention should also be made of Kant's *Essay Towards Eternal Peace* in which he advocated the independence of all the states, their willing co-operation, gradual abolition of standing armies and the formation of a world state for the protection of international rights. It should also be noted that these utopias easily divide themselves into two classes. One aims at a totalitarian state, and is represented by Plato (only partially), Machiavelli, Hobbes, Marx and the host of others; the second seeks to establish a democratic world federation and all the theorists who can be easily disposed of as impossible idealists are its sole representatives.

Attempts of our age are not exclusively independent and isolated issues. They are actually the two significant points in the long process of practical and theoretical preparation for an enduring structure of a parliament of man.

DIABETES CURED IN SEVEN DAYS

No matter how severe or long standing, Diabetes can be completely cured by VENUS CHARM, the latest scientific Discovery. Some of the main symptoms of this disease are Abnormal thirst and hunger, excess sugar in urine, and itching, etc. In its serious form, it causes Carbuncles, Boils, Cataract and other complications. Thousands have escaped from the gallows of death by using "VENUS CHARM". The very next day it eradicates sugar and normalises specific gravity. Within two or three days you will feel more than half cured. No dietary restrictions. Ask for Free literature. Price per phial of 50 tablets Rs. 6-12-0. Postage free. Available from VENUS RESEARCH LABORATORY (M.R.), Post Box 587, CALCUTTA.

And, therefore, in spite of many failings it should be said to their credit that some kind of real international co-operation has been possible in fields other than political, only because of these organizations. The establishment of public international unions for the regulation of waterways, railways, air, navigation, telegraphy and postal service, weights and measures, health, sanitation, commerce, humanitarian reforms, etc., bears an eloquent testimony to the masterly little so far attained by men.

THE OFF-SHOOTS

The League of Nations was the first magnificent effort of its kind. Judged by the results it may be regarded as an interesting target for witticism but in scope it was wider than all the earlier attempts. It recognized the rights of sovereignty of all the states big and small and made it possible for people of different countries to meet regularly for a noble purpose, and admitted the possibility of peaceful arbitration. In 1919, the need of an international organization was urgent but sincere willingness and inner conviction were not shown by all the nations because all the continents were not equally affected by the first World War. America could even remain out though her President was the man behind the show.

Yet one thing is certain, though the League was discredited, the idea of a League was not. Numerous schemes began to emerge all the world over. President Wilson boldly asserted: "We may not be able to set-up permanent decisions. We can set up permanent processes." If we base our judgment on this statement the League cannot be called an utter failure. In setting up 'permanent processes,' in forming technical organizations, in doing substantial, social and humanitarian work it has considerably paved the way for the United

Nations and helped us to treat these organizations as extremely useful and necessary, not merely as some sudden sallies of imaginative idealism.

Since 1945, beneath the surface, the situation has changed unprecedentedly. A united front is to be given not only to the idea of the Nordic theory of culture or the danger of geo-politics but also to the most poisonous weapon invented so far, the Atom Bomb. Therefore though the constitution and the methods of operation of U.N. may not be basically different from those of the League, its responsibility is greater, its scope wider and its necessity more urgent and imperative. And even a casual observer could not fail to see that the U.N. is very strongly alive to the high purpose it has been designed to fulfil. Its success though partial even in the field of politics, augurs well for it and the declaration and acceptance of the universal human rights, speak about its inherent strength and vitality.

Every nation or group of nations will now have to pass through the crucible of this world organization before it justifies its activities. Tendency therefore will be more towards sticking to it than leaving it in the lurch for selfish ends. It has also, aided of course by the historical forces, minimized the confusions of political views and reduced them into two well-defined political attitudes towards life. Decision in favour of either will be taken by the world at large and through this organization. And if it also goes the way of the League, a future Bernard Shaw will not find in its failure much for fun and witticism. A drama on 'Lake Success' will be an irredeemable tragedy on the destiny of man.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India's Foreign Policy Criticised

We reproduce below the following letters which appear in the American Press:

New Delhi, July 30: The Communist Party of India, following a new party line in tune with Moscow's peace offensive, is showing a surprising resurgence.

A survey of the most reliable opinion in various centers of India indicates that the party, which a few months ago appeared to be tottering, is rapidly extending its strength and influence through a host of pro-Communist fronts ranging from student and theater groups to labor organizations.

Its actual membership appears to remain between 60,000 and 80,000.

The Communists are exploiting the split in leadership of the Congress Party—dominant party in India—and are conducting an all-out campaign to infiltrate into the new People's Party and other local anti-Congress bodies.

The success of the Communist program is reflected in Left-wing victories in all three recent by-elections for the Bengal State Parliament.

Political observers predict that Communists and their followers will win a minimum of fifteen of the 401 seats in the national Parliament to be elected this winter. There are no Communists in the present Parliament.

Informants say Communist-dominated labor unions are now second in strength to the Congress Party-controlled Indian National Trade Union Congress which claims 1,600,000 members. A few months ago the Communist unions were reckoned a poor third after the Indian National Trade Union Congress and the Indian Labor Organization.—*New York Herald Tribune*, July 31, 1951.

To the Editor, *The New York Times*,

In *The New York Times* of July 30 it was reported that the Nehru Government had insisted that "in accordance with the Yalta agreement the island of Formosa be given to China in the future." If the reported Indian attitude toward the Japanese peace treaty and the Yalta agreement is correct, it is amazing that the Indian Government could link Formosa with the once top-secret document, "the agreement regarding Japan."

Having studied practically all the available sources on the Far Eastern agreement, I find nothing mentioned about Formosa or Taiwan. Perhaps another part of this document is still unknown to the Chinese National Government but is familiar to the Indian Government. If this is so, then I would not attempt to contradict the Indian argument on the Yalta accord with regard to Formosa.

It is interesting to note that while the Yalta agreement did not mention a word about Formosa, India still desires to deliver Formosa to Red China, basing her argument on a Yalta provision which does not exist.

It is equally interesting to note that when the draft treaty of peace with Japan gives to Soviet Russia more than the Yalta agreement intended, India's silence seems to indicate her approval. For instance, Section (c) of Article II of Chapter II of the Draft Peace Treaty with Japan stated:

"Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Kurile Islands and to that portion of Sakhalin and the islands adjacent to it over which Japan acquired sovereignty as a consequence of the Treaty of Portsmouth of Sept. 5, 1905."

While Section (3) of Article II of the Yalta agreement only stated: "the Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union," the draft provision seems to give the impression that Japan acquired all these islands only as a consequence of the Portsmouth Treaty. This is in contradiction of the late Secretary of State Edward Stettinius' views about these islands. Stettinius wrote:

"The Kurile Islands, of course, were Japanese territory before the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. During the nineteenth century both Russia and Japan had laid claim to the Kuriles and Japanese ownership was recognized near the close of the century."

Aside from legal considerations, it should be understood that by conferring extra-legal titles of the Kurile and Sakhalin Islands to Soviet Russia, it would mean placing the Kremlin in a convenient beachhead for further aggression in Japan.

If certain politicians wish to reward Soviet Russia or Soviet China in such a manner they should not arbitrarily change the facts of history and geography in advancing their own falsified interpretation of a treaty or an agreement.

STEPHEN C. Y. PAN

Washington, July 31, 1951

—*The New York Times*, August 4, 1951.

To the Editor, *The New York Times*,

As one who for more than half a century has worked and hoped for Indian and Asian freedom, I feel morally obliged to comment on Prime Minister

feeling rundown - depressed?

Loss of VIM VIGOUR? VITALITY?

Men and Women are amazed at the quick rejuvenating effect of the Gland-Vitamin-Mineral Tonic OONIM. Makes every night an assembling vim and vigor making experience—every morning full of day-long ENERGY and ENDURANCE. No more feeling tired, weak, nervous, depressed, out-of-sorts, old-before-your-time. Men feel active, self-confident, full of youthful vigor, keen, red-blooded, ready-to-go—Women become radiant, clear-complexioned, glamorous, vital, charming. Health, Looks, Physical, Mental Powers transformed. Doctors and thousands of People in India and abroad astonished. A daily dose of OONIM makes you feel like a million every day of your life. Rs. 7/6 per box. Rush your name and address for our FREE LITERATURE, OONIM.

G L A N D EXTRACTS **OONIM** VITAMINS MINERALS

HERING & KENT

Box No. 323, Opp. Lloyd Bank, 261/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

PILES

CAN BE TREATED WITH

PILEX PILLS AND OINTMENT

SOLD BY LEADING CHEMISTS

FREE LITERATURE FROM

HIMCO LABORATORIES LTD.

251, HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

Nehru's opposition to the peace treaty with Japan proposed by the United States.

Mr. Nehru advocates the return of Formosa to Communist China. But Communist China is today carrying on an aggressive war against the United Nations and in particular the United States. Communist China and Soviet Russia have concluded a thirty-year treaty of alliance which will serve to combat Japan and any nation aiding Japan. As the Government of the United States is committed to helping Japan protect her sovereignty, the Soviet-Chinese alliance is virtually directed against the United States.

The Communist Chinese Government and Soviet Russia by not signing a peace treaty with Japan, will continue to be in a state of war with that country. Since the United States has agreed to protect disarmed Japan from any attack, it can hardly be expected that the Government of the United States should agree to turn over Formosa to Red China. For in that event Soviet Russia and Communist China would be able to use the island as a submarine and air base against Japan and the United States.

IMPORTANCE OF ISLANDS

Mr. Nehru wants the United States to give up control over Bonin and Ryukyu Islands. If there were a Japanese navy intact to tackle Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese naval forces stationed in various bases and islands from the Kurile Isles to the southern part of the China Sea then Japan might now be given possession of these islands. As things stand today, however, to return Bonin and Ryukyu Islands to Japan would mean that Soviet Russia and Communist China would control a vital portion of the Pacific.

Surely, the United States of America did not fight Japan to her defeat in order to ensure Soviet Russian control of the Pacific. America, under the present circumstances in world politics, will co-operate with Japan to arm her so that she may be able to assume full responsibility for her own national defense and check any further expansion of Soviet Russia and Communist China in East Asia. I am afraid Mr. Nehru does not realize that American-Japanese co-operation, leading to an alliance to counter the Soviet-Chinese pact, has already become a major factor in world politics.

The proposed Japanese treaty gives Japan full sovereignty in matters of her own defense. However, by a Japanese-American agreement, American forces are to remain in Japan to defend Japan. As long as Japan agrees to an understanding with the United

States for her own security, India should not oppose any such understanding. India cannot logically do so unless she is aligned with Soviet Russia and Communist China and against Japan. Will India fight to protect Japan from Soviet Russia and Communist Chinese aggression?

JAPAN'S FUTURE

Mr. Nehru suggests that Sakhalin and the Kurile Isles be given to Soviet Russia. Whatever happened at the Yalta Conference is in no way binding on Japan, and it is quite understandable that Japan may not agree to give up those islands which are so essential for her own security. Within five years, Japan with her more than 80 millions of virile and disciplined people will again become the most important power, economically, politically and militarily in Asia, as Germany again will play the most vital role in rejuvenated Europe.

Mr. Nehru sincerely desires to lead a third force for peace, but in refusing to be a party to the Japanese peace treaty he actually aligns India with Soviet Russia and Communist China and against Japan and the United States. Indian freedom and peace and independence throughout Asia can be secured only by the closest possible collaboration between India, Japan, the United States and a China which is not the tool of imperialist Soviet Russia.

TARAKNATH DAS

—The New York Times, Sept. 4, 1951.

GOBIND BEHARI LAL'S LETTER

I find that the majority of India-born residents of this country—of highest patriotism—with whom I have discussed the subject share my conviction that India should have signed the American drafted Peace Treaty with Japan.

India, of course, should have honestly, persuasively and with friendly courtesy stated her objections, recommendations and hopes for eventual amelioration and revision of some of the treaty provisions. This would have meant an evolutionary attitude, for after all this is an age of almost unpredictably fast evolution in human affairs under the propulsion of scientific developments.

The key principle which I venture to express is the importance of an unshakable operative friendship between this country and India. It is derived from two basic conclusions:

First: Free India, with the rest of awakened Asia, needs: (1) Means of scientific, technological and educational development; (2) Methods of elevating

the people to a mature appreciation of the democratic processes of self-government, so that the best things of life are opened to all.

Second: Since the United States is the most highly developed scientific, technological and democratic civilization on earth, her guidance is more likely than any other in sight to lead to anything approaching a world democracy, enlightened and guided by scientific knowledge and its applications.

No one knows better than I do the greatness of Indian culture, which after all is the very substance of my own life. But India, like the rest of the East, has stayed where Europe was before the Renaissance, before Da Vinci and Galileo. She needs vigorous American stimulation and collaboration, for there is no other source available.

For great things that help create civilization and culture it is meritorious to go begging with a bowl in hand, as did Gautama Buddha, the Light of Asia. And America knows how to give with magnanimity and good grace. This is something which the Japanese have recently discovered themselves.

If there are Indians, on high or common levels, who have not yet recognized that generosity, neighborly helpfulness and strength go together in America, then the main reason probably is the psychological legacy of British rule in India—a legacy which both Americans and Indians must shake off now completely.

During the British Raj, of course, Americans and Indians dealt with each other furtively through London. American sympathy for Indian independence and progress was real but mostly concealed because of the fear of offending the British. That is why Indians who had no or little contact with this country never knew what a great influence was exercised by American sympathy for Indian freedom in the changing of British policy and practice in India.

For example, even now only a few Indians know that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had exerted high pressure upon his friend, Winston Churchill, to concede the right of independence to Indians as soon as the last war was over. As Mr. Basil O'Connor, eminent New York lawyer, the President's intimate friend will tell you, it was pressure from Mr. Roosevelt that induced Britain to send the Cripps mission to India in 1942. I had something to do with inducing Mr. O'Connor to take up the subject of India with the President.

What is even less understood here and in India is that during the First World War epoch, too, American public opinion, of which President Wilson certainly took notice, proved to be a powerful instrument in favor of Indian independence. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan had openly condemned British rule in India. Secretary Lansing, his successor, had expressed himself in favor of dominion rule for India. Senators, Congressmen, editors, preachers favored India.

In San Francisco, for example, a potent Indian nationalist effort was initiated in 1912 by Dr. Har Dayal, lecturer at Stanford University, who was an Oxford-educated Indian genius. It flourished and influenced the British Government because it had received support from some of the foremost American leaders.

Particularly important was the championship of the Indian cause by Fremont Older, great editor of the San Francisco Bulletin (later the San Francisco Call-Bulletin), his staff columnists such as John D. Barry, Pauline Jacobson and others; and many other Hearst editors and writers such as Jack London and George

Sterling, as well as Senators James D. Phelan (Democrat) and Hiram Johnson (Progressive Republican). In the East there were many American voices raised in behalf of Indian independence more than 25 years ago.

It was not any particular section of the American public opinion, Irish or German or Latin, which increasingly became a power in behalf of Indian freedom; many an American of purest British ancestry was on the Indian side.

Such American investment and such Indian investment in the cause of national and individual freedom imposes a mandate upon this country and Free India to resist all temptations to interrupt or weaken, the half-century-old Indian-American friendship, which needs more nourishment today than ever before and should be strengthened in every possible way for the good of India, for the cause of American democracy, for the peace of the world.

With this background I repeat—India would have gained by signing the treaty.

—New York Journal, Sept. 6, 1951.

Ethiopians United by Inter-Racial Policies

Correspondent Wilton Wynn writes in the *Worldover Press*, June 22, 1951:

Addis Ababa: Enlightened racial policies of Haile Selassie form a strong unifying factor in this land of mingled race and religious strains.



For Sensing, Feeling and Seeing
the Pleasure—

DWARKIN & SON LTD.

11, Esplanade East, CALCUTTA

DHOLE & CO.

RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT

CUTA-TONE
for CUTS - PAINS - BURNS Etc.

NEEM OINTMENT
for ITCHES & SORES

BARNACORE - CALCUTTA

Traditionally Ethiopia's hodge-podge of ethnic groups has been dominated by a hated minority, the ruling Amhara race of which the present Emperor is a member. Since he came to power, however, he has done his best to bring representatives of all groups into the political and cultural life of the country.

The Amharas are a light-skinned Semitic group who claim ancient ancestry. They are Coptic Christians, though their religion shows many traces of Jewish influence. Their tradition says they are descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. They lay claim to all the promises in the Bible which the Jews allegedly forfeited when they rejected Christ.

Next to the Amharas in number are the Gallas, a darker group formerly considered a slave race by the Amharas. The Gallas are diverse in religion, some of them Christians, others Muslim, some pagan, with a tiny remnant still following a religion brought from ancient Egypt. In the rural regions, there is some bitterness between Gallas and Amharas. Displaced persons brought from Europe to Ethiopia were driven out of one area by hostile Gallas because they considered the immigrants "friends of the Amharas."

Politically, Amharas and Gallas have come much closer together under the rule of Haile Selassie. This correspondent could see no discrimination against Gallas in the capital. In the various ministries, there is every possibility that a Galla will be holding the portfolio with an Amhara as his subordinate. Gallas have held ambassadorial posts abroad, and in every way have opportunities in the government.

A more troublesome group is the Somalis, who live in Ogaden Province bordering Somaliland. The Somalis are predominantly Muslim and have never forgotten that they once conquered the Christian Amharas. Haile Selassie has recognized the futility of trying to control such people with a big fist. He has established schools in Ogaden Province, has brought many Somalis to Addis Ababa to study, and has given government positions to those who are capable.

Ethiopia's 50,000 Jews form a unique problem. These people, called Falashas, are an indigenous race who accepted the Jewish religion at a very early date. They worship the deified Sabbath, practise various forms of magic, and in many respects differ greatly from the larger Jewish community. They speak no Hebrew. Their Scriptures are preserved only in Ge'ez, the ancient Ethiopian language. In spite of Jewish tendencies in the Ethiopian church, this country's Christians always have considered the Falashas a hated and feared minority. The Emperor has tried

hard to break down this feeling, but the attitude of the Falashas themselves makes the task difficult. Falashas refuse to enter the homes of Christians and insist on living apart socially. They maintain their own schools in the hands of their priests. A few, however, have accepted government posts, and a small number have enrolled in government technical schools.

The Emperor's attitude toward Italians remaining in Ethiopia is a good demonstration of his humane approach to other races or nationalities. The Italian rule is still remembered as a reign of terror, and Italy is regarded today as the country's most dangerous national foe. Yet in the face of this hatred, 8,000 Italians have remained in Ethiopia, and live in complete safety. Rather than treat them as enemies, Ethiopia deems them brothers. Ethiopia may some day offer an object lesson in race relations to the more advanced nations of the world.

First Indian-built Airplane Lauded by Pawley

Washington, August 20.—The "magnificent job" done by Indian technicians of Hindustan Aircraft, Limited, in turning out the first successful airplane ever designed and built in India was lauded here by William D. Pawley, American businessman who was instrumental in building the aircraft factory at Bangalore.

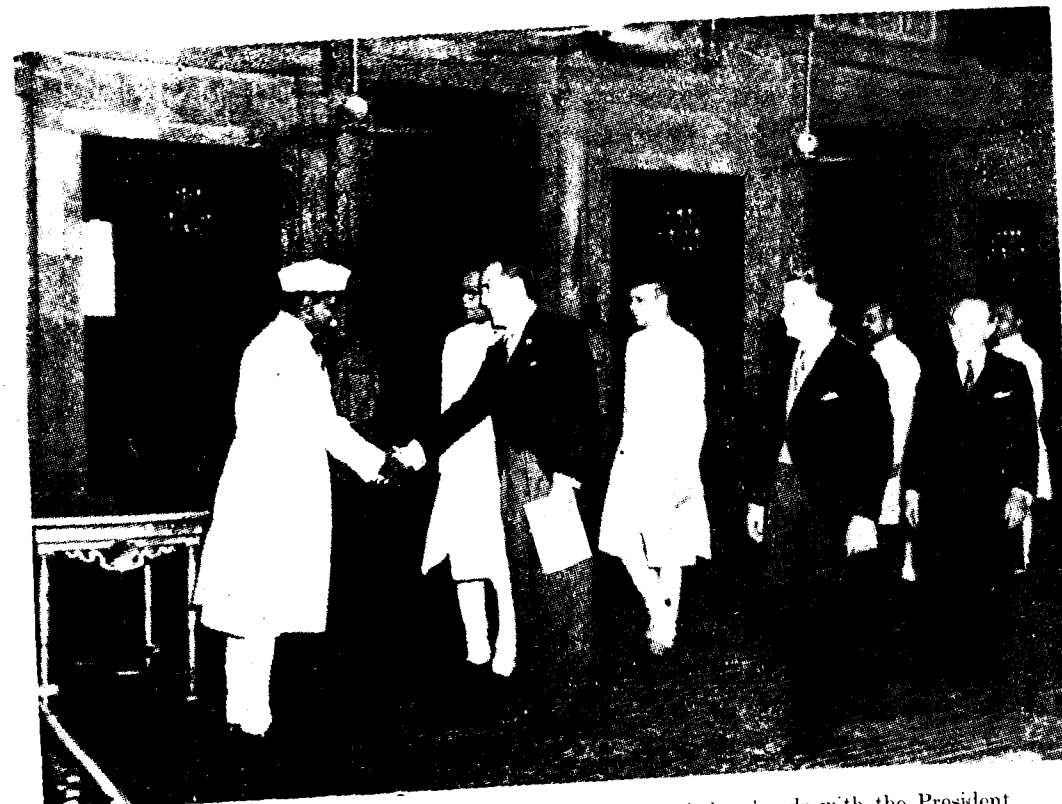
Pawley, who recently visited India, had seen the plane just before its completion. He said: "I was delighted to receive a telegram from the factory that the first Indian all-metal trainer—designed and built by Indian engineers and technicians—has been successfully test flown."

"As an American businessman, I took the contract to build this plant at Bangalore which covers one million square feet. We employed and trained 10,500 Indian mechanics."

"Today this factory is probably one of the finest aircraft factories of its size in the world."

"These highly qualified Indian technicians and engineers have done a magnificent job carrying on the work started back in 1940."

Pawley has made outstanding contributions to pioneer aviation in Cuba, China and India. He has served as U.S. Ambassador to Peru and Brazil, and currently is a special assistant to Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State.—USIS.



Mr. Chester Bowles, U. S. Ambassador-designate to India, shakes hands with the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, just before presenting his credentials



The Sindri Fertiliser Factory, Asia's largest and India's first major State-owned enterprise



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 70

Estd-1893





Prabasi Press, Calcutta

GANESH-JANANI
By Bires Chandra Ganguly

THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY



1952

Vol. LXXXI, No. 2

Whole No. 54

NOTES

At Home and Abroad

The topic of the day at home is, of course, the elections. We have ourselves gathered considerable experience in the matter at first hand, and we believe we shall not be very far out of the mark if we say that the results so far have surprised all parties, more or less. Surprising defeats and equally astonishing victories have been the experience of all parties and most individuals, interested in the election, if an all-India view be taken. Of course, the results from the biggest State have not come in as yet, but judging by what has happened elsewhere in the country, a few surprises, even there, seem to be in the offing.

The arrangements for the election have been faulty in a great many ways, though it has to be said that, considering the titanic magnitude of the undertaking, the management was not unduly wanting in efficiency. There is bound to be a great deal of bitterness as the aftermath, but taken as a whole, the results give a more or less accurate picture of the political understanding and attitude of the masses. We do not say that the elected representatives are the real nominees of the people, whom they are supposed to represent, in all cases. Indeed in a very large number of cases, the successful candidate has secured only a minor percentage of the votes, and has come out successful because of the fractionation of the major portion amongst a large number of unsuccessful candidates. Then again in certain areas the people have vented their rancour against the present government by voting for the party or parties that have campaigned most bitterly against the Government, without being in the least cognisant of—or interested in—the cardinal principles or tenets of the party

favoured. Blind voting on slogans has been the order of the day in most places so far, with a considerable dash of parochialism or racial and caste prejudices.

But this is just what it was bound to be, if we take into consideration the factors of illiteracy, isolationism and politically backward condition of the large majority of our electorate. If we add to that the fact that in most places the real political objectives of the parties standing for election were obscured by a vast mass of empty verbiage and further that political opportunism was the order of the day in all cases, then we can easily understand the befuddling of the electorate. And it is because of this that no party has escaped some major defeat or other if an all-India picture be considered.

Turning to the elections in the home city of this paper we can say that it is almost a complete farce. Quite apart from the nature and tempo of the party campaigns, in which vilification and misrepresentation of opponents are the principal items, the arrangements were faulty to the extreme. The electoral rolls were grossly inaccurate, householders and permanent residents were prominent by their exclusion in many areas, while fictitious and absentee electors were there in tens of thousands. The consequence was impersonation *en masse* in every quarter by unscrupulous parties and as the challenging was made extremely difficult, it was a complete victory for the most organised male-factors.

The marking by indelible ink was a huge joke. The marking could be removed in a matter of minutes by a mixture of "hypo" and moist matchheads. Queer stories are afloat all over the city about changing of

Traditionally Ethiopia's hodge-podge of ethnic groups has been dominated by a hated minority, the ruling Amhara race of which the present Emperor is a member. Since he came to power, however, he has done his best to bring representatives of all groups into the political and cultural life of the country.

The Amharas are a light-skinned Semitic group who claim ancient ancestry. They are Coptic Christians, though their religion shows many traces of Jewish influence. Their tradition says they are descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. They lay claim to all the promises in the Bible which the Jews allegedly forfeited when they rejected Christ.

Next to the Amharas in number are the Gallas, a darker group formerly considered a slave race by the Amharas. The Gallas are diverse in religion, some of them Christians, others Muslim, some pagan, with a tiny remnant still following a religion brought from ancient Egypt. In the rural regions, there is some bitterness between Gallas and Amharas. Displaced persons brought from Europe to Ethiopia were driven out of one area by hostile Gallas because they considered the immigrants "friends of the Amharas."

Politically, Amharas and Gallas have come much closer together under the rule of Haile Selassie. This correspondent could see no discrimination against Gallas in the capital. In the various ministries, there is every possibility that a Galla will be holding the portfolio with an Amhara as his subordinate. Gallas have held ambassadorial posts abroad, and in every way have opportunities in the government.

A more troublesome group is the Somalis, who live in Ogaden Province bordering Somaliland. The Somalis are predominantly Muslim and have never forgotten that they once conquered the Christian Amharas. Haile Selassie has recognized the futility of trying to control such people with a big fist. He has established schools in Ogaden Province, has brought many Somalis to Addis Ababa to study, and has given government positions to those who are capable.

Ethiopia's 50,000 Jews form a unique problem. These people, called Falashas, are an indigenous race who accepted the Jewish religion at a very early date. They worship the deified Sabbath, practise various forms of magic, and in many respects differ greatly from the larger Jewish community. They speak no Hebrew. Their Scriptures are preserved only in Ge'ez, the ancient Ethiopian language. In spite of Jewish tendencies in the Ethiopian church, this country's Christians always have considered the Falashas a hated and feared minority. The Emperor has tried

hard to break down this feeling, but the attitude of the Falashas themselves makes the task difficult. Falashas refuse to enter the homes of Christians and insist on living apart socially. They maintain their own schools in the hands of their priests. A few, however, have accepted government posts, and a small number have enrolled in government technical schools.

The Emperor's attitude toward Italians remaining in Ethiopia is a good demonstration of his humane approach to other races or nationalities. The Italian rule is still remembered as a reign of terror, and Italy is regarded today as the country's most dangerous national foe. Yet in the face of this hatred, 8,000 Italians have remained in Ethiopia, and live in complete safety. Rather than treat them as enemies Ethiopia deems them brothers. Ethiopia may some day offer an object lesson in race relations to the more advanced nations of the world.

First Indian-built Airplane Lauded by Pawley

Washington, August 20.—The "magnificent job" done by Indian technicians of Hindustan Aircraft, Limited, in turning out the first successful airplane ever designed and built in India was lauded here by William D. Pawley, American businessman who was instrumental in building the aircraft factory at Bangalore.

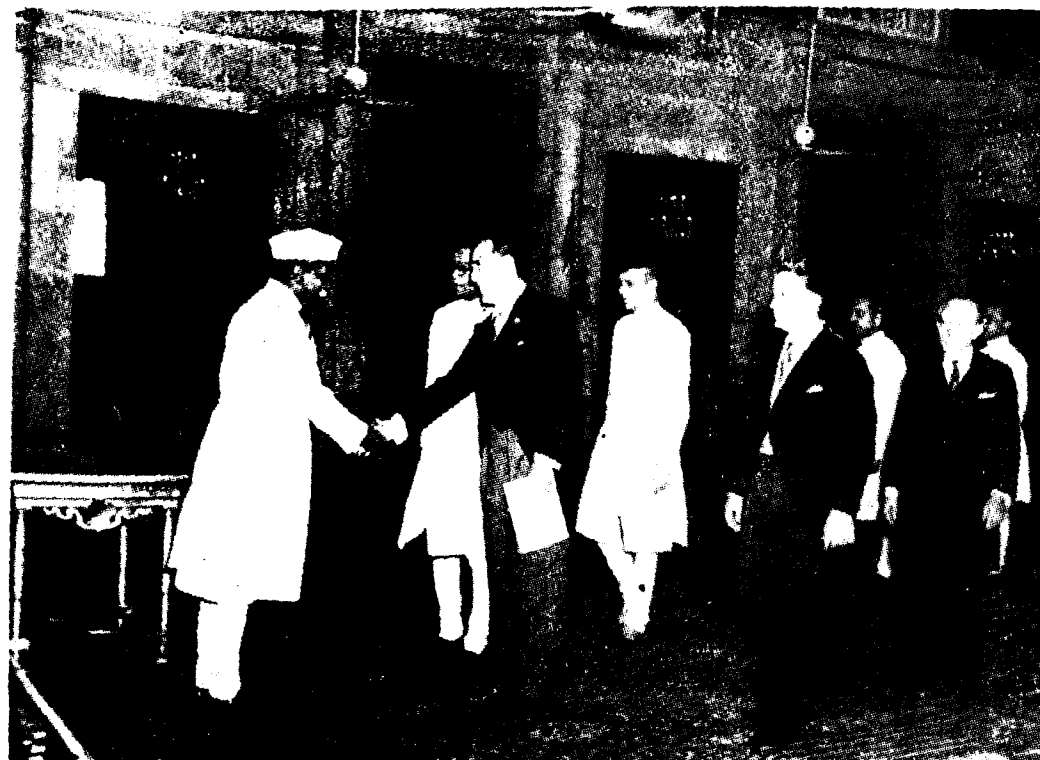
Pawley, who recently visited India, had seen the plane just before its completion. He said: "I was delighted to receive a telegram from the factory that the first Indian all-metal trainer—designed and built by Indian engineers and technicians—has been successfully test flown."

"As an American businessman, I took the contract to build this plant at Bangalore which covers one million square feet. We employed and trained 10,500 Indian mechanics."

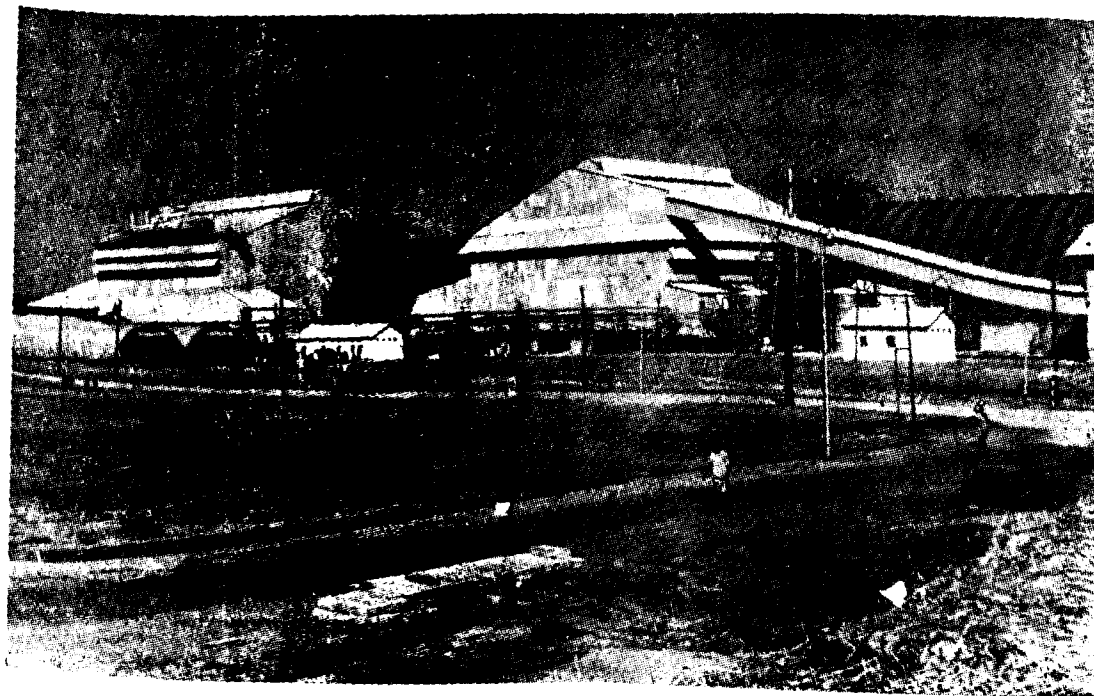
"Today this factory is probably one of the finest aircraft factories of its size in the world."

"These highly qualified Indian technicians and engineers have done a magnificent job carrying on the work started back in 1940."

Pawley has made outstanding contributions to pioneer aviation in Cuba, China and India. He has served as U.S. Ambassador to Peru and Brazil, and currently is a special assistant to Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State.—USIS.



Mr. Chester Bowles, U. S. Ambassador-designate to India, shakes hands with the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, just before presenting his credentials



The Sindri Fertiliser Factory, Asia's largest and India's first major State-owned enterprise



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 70

Estd-1893



box-labels after the elections and before the counting, the interval between the two being more than a week in most cases. It is also said that in certain quarters large amounts of ballot papers were transferred from one set of boxes to another, paper seals being made available for that purpose by corrupt and unscrupulous partisan officials, and examination of signatures being cursory in the extreme the operations were conducted with impunity.

The Congress is in a minority in a major State, Madras, and in a minor State, Travancore-Cochin. It is barely out of the woods in Hyderabad, and is in difficulties in Orissa at the time of writing. In West Bengal, although the Congress is in a position of majority, the Congress Government is due to face a very turbulent and troublesome opposition. In Bombay and the Madhya Pradesh, the Congress is in a comfortable position of security as also in Himachal Pradesh. In Madhya Bharat too there does not seem to be much of a challenge to Congress supremacy. Elsewhere the picture has not developed sufficiently to give a clear view.

The Communist Party, together with the groups under its control, has gained prominence in Madras, Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and in West Bengal. Even so, their position is nowhere near that of control. For example, in Madras, where the Communist dominated groups have so far secured the largest number of seats, they form only 27 per cent of the opposition. In Hyderabad, they form 50 per cent of the opposition, but here the Congress is in absolute majority, while in Travancore-Cochin, where the Congress is in minority they also have only 50 per cent of the opposition in their hands. In West Bengal as yet they control less than 50 per cent of the opposition and in Orissa, where as yet the Congress is in a minority, they have just about 10 per cent of the opposition in their hands. Elsewhere they have little, if anything at all, to show.

The Socialists have, so far, been unable to make any significant mark in the elections anywhere. In Bombay, the Socialist debacle was only a little less pronounced than that of the Communists, who had a disastrous failure.

The K.M.F.P. has met with disaster in West Bengal. Only in Madras they have been able to make any showing at all. The Jana Sangh too has very little to show as yet anywhere, and the Hindu Mahasabha even less. "Other parties" that is to say localised groups have scored in Madras, Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan and Bombay so far.

Lastly comes that unpredictable factor, the "Independent," who has all parties against him, whether he has any decided views or not. Even these strictly individualistic candidates have made their mark in Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, Bombay, Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad.

As the elections are still in progress, it is too early to make any critical survey as a whole, and therefore we reserve that for the next issue.

ABROAD

Abroad world attention has shifted focus from Iran on to Egypt. Iran seems to be a little less stiff in its attitude towards Britain but the situation in Egypt is still explosive in the extreme. Britain's very existence as a world power depends on her control of the Suez Canal as does her economy on the control of the oil-fields of Iran and the rich raw material resources of Malaya. But our sympathies are with the exploited and depressed nations and as such we can only hope for just and equitable solution of the impasse in Egypt and elsewhere.

We ourselves are involved yet in the Kashmir issue which, so long as it is before the U.N.O., cannot be regarded as a purely domestic issue. The latest move in the U.N.O. is not to our liking, as we wholeheartedly support Sheikh Abdullah's contention that the Kashmiris should be only judges of their destiny. But a nation has to pay for the blunders of its chief executives; and as such we have to face the complex problems which have resulted out of the unfortunate reference to the U.N.O. and the inept handling of our case by those who were deputed at first to look after it. Pandit Nehru suppressed a vast mass of details about the invasion of Kashmir, out of consideration for those Muslims who are Indian nationals, and even hampered the military drive against the invading forces for the same reason. Pakistan, on the other hand, has piled masses of fabricated "facts" on to what little it had against India and has thus gained where world opinion is concerned. If we add to that British propaganda and rancour, then the exact state of affairs becomes understandable.

The disturbances in Nepal do not seem to have any major significance, if what little we have got from official sources is to be relied upon. But Nepal is now a vital concern of ours, and we hope that the elections has not caused any laxity in the watchfulness of our department of Foreign Affairs. In these troublesome days a minor affair of today may become a major problem tomorrow, without any warning or notice.

In the Far East, the situation in Korea is still a foggy and indeterminate as before. Mr. Churchill's visit to the U.S.A. has not in the least helped matters in any way. On the contrary.

Public Administration in India

Dr. B. B. Mazumdar, Principal, H. D. Jain College Arrah, in his presidential address at the 14th session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Hyderabad, has thrown light on our problems

Administration. A summary of his address is given below:

"The Science of Government held an honoured place in the curriculum of studies in India from early times down to the Hun invasion. The socio-economic changes wrought by this catastrophic event was so great that we find a gradual decline in the enthusiasm for Political Science from the sixth to the fourteenth century A.D. Vanabhatta, the court poet of Harshavardhana, denounced it as a cruel and heartless study. Jayantabhatta, who flourished during the reign of Shankarvarma of Kashmir in the ninth century A.D., declares in his *Nyayamanjari* that *Varta* and *Dandaniti* have got no utility for spiritual life and as such are useless.

"Medhatithi who flourished about the 9th century A.D., while explaining Manu's dictum that 'the protection of all this shall be according to law,' states that Law stands for the scriptures, and not those relating to 'Artha' or 'Policy' and composed by Ausanasa and other writers. It is gratifying to note that a venerable Pandit of the orthodox school, Mahamahopadhyaya Jagendranath Tarka-Samkhya-Vedantatirtha, has in 1949 established the thesis, by numerous citations from Sanskrit texts, that one of the causes of loss of independence of India was the negligence of the study of Political Science. *Rajnitiratnakara* by Candeswara, the Prime Minister of the last independent king of Vithila in the 14th century, seems to have closed the chapter of political speculations by the Hindus for more than five centuries.

"The study of Political Science was neglected in Indian universities up to the end of the first decade of the present century. This is not surprising in view of the fact that professorships in the subject were not instituted even in the Universities of Oxford, London and Cambridge before 1912, 1913 and 1927 respectively. At present, out of 28 Universities in India, only 14, namely, Aligarh, Baroda, Banaras, Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Madras, Mysore, Nagpur, Osmania, Patna, Poona, and Saugar have got separate Departments of Political Science.

"The funds allotted to the Political Science department does not exceed 4 per cent of the total budget in any University, but in the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Banaras, Mysore, Baroda, Poona, Saugar and Hyderabad they are less than one per cent. The Sovereign Democratic Republic of India wants to avoid the danger of 'one blind man leading others similarly blind,' the various State governments and wealthier sections of the community must generously endow the universities and colleges for providing specialised courses of instruction in Political Science to train up active citizens, intelligent legislators and efficient administrators.

"The study of Public Administration in modern India has not received the attention it deserves by virtue of its importance. With the assumption of wel-

fare functions by the State, public administration has come to affect the life of citizens in some of the most vital spheres of their activity. Complexities in defining social and economic regulations affecting millions of people have forced the legislature to lay down only the broad principles in statutes and to leave to the administration the power to make appropriate rules. It has also been found necessary to get rid of the elaborate practice and procedure of ordinary courts involving cost and delay in dealing with cases arising out of the decisions of administrative authorities and to entrust these to administrative tribunals which claim to possess specialised experience. The inexorable logic of circumstances has accelerated this process everywhere despite the protests voiced in England by Lord Hewart in 1928 and Prof. Keeton in 1951 and in India by the Bombay Lawyers Conference this year. In 1940, the American Bar Association and big business interests backed Logan-Walter Bill, which aimed at limiting administrative adjudication, but it had to be vetoed by President Roosevelt in the interests of sound administration.

"There is also a growing realisation of the fact that the legislature by passing a law merely formulates a plan for doing a thing, but the adequacy and efficiency of the administrative machinery determines how far it would be possible to carry it into effect. The Universities, the Government and the enlightened citizens of the Western countries have, therefore, taken up researches into the organisation, finance, personnel, direction, public relations and control of public administration.

"Similar studies have got to be undertaken in India too. Here the need is all the more urgent because there is a tendency towards a rather abrupt transition from the police state to the welfare state. Under the British rule public administration was designed primarily for the maintenance of law and order and collection of organisation taxes. The administrative apparatus, which we have inherited from the British rulers is hardly suited to the task of implementing the directive principles of our State policy, which include provision, 'securing the right to work, to education, and public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement' and for 'securing just and human conditions of work, and for maternity relief.' Under the impact of Western civilization, the old social order based on the *Varna-sharma Dharma* and rural economy has suffered disintegration. A new social order, based on social, economic and political justice and designed to promote the welfare of the people cannot be set up without effecting fundamental changes in the administrative machinery.

"The Government is not unaware of the need of such a change. This is evident from the fact that the Planning Commission requested an expert like Mr. A. D. Gorwala to suggest such reforms in the adminis-

trative organisation as would make the implementation of development programme possible. Mr. Gorwala's reports on Public Administration and on the efficient conduct of the State Enterprises deserve careful study by every student of Political Science. Amongst various measures of reforms, he has emphasised the need for strengthening the machinery for detecting corrupt public servants and appointing one or two experienced detectives as clerks in those departments which come into continuous contact with the public. It is really surprising that the Intelligence Branch which evinced so much zeal and efficiency in tracking down political criminals before independence, cannot detect corrupt public servants today. If we want Democratic Government to survive in India, we must free it from these 'thorns of the State' and adopt some of the steps recommended by Kautilya in his chapters on *Kantakasodhanam*.

"Mr. Gorwala has advocated the formation of a single board, consisting of five or six members, for managing all the Government of India civil industries throughout the country, but he has advised the retention of departmental management for State trading schemes. In the former case he has accepted the Kautilyan principle *Vahumukhya Adhikaranam* or plural-headed controlling agency, while in the latter he has followed the precept of the Mahabharata, which states that control over one type of work should be vested in one person, otherwise the risk of mismanagement due to difference of opinion, would be great. The Board system involves expense, delay and diffusion of responsibility no doubt, but it minimises the dangers of corruption, favouritism and interference from parties and factions. It is worth considering whether the fixing of prices and similar other powers should not be vested in a Board, consisting of experts in commerce and applied economics.

"The problem of Administration in India has become most acute on account of the marked divergence between the declared policy of the Government and its execution. Almost all sections of the community and specially the middle classes with more or less rigid incomes have been complaining bitterly of the soaring price levels. From August, 1948 the Government began to consider adopting anti-inflationary measures and in October, 1949, soon after the Devaluation, formulated an Eight-point Programme to fight inflation by increasing the volume of production of agricultural and industrial commodities, cutting down the retail prices of food-grains, cloth and other essential commodities by ten per cent, and reducing the Government expenditure. The Nasik Congress also issued a clear mandate for checking inflationary forces at all cost. But the Index of general wholesale prices which stood at 390 in November, 1949, is about 440 today. The Calcutta middle class cost of living Index number for food was 445 in September 1950 and one year later it rose to 461, while for clothing it has risen

from 401 to 482 during the same period. Then again the price of *procurement* rice has been raised by nearly 15 per cent in this month. The expenditure on Civil Administration increased by Rs. 10 crores over the 1949-50 level in 1950-51 and in the current year's budget we find another increase of Rs. 6 crores over the last year's level. The total expenditure on civil administration ten years ago, in 1941-42, was a little above Rs. 13 crores and today it is above Rs. 56 crores.

"This shows that the anti-inflationary policy has remained largely on paper and probably also that the control of the Treasury over the estimates prepared by different ministers is not as effective as it ought to be. Mr. Gorwala refers, of course, to the complaints of Administrative Ministers against what is termed the 'Woodenness of the Finance Ministry' and also to the scrutiny of financial proposals relating to any establishment matter by the Financial Advisers and also by the Joint Secretary's Branch in the Finance Ministry.

"The Government also decided upon expediting income-tax collection as a measure to check inflationary tendencies. A committee was appointed to report on the cases of tax evasion during the war only and not beyond that period. It has been estimated that the amount which evaded taxation during the war period was to the tune of Rs. 600 crores. The Government preferred to depend on voluntary disclosures of income. So far income aggregating to 50 crores has been disclosed out of which over 12 crores may be realised as taxes, and we feel jubilant over this grand success of moral appeal to the tax-dodgers. No other government in the world has attempted to eradicate tax evasion by placing reliance on the conscience of the tax-payers. The Government spends Rs. 3 crores only on the Income-tax Department which brings a revenue of more than Rs. 165 crores. It may be enquired whether a strengthening of the Department cannot bring in a substantial improvement in collection."

Dr. Mazumdar has rightly said that administrative problems have become still more complex due to frequent changes in the policy of the Government. The tendency to multiply Statutory orders and to give retrospective effect to legal as well as administrative measures has also further complicated matters. The Government have not been able to stick to a uniform food policy throughout the last five years and have helplessly hovered between tighter control and progressive decontrol. Dr. Mazumdar's address deserves closest attention by our politicians and administrators.

"Manchester Guardian" on Devers Plan

Writing under the heading "Kashmir Again", the *Manchester Guardian* (January 16) states: "The Security

Council will resume tomorrow discussion of the baffling question of Kashmir. Here is a dispute in which the two sides have very properly and commendably refrained from fighting for three years, and which they have referred to the Security Council. The Council has tried conciliation; the last conciliator, Dr. Graham, narrowed the gap between the disputants, but it is still not bridged. The Pakistanis say that the time has come for the Council to pass from mediation to recommendation."

The newspaper continues: "The first step when the Council meets is surely to publish the demilitarisation plan produced by General Devers, the Military Adviser to Dr. Graham. General Devers is a distinguished General who preceded General Eisenhower in commanding the American troops in England during the war. It is hard to understand why his plan was not published along with the Graham report.

"Apparently it provides for four stages. The first, lasting 30 days, is preparatory. The second extends over three months. It would leave India with rather more than 30,000 troops in Kashmir, with the addition of 5,000 men from Sheikh Abdullah's militia; in the part of Kashmir held by Pakistan there would be about 16,000 men divided between the Pakistan Army and the Azad Kashmir forces. In the third stage the disparity of the forces would be reduced so that at the end the ratio of the Indian and militia forces to the Pakistan and Azad forces would be roughly 13:10 (which was the ratio of the rival forces in Kashmir when the truce began three years ago).

"At the end of this stage, by the middle of July, the Plebiscite Administrator would take up his appointment. It would be in his discretion to call on either side to reduce or increase their forces according to the needs of the situation."

Proceeding, the *Guardian* says: "It seems that Pakistan, while grumbling at what it regards as the unfair appointment of forces during the second stage, would have been willing to accept this plan at least in outline. The Indian attitude has not been made altogether clear. One of the Indian objections was apparently to the balance of forces proposed at the second stage. A grave difficulty seems to have been that India objected to discussing—at least at this stage—the procedure beyond stage two. It would be a pity if the Devers plan is not examined further.

"Dr. Graham, in presenting his report just before Christmas, did not despair of making further progress. By his own mission he has demonstrated that the best method is to produce a reasonable compromise scheme and to let reason gradually erode the objections of both sides.

"Pakistan is understandably impatient for quick action, but discussion may prove more constructive in two or three weeks' time than at the present moment. This is the height of the Indian General

Election. The Indian statesmen are preoccupied; sharp exchanges over Kashmir might bring the dispute into Indian domestic politics, and this would serve nobody's interest."

The *Guardian* concludes: "In its discussions" the Security Council does not seem to have examined the possibility of conducting a plebiscite area by area rather than for the country as a whole (the idea has, of course, been discussed in the Press of both India and Pakistan). It might at least be worthwhile seeing whether the Devers plan could be made more acceptable by providing for a plebiscite of this kind."

India's Secretary-General in the Foreign Department is now in Paris holding personal consultations on the Devers Plan. The difference between the two versions of the same plan supplied to India and Pakistan has caused much surprise and misgiving. The leaning towards Pakistan has been more than apparent and it seems doubtful whether plebiscite under conditions enunciated in the plan will be fair at all.

The Devers Plan

The U.N. Secretariat has published the "Tentative Plan of Demilitarization" of the Military Adviser of the U.N. representative General Devers. The plan *inter alia* suggests that the U.N. observers' force in Kashmir should be increased and equipped with necessary helicopters and communication equipment to ensure that there is no violation of the cease-fire agreements.

The plan also suggests that Pakistan should close the western border of the Azad Kashmir sector against unauthorised ingress from the West and all regular Pakistan forces should be withdrawn to Pakistan except three battalions.

The following are the points embodied in the Devers Plan:

(1) D-Day to be thirty days after the principal agreements have been signed by representatives of the two Governments in India and Pakistan.

(2) D plus thirty-one to D plus ninety (A) the U.N. observers' force to be greatly increased and equipped with necessary helicopters and communication equipment to ensure that there is no violation of the cease-fire agreements and to assist in the demobilization of forces and give stability and backing to local governments in maintaining order (B) Pakistan to close the western border of the Azad Kashmir sector against unauthorized ingress from the west. This is to be done by selected regular troops—three thousand five hundred northern and Gilgit scouts. (C) All regular Pakistan forces to be withdrawn to Pakistan except three battalions.

(3) D plus ninety-one to or about July 14, 1952: (A) The three regular Pakistan Infantry battalions to be withdrawn to Pakistan; (B) The regular Indian forces to be reduced to twenty-eight thousand men including line communication troops.

(4) July 15, 1952: (A) The Plebiscite Administrator arrives in Srinagar and is inducted into office; (B) The three thousand five hundred northern and Gilgit forces are reduced to fifteen hundred by disarming and disbanding; (C) The Azad Kashmir line of communication troops are reduced to one thousand; (D) The regular Indian Forces including any State armed forces are reduced to seven battalions of infantry of nine hundred men and two thousand five hundred line of communication troops; (E) These above reductions will allow the Plebiscite Administrator to adjust the proportion on each side of the cease-fire line in accordance with the recommendations in number seven of the twelve points.

Note: (A) The plan can only be accepted as a whole. The dates, times and strengths can be altered by agreement between the two Governments; (B) No Indian or Jammu and Kashmir National, Pakistani or Azad Kashmir National to cross the cease-fire line.

Index of Prices and Cost of Living

It has been officially claimed that the general index of prices records a downward movement indicating a lower cost of living and a consequent improvement in the standard of living of the general masses. The Economic Adviser's report showed that on the last week of December, 1951, the general index was 432.2 which was slightly less than the November figure of 434.2 of the same year.

A standard of living is an attitude towards a given mode of living. It is the "scale of preferences," the plan for material living which directs our expenditure into certain channels. To have an accurate knowledge of the standard of living or the cost of living, the first and foremost task is the proper assessment of national income and expenditure. No reliable statistics relating to national wealth or national income of India are available. Although an enquiry in this regard has recently been concluded by the National Income Enquiry Committee, it is still doubtful how far their calculations truly represent entire incomes—industrial as well as agricultural. Disorganised and uncertain as it is, our agricultural economy itself is a predominant obstacle to such estimations. The purpose of the Enquiry Committee is further vitiated by the omission of the national expenditure in their calculation. To construct a genuine index of cost of living, a descriptive study of the proportions of a family's income spent on indispensable items like food, clothing, housing, etc., is essential. Reliable statistics of expenditure on these items of consumption are not available and even such a computation of per capita consumption would not give us any knowledge of the living standards of different sections of society in India. Figures relating to some towns and villages are sometimes given by the Government and some private agencies but no systematic and thorough study of living expense has as yet been attempted in India.

The only attempt which has so far been made to indicate the expenditure of the people is the computation of working class index number in industrial centres of certain provinces. But this is also misleading. In these centres the price index of essential goods on which the index number is based, hardly corresponds to the actual price prevailing in the market. In most of the factories, workers are paid cash as well as cheap rations including dwelling quarters, free medical aid, etc. Real wages as against money wages and the relation of cost of living to real wages have not yet been measured.

The official index number records the wholesale prices and not the retail prices. Here again is a gulf of difference between the wholesale price and retail price which invariably is higher in every case.

The index number formulated by the Economic Adviser is thus fallacious and hardly measures the real standard of living. The real index of actual price paid by the consumers is bound to be still higher if it would have been constructed on the above lines. Even with such a defective index, if we compare our condition with that of the European countries, no consolation can be obtained. Figures of certain countries are reproduced here as illustrations:

Country (1948-Base)	Wholesale price	Cost of living 1951
Austria	208 (approximately)	170
Spain	160	130
Norway	135	115
Denmark	140	112
Belgium	120	105
Netherlands	139	120

The striking point of difference is that there the cost of living index is everywhere less than the wholesale index. That is, by every possible restrictive measure they have been successful in dragging down prices. The Europeans fear inflation no less than war. A member of the French delegation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Conference in Ottawa remarked, "For us Europeans, the immediate problem is the threat to our standard of living which cannot be lowered much if we don't want to lose people's support. The Communist threat from within is for us as real as the Communist threat from without."

These remarks clearly show why they take so much pains to keep down their cost of living. Whatever may be the motive, they succeed in maintaining their standard. The crisis through which they had to pass was not in any way less devastating than ours. They were equally faced with the problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction, the magnitude of which was not less significant. What had been possible for Spain, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Austria and even Netherlands, should have been possible for India as well. None of them is more prosperous than us either in man-power or in natural resources. It has not yet been possible for our Government to raise the standard of living of the people even by a slight degree while others are going rapidly ahead.

Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference

The Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference concluded a week's secret talks on the sterling policy and on measures to strengthen the pound sterling. A joint communique issued by the Ministers on the evening of 21st January, 1952, stated that the sterling area was faced with a very serious crisis which, if it were not efficiently dealt with, would have far-reaching consequences.

The crisis, according to the communique, has arisen because the sterling area as a whole is spending more than it is earning, with the result that its gold and dollar reserves have been falling at a rapid rate. The present difficulties, while partly due to short-term factors, also reflect continuing underlying problems. These problems must and can be solved. It is hoped that the proposed steps will give to sterling the strength it must have to continue as a widely used international currency.

This cannot be attained by negative and restrictive methods alone or merely by the imposition of cuts on imports from certain parts of the world.

For this reason, it is decided, that measures taken to stop the drain upon reserves must form part of a long-term policy designed to restore and maintain the full strength of sterling.

One of the points of general agreement arising out of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' talks, is understood to be the need for close and continued consultation on economic and financial developments within the sterling area.

Britain's economic leadership had been lost since the Second World War, when the U.S.A. took over the helm of foreign trade. The history of the post-war economic world has been of a continuous conflict between these two leaders—Britain trying to assert her powers through the sterling bloc and America in the dollar area. The war had devastated Britain, both economically and socially. Rehabilitation and reconstruction were the most acute problems facing Britain in the post-war period. None except U.S.A. was able to meet that colossal demand for materials for reconstruction of the war-devastated countries including Britain. Britain, conscious of being held in the toils of the dollar bloc, could do nothing but utilise the generous help of U.S. The whole-hearted aim and effort of Britain has been to restore her classical position and in this endeavour she fully exploited her colonial power. It is for that reason, the alarming drain of Britain's gold and dollar reserves has been a source of grave anxiety not only to Britain but to all the members of the British Commonwealth. The crux of the problem of the sterling area has been the obligation of the members to pool their net hard currency earnings in the "Empire Dollar Pool." With the initial deadlock in the balance of payments, most of the

countries of the sterling area have been able to regain their position. But they were called upon for a continuous restriction of dollar imports in order to maintain the reserve at an adequate level as Britain's own house was in disorder. But instead of recouping, the position of Britain began to deteriorate so rapidly that in September 1949 devaluation of Pound sterling became inevitable. This decision was immediately followed by some member countries and India, although our problems were quite different; but Pakistan refused to devalue her currency in terms of dollar in company with the rest. So far as our internal economy is concerned, devaluation has accentuated inflation, sent prices up and aggravated the maldistribution of real income brought about by war-time and post-war inflation. Pakistan's refusal to devalue her currency created a deadlock in the productive activities of India resulting in much economic loss. India has been compelled, two years later on, to accept the Rupee-ratio dictated by Pakistan. Thus devaluation has served British interests at the cost of the backward countries, possibly with the exception of Pakistan.

Again during the last quarter of 1951 the balance of British foreign trade had become adverse. With the outbreak of war in Korea, U.S. programme of stock-piling and mobilization, increased the costs of dollar imports and adversely affected the prices of raw materials all over the world. The impetus to export trade of Britain caused by devaluation was almost lost in the rising cost of British industrial productions. Hence the need to readjust her economy has again become crucial. Although the Conference session was secret, it is certain that Britain discussed the matter with the member countries and sought their help and co-operation. She is fully aware of the prime cause of the deadlock, i.e., U.S.A. but control of that is beyond her powers. The only alternative is to apply full pressure on the poor undeveloped countries.

The Other Side

America, on the other hand, has equally been faced with the problem of shortage of raw materials and to high cost of their import. It is her interest as well to reduce the cost of these imported materials. To that end she is extending her money-lending business to all over the world, particularly to those backward countries who are main suppliers of primary goods. Thus colonial imperialism is giving way to the new type of economic exploitation without any apparent political overlordship. It is quite obvious in a recent proposal regarding Canada. There are U.S.A. interests who want Britain to sell her "rights and interests" in Canada. The Congressman who has introduced the Bill said:

"We could offer England cash to bail her out of the serious world predicament in exchange for the forfeiture of the rights and interests she now possesses in Canada."

Both the leaders prefer restrictive trade and favour multi-lateral trade agreement among different countries of the world because that will help them to have their raw materials at a low cost and a sure market at a high price. In this struggle, it is the backward members in both the blocs who are affected. In the recent conference of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers it has been urged by the British delegation to reduce dollar expenditure and spend economically their sterling balances. But several Commonwealth countries including India and Pakistan are reported to have been hesitant about further serious import cuts to stop the drain on the sterling area reserves. India is believed to have contended that a large proportion of her imports are essential foods and capital goods, required to support the Government's food production programme and therefore they could not be reduced. Import of consumers' goods is essential to fight price inflation in India. Similar views have been expressed by Pakistan as she had already done everything possible to restrict imports and she is determined not to favour any cuts in the national development plans.

The results of the Finance Ministers' Conference has not therefore been decisive. Nothing but assurance of consultation and co-operation are ensured in the talks. It is but natural that Mr. Churchill would fly to Washington to have secret talk with President Truman, and the final decision is to be arrived at in Washington, not in the London Conference.

The Economic Conflict

Two articles, reproduced here from *U. N. O. World* will amply justify the above contention. Mr. Charles Sawyer, U. S. Secretary of Commerce, analysed in a brief article the reasons as to why the Korean war has induced them to restrict their liberal trade policy.

In the years following World War II the U.S.A. with other nations aspired to rebuild the network of world trade. The war-devastated world was faced with the tremendous task of relief and reconstruction. The whole world had a vast backlog of demand, accumulated during the war. The only country able to meet this urgent demand was U.S.A. Consequently their export increased enormously while imports although rising, did not keep pace. This export surplus or dollar gap was the index of acute trading problems in the post-war world. Part of this gap was covered through liquidation of gold and dollar assets held by other nations. But these reserves were too limited. This led to the tightening of import and exchange control in order to restrict dollar purchases to essential commodities only. It was hoped that these trade restrictions could be lifted gradually as production reached higher levels. The widespread devaluation of currency in September, 1949, was undertaken to speed up exports while discouraging further purchase from dollar areas.

The first half of 1950 was, however, encouraging to the countries concerned. The shortage of dollar was fast diminishing. A wave of optimism began to sway the world economic situation.

But the outbreak of Chinese Communist aggression in Korea has materially altered the situation. The free nations of the world have made extraordinary efforts to build up their economic strength, the basis of military power. An increasing proportion of national output is being devoted to defence purposes. This mobilization of resources has produced serious economic problems and has retarded the progress of world trade temporarily.

Impressive production gains, both in U.S.A. and elsewhere, have created a massive need for raw materials. For many of these materials, such as manganese, chromium, nickel, tin, lead, aluminium, zinc and copper, U.S.A. depends on other countries. Western countries also demand huge amounts of the same materials to meet their present defence requirements and stockpiling. The combined demand caused severe shortages, endangering production. Prices of crude materials soared up rapidly. This has, of course, meant improvement in the balance of payments and increase in dollar earnings of many countries producing raw materials. But this increased money income spells inflation in those countries, unless effective control measures are undertaken. This inflationary trend has produced adverse repercussions on the industrial nations of the world. They are caught in the dilemma of importing more new materials to meet defence needs while cutting down export in order to divert the productive effort to rearmament.

In the midst of such a crisis it is but natural that those who have hoped only a short time ago to relax restrictions on trade and exchange rates, now claim that it would be difficult if not impossible to do so under present conditions.

Some active measures have been taken by U.S. to make mobilization effective within the country. To help other nations to raise their output as well, U.S.A. has given extensive loans for development of resources. An International organisation, "International Material Conference," has been established in order to prevent the development of supply bottlenecks in key raw materials. The difficulty of obtaining manufactured products is equally vital for many countries. U.S.A. export controls provide for equitable distribution of goods in short supply among foreign claimants.

The present period of extensive and world-wide mobilization has caused many difficulties for international trade. These problems can be solved only through hard work and whole-hearted co-operation and success depends upon the work of all.

Mr. Marcus Fleming, U. K.'s member of the

U. N. Economic and Employment Commission in 1950-51, defends Britain's policy of trade restrictions. He wrote that free trade was the lodestar of Great Britain's surge to wealth and industrial supremacy in the 19th century. But now the British stand accused of being the major stumbling-block to its operation. The truth is, however, that they did not abandon free trade lightly and are fighting to make possible its revival.

During World War II, British officials collaborated closely with the Americans in preparing blueprints for the Brave New World and later took part in bringing to birth the various agencies to act as watchdogs and guarantors of international good behaviour in the economic sphere. To execute that the restoration of the convertibility of sterling was thought to be essential as an interim policy. In 1946 and 1947, Britain made an attempt in this direction on the strength of large loans from Canada and U.S. But it was not possible, thanks to catastrophic decline in her reserves of foreign exchange. As time went on it became clear that Britain's expanded exports were not finding a big enough market in the dollar area. Nor were they competing with sufficient success with U. S. exports in third markets. This showed that the pound sterling was too high relative to the dollar and would ultimately have to be devalued. Improvement in Britain's external position which followed from devaluation in 1949, has paved the way for a new effort on Britain's part to remove trade restrictions. But in protesting at Torquay that Korea and rearmament were going to cause trouble for the balance of payments in 1951, Britain was not playing Cassandra. Events have turned out even worse than expected, not only for Britain's own balance of payments but also—and this is what counts for the reserves—for that of the sterling area as a whole. Heavy rearmament expenditure and a catastrophic rise in the prices of imported food and materials may help to explain Britain's own current balance of payments difficulties. But they do not account for the dollar difficulties of the sterling area as a whole. Most of the sterling countries, on the contrary, have gone too far in allowing additional dollar imports. It is clear that in the sterling area as a whole inflationary pressure has once more been allowed to get out of hand. But it must be recognised that the high-pressure economic system, which prevails in Britain and other sterling area countries, purchases its domestic advantages at the cost of great external instability. If this should prove to be the principle towards which the economics of the West is gravitating, the norms of international economic good behaviour as defined at Bretton Woods and Havana will have to be radically revised and their basic principles reinterpreted in the light of the new conditions.

Egypt

The stormy events in Egypt rose to a crescendo on January 24 and January 25. Following the countrywide disturbances, King Faruk dismissed Nahas Pasha and appointed Aly Maher Pasha as Prime Minister as given in the following news-item which appeared on January 24. The situation remains critical in the extreme all the same.

One thousand Egyptian armed police and auxiliaries were reported to have surrendered to British armoured troops here on January 25 after a furious six-hour siege which reduced their buildings to shambles.

Unofficial British estimates said between 40 and 50 Egyptians were killed and about 60 wounded.

The Egyptian Minister of the Interior, Mr. Fuad el Din, was stated by the Arab newspaper *Al Zaman* to have ordered the Ismailia police commandant and his men "not to surrender but to resist the British to the last man and the last shot."

The British Commander, General Sir George Erskine who had ordered the disarming and removal of the police, described the auxiliaries as having consistently "aided and abetted the anti-British thug campaign in Ismailia."

The Egyptian police commander rejected all appeals to surrender.

It was reported from Cairo that the Egyptian Cabinet had been summoned to an emergency meeting to consider the situation.

British military authorities stated that the morning's action of 25th January at Ismailia "is in no sense an assumption of military Government, and has prior knowledge and full approval of the British Government."

General Erskine said he had ordered police guard companies in Ismailia to be disarmed and expelled from the Canal Zone.

He had "invited" the Governor of Ismailia to carry out this order and warned him that delay could not be accepted. If the "invitation" was not complied with, the British would disarm the police themselves "with such force as may be necessary." He added that a long series of events had left him no other course.

"The new Egyptian Government of Prime Minister, Aly Maher Pasha won a unanimous vote of confidence in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies when it faced Parliament for the first time on January 28.

"The new Premier was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers. The Legislative Committee of the two Houses approved his decrees under which martial law was proclaimed throughout the country.

"Maher Pasha, faced with the task of securing the Wafd's support, had earlier decided to adjourn

Parliament for 30 days. Then his predecessor, Nahas Pasha, announced that Wafdist Senators and Deputies would vote for Maher Pasha as long as he continued to pursue their policy towards the British.

"King Farouk late last night (27th Jan.) dismissed Nahas Pasha and called on Aly Maher Pasha to form a new Ministry. Maher Pasha, who was once arrested by Nahas Pasha 'for security reasons,' immediately formed a new Cabinet of independents.

"In a broadcast at midnight the new Premier said his Government's policy 'remains the realization of the country's national aspirations, namely, the evacuation of British troops and the unity of the Nile Valley.'

"Maher Pasha's efforts will be directed towards reaching a new understanding with Britain, it is believed at Cairo. But his first task will be restoring confidence in the country and he will take a firm line in maintaining public security. Late last night (27th Jan.) he ordered the sealing off of the Socialist Party (Al Ishterakeya) headquarters at Cairo as a nationwide tightening of security measures. The order was his first major action as Premier. Later a military proclamation banned the assembly of more than four persons at any time of the day throughout the country. Penalties set for breaches of the ban were two years' jail, or five years if the culprit were found armed.

"The 31-year-old King took the drastic action dismissing his Premier after intensely nationalistic Nahas Pasha and his Wafd Party Cabinet had discussed for four hours' action following Saturday's (26th Jan.) riots in which at least 20 died and 200 were injured.

"It was disclosed at the Cabinet meeting that 300 people including extremists and well-known agitators had been arrested in police action after demonstrators in a day of arson and looting had wrecked the commercial area of the city.

"In his letter dismissing Nahas Pasha, the King said Nahas Pasha had 'failed to maintain peace and order in the country.'

"Aly Maher was also appointed Military Governor of Egypt. In addition to the Premiership, he holds the key posts of Foreign Affairs and War and Marine.

"Sir Ralph Stevenson informed the Egyptian Government on January 23 that the British Government held them responsible for loss of British life and damage to British property in 27th January's riots. The British Consulate-General investigating details of casualties in Cairo's week-end disturbances stated on January 23 that Colonel Anderson, a British engineer, reported dead on January 27, was, in fact, alive. Another wounded British soldier died on last night (27th Jan.) in Ismailia bringing the total British casualties in Friday's (26th Jan.) battle of the police stations there to four killed and 12 injured. The zone

remained quiet night of 27th January last and on January 28.

Cairo returned to normal on 28th January after a week-end of disturbances when mobs appeared to be in control for several hours. Streets have been tidied up overnight and on January 28, the traffic is again flowing in steady streams. Shops are reopening and the back-to-work movement is definitely under way. Egyptian troops are still out in force in the city.

"Between 20 and 30 young Wafdist went to Nahas Pasha's house, shouting: 'We won't recognise your dismissal.' Nahas came outside and told the demonstrators that he had asked King Farouk to relieve him of the Premiership. He said, 'Keep calm and do not demonstrate. I have been in touch with the new Premier and he has given me his word of honour that he will pursue my policy towards the British. Wafdist Senators and Deputies will vote for him as long as he does so.'

Indo-U.S. Technical Aid Agreement

On January 3 last was signed at New Delhi, an agreement between representatives of these two States, called "Point Four" Agreement. It is printed below:

"An Agreement was signed in New Delhi between India and the United States under which American financial assistance will be available for speeding up projects for the economic development of India. The Agreement was signed on behalf of India by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The U. S. Ambassador in India, Mr. Chester Bowles, signed on behalf of the Government of U.S.A.

"Under the Agreement, the Government of the United States of America have agreed to make a contribution of an amount of \$50 million which will be allocated by June 30, 1952, and deposited in a Fund, called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund. The Government of India have also agreed to contribute in rupees for the projects to be financed out of this Fund. Thus, it is estimated that the total amount available for the programme will be in excess of Rs. 50 crores or \$100 million.

"The projects financed by the Fund will be co-ordinated with the Five-Year Plan of the Government of India and will be administered in close co-operation with the Central and State Governments. Use of the Fund will be largely concentrated on projects which are aimed, primarily, at raising the level of agriculture and increasing the food production in the country. India's present dependence on imported food would be reduced in this manner. Food imports of India, which amount, on an average, to five million tons annually, cost the country about Rs. 250 crores (or about \$500 million) in foreign exchange which, otherwise, could have been used to develop much-needed new industries.

"Of major importance is the community development programme which has been tentatively agreed between the two Governments for financing out of this Fund. The programme contemplates setting up of about 50 rural-urban development areas in different parts of the country, each area consisting of about 200,000 people in about 300 villages. Many of these areas may be selected around the new river valley projects, while the location of some others will be around the new tube-well development projects financed by the Fund and also by the Central and the State Governments in India.

"The proposed rural-urban development programme is expected to draw upon the combined experience of the Uttar Pradesh Government at the Etawah Development Scheme and the newly-built townships for displaced persons at Faridabad and Nilokheri. At Etawah, it may be recalled, in three years' time 79,000 people from 102 villages, covering an area of 100 square miles, have demonstrated how with co-operative and planned endeavour food production can be substantially increased. They have also been successful in eliminating, to a large extent, malaria, rinderpest and other diseases. Considerable improvement in literacy has also been recorded. In Faridabad and Nilokheri again, in less than three years, good planning and enthusiastic co-operation of the people have enabled modern townships to be built with up-to-date housing, good schools, improved public health facilities and a wide variety of industrial opportunities.

"Some of the development projects will be financed on a loan basis and as repayments are made, the money will be used for new projects. It is also hoped that in future years funds will be forthcoming, in an increasing scale, to expand the work of the Fund.

"The Agreement provides for the creation of an Indian Central Committee which will determine the policies and provide general supervision of the projects undertaken. Members of the Committee will be appointed by the Government of India. Mr. Clifford Willson, representing the U. S. Technical Co-operation Administration in India, will be available as Consultant to this Committee. The Committee will be responsible for developing, in consultation with the appropriate authorities in the various States in India, the programmes of economic development and technical co-operation in which assistance provided by the Government of the United States of America can be most advantageously utilized.

"The Indo-American Fund in which the American contribution will be deposited will be administered jointly. An officer of the Central Ministry of Finance will be the Government of India's nominee for this purpose, while Mr. Clifford Willson, working under the general supervision of the U.S. Ambassador in India, will be the nominee of the U.S. Government.

As each project of economic development is approved by the Central Committee, finance will be provided out of this Fund and agreed by the joint administrators.

"Quarterly and project reports on the programme will be made by the Central Committee. The quarterly report will be an account of the progress made by the various projects while the project report will be a 'completion memorandum' containing a record of the work done, the objectives, financial contributions and other related data.

"An annual report will be prepared by the Government of India covering the progress of each project, its expected contribution to India's economic well-being and the accruals to and disbursements from the Indo-American Fund."

U.S.A.'s ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, has said that India did not seek American aid, and that it would be dangerous for both the countries to have the impression created that his country went out of her way to force some sort of aid on India to serve her particular "democratic" purposes one of which was to enlist the latter's help in fighting her cold war, ideological and material, with the Soviet Union. We wish Mr. Bowles success in his attempt at convincing his people, Senators and Representatives specially, of the enormity of such an offence to a people, sensitive to the least possible hint on the dignity of their new-born State. They should recall their own history, how the "Founding Fathers" of their Republic religiously avoided "entangling" alliances with European Powers, angling for advantages in the new world.

It was only when they felt strong, that they agreed at Canning's suggestion (Foreign Minister of Britain, in 1823) that they should declare that any European interference with the new world, would be regarded by them as a threat to their State. Monroe was President then, and the declaration has come to be known as "Monroe Doctrine." It has also to be said that without the support of the British Navy, Monroe would have been fool-hardy to throw a challenge almost to all European Powers, all except France, being monarchical autocracies. And because such an assurance came from Canning that the doctrine could be declared.

We desire also to a few words to our readers. Their fears that American aid would weaken their "neutral" position in foreign affairs, are based more on imagination or what has come to be known as "inferiority complex." Their fears may be justified or not. It all depended on how they faced the situation. If they were sincerely in support of their neutrality stand, they would cultivate the strength that would enable them to maintain it. This is the proper attitude to maintain. We may be weak in comparison with U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and China, but we have as many people as the first four combined. And China's example has shown us how this strength can be

Presumably they felt, he added, that, having put the Congress into power, members of the Dal deserved a better reward.

For some time before the insurrection occurred proposals were being considered to disband the Dal and, as far as possible, to find alternative employment for the retrenched personnel. It is now likely that there will be a "major change of policy" towards the Dal.

Apart from what the Nepalese Ambassador stated today, circumstantial evidence points to the conclusion that the revolt may be linked with two main factors. Leftist inspiration is regarded as the more important.

It is well-known that Dr. K. I. Singh himself was closely connected with elements in Nepal who consider the cease-fire of January 1951 a 'betrayal' of the struggle for independence.

When the cease-fire was followed by the Nepalese Congress's participation in the new Government, it was represented by the extremist section as an unwise compromise with the Ranas. Dr. Singh was among those who continued to indulge in anti-Government activities thereafter.

Since then there has been talk of the growing strength of the Communist Party in Nepal, whose grievance against the present Koirala Government was that it leaned heavily towards Right-wing opinion. For that reason the Government's close association with India was not always popular.

It is significant that in his interview yesterday with a PTI correspondent, Dr. K. I. Singh said that the rebels demanded 'an all-party Government, including the Communists but excluding reactionary parties like the Gurkha Dal.'

It is assumed that when in the course of his interview Dr. Singh said that he desired 'relations with foreign Powers on the basis of equality and not on a footing of special friendship with any country,' he may have been thinking of India.

Perhaps the second important factor leading to the disturbances was internal rivalries and disagreement among Nepalese leaders themselves.

A particularly regrettable feature of the insurrection is the part played by the Raksha Dal. This organization constituted a volunteer force of the Nepalese Congress during its struggle against the Ranas and about 5,000 of them were retained as home guards."

Mr. Churchill's American Visit

Mr. Churchill's statements before the U. S. Congress were cryptic. But it is likely that it would have repercussion in quarters not in the direct reckoning of party politics, as the following news-item shows:

Mr. Churchill will return here on January 28, carry-

ing political dynamite which threatens to split the Labour Party wide open on Far Eastern policy.

The key question, which he alone can answer, is what he meant by his promise to the U. S. Congress to support "resolute and effective" action if the Chinese Communists violated a truce in Korea.

If he meant only the bombing of Chinese air bases in Manchuria, and says so, the moderate Socialists led by Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison, ex-Foreign Secretary, will support him, according to authoritative Labour sources here.

The Bevanites have already left no doubts that they will fight tooth and nail any proposal to take action against Chinese territory whether Manchurian bases or any other target.

If, however, Mr. Churchill tells Parliament next week he is prepared for a limited war, such as bombing of the Chinese mainland, then both the Right and Left wings of the Labour Party will unite solidly against him.

Their weekly journal *Tribune*, in a front page editorial on January 24 thought to be written by Mr. Bevan's chief propagandist, Mr. Michael Foot, charged Mr. Churchill with "giving a dangerous twist to British policy on an issue of supreme importance in a manner which might accelerate the world's drift to war."

"In Defence of Freedom"

Under this title, Doctor Radha Binod Pal, the eminent judge who represented India at the War Crimes trial held to punish the Japanese war-lords and their accomplices, writes an article which has become all-important in view of the forces of democratic and totalitarian encroachment of our freedom of speech and movement. Liberty of the Press has become a plaything of Executive whim, and people's right to live more about freely is subject to the same menace.

There is nothing peculiarly new in the discussion of Doctor Pal. But old things need repetition to bring people to their senses.

"The maintenance of India as a free society confronts us with an immediate responsibility in two areas in particular: civil rights and civil liberties. We shall have to erect our own structure of freedom and it certainly would take us years. It is not so much our idealism which will give that structure strength, and certainly we cannot altogether ignore the possibility of occasional betrayal of such idealism. But if we have within us the capacity to realize that there has been such a betrayal and to feel the consequent remorse adequately, then, and then only, there will be the possibility of erecting any such structure and of giving it requisite strength.

"The history of free countries is full of such instances. The result of each crime against freedom in truly free countries, however, has been to make it

harder for the people to destroy freedom in the next stage of fright and hysteria. The American history throws illuminating light on this field. In the wake of the undeclared hostility against France in 1789 came the notorious 'Alien and Seditious Acts.' The free people of America obviously could not long endure such laws, and Adams was beaten in the next election.

"The great national nightmare—the one from which the American people woke up with the deepest sense of horror—was the 'witch-hunt' staged by Attorney-General A. Mitchel Palmer after the First World War. The Espionage Act of 1917 and the Alien Act of 1918 had given the Government broad powers to arrest persons whose offences might range all the way from treason down to grumbling. Writings such as 'I am for the people and the Government is for the profiteers' sufficed to condemn the writer to a sentence of ten-year jail. Men were thrown into jail for hot words overheard in trains, in hotel lobbies or even around the dinner table in the boarding house."

This instance from the greatest democracy of the modern age should be sufficient to make us wary of the same phenomenon developing in India.

As Others See Us

The *New York Times*, one of the brightest of American weeklies, devoted a study on the causes and consequences of the mass killings that appear to have destroyed for the time being all hope of decent, civilized life in India, and has "undermined" the confidence of Asia in India's "leadership." The writer attempted a historic analysis of the conditions that favoured the outbreak during March-December, 1947:

"... by the time the British reached India, both Hindu and Moslem were deeply immersed in hate, deeply conscious of dispossession before the British dispossessed both. Through all the changes, Kali, both as mother and as evil, persevered so that when freedom came there were more Indians than ever to hate each other, more intensively than ever."

He appears to share Macaulay's opinion that India was "a decomposed society," and finds excuses for British failure when he suggests that "even" they "could not establish law; they merely kept order." and when British hands were withdrawn, India staged a massacre and not a war. For, "a decomposed society cannot make war, which requires law, authority, organization." Thus, during six weeks "India and Pakistan were beneath war." He explained it:

"Although leaders of the two States are in different degrees responsible for agitating or at least for misunderstanding the communal hatred, the appalling fact is that most of the killing was unorganized and spontaneous. In this case, a rare and significant one, the State power was not guilty. As for armaments, the massacres in India and Pakistan were as far removed as possible from modern war or from the gas chambers of Maidanek.

The murderers with whom we are dealing used knives, chisels, ropes, hockey sticks, screw-drivers, bricks and slender fingers."

This is an interpretation of the genesis of the fear and the rancour that drove millions into madness. He called attention to the fact that for centuries "Moslem, Hindu and Sikh had lived side by side, if not in harmony, at least in uneasy tolerance." But what happened is explained in the following analysis, an approach to the heart of the truth:

"Hindu and Sikh and Moslem tolerated each other, in so far as they did so, not through love or virtue but because each community was aware that its rival did not possess the power to coerce it into a hated way of living. Neither the Rajputs, nor the Moguls, nor the British ever established in India a State whose police reached out to the ordering of people's daily lives. Now, with independence, with the possibility of modern States, each community saw behind the other the shadow of the Policeman and the propagandist. The Indian communities rushed into violence not to seize power, but out of the fear of the power that was about to fall into the hands of others. And this is a primal fear, deeper than rivalries between such nations as have already known and submitted to police power wielded in their own names."

A Hindu colour to his study when he used the name of "Kali, goddess of death and catastrophe, wife-conqueror of the eternal Siva, the dancer," though he recognized that it was not "in Kali's name" that "the 1,00,000 were killed." But he could not forget this dreadful goddess of the Hindu Pantheon. He concluded with a reference to her, and with a note of hope that things will get better:

"Yet in spite of Kali the Destroyer and because of Kali the mother, India has been and is a great and ancient land, a well-spring and tabernacle of some of the most inspired conceptions of the divine will in man which man has ever dreamed of; and more lately a fount of brotherhood, and among the nations, a preacher of peace. If India could descend to the depths, it could also look up to moral Himalayas. Its recent sin was great, but not unique, especially not unique in origin. It sprang from Kali, from the dark and universal fear which rests in the slime on the blind sea-bottom of biology."

The Hindu is not peculiar in this destroyer-preserver idea. Christ spoke of the sword, and behind it shone the preserver who rebuilt and renovated humanity by love. And the point we want to emphasize that the partition and its consequences must be minimized by some sort of "association," formal or informal, as Sri Aurobindo said in one of his birth-day (August 15) messages. Then only can India and Pakistan, act as leader of new Asia hand in hand with China.

Hirakud Dam

We are glad that Hirakud has escaped the song and dance by the Tin gods of New Delhi, as was the

acquired. It has nothing to do with Communism, Totalitarianism, or Capitalist Democracy. Britain was strongest when she was aristocratic, glorifying over Plassey, Waterloo and Trafalgar, while mouthing the democratic slogans, "Stealing the Village Commons" from the common people, as Chesterton has expressively described it. This should be the last word in the controversy.

In this connection the following news-item that appeared in the daily press of January 23 is of interest.

"Further U. S. aid, amounting to \$2m (Rs. 1 crore), for India's development programme is expected in the current year under an agreement reached between the Indian Government and the Ford Foundation.

The agreement, copies of which were recently exchanged between and signed by Sir Chintaman Deshmukh and Mr. Hoffman, Director of the Foundation, provides for financial assistance from the Foundation in carrying out a rural extension service programme as part of India's five-year development plan.

The Foundation, it is stated in the agreement, believes that the general principles of the intensive rural development programme envisaged in the five-year plan 'are sound in conception and should result in increased food production and the betterment of village life in India.'

To begin with, the Government proposes to set up five centres in States for the training of the key personnel required to initiate and supervise agricultural, social welfare and medical extension services in 15 areas selected in States for development.

It is expected that in the next five years, sufficient trained personnel will pass out from these five training centres to help in such services in at least 15,000 villages. The experience gained from work in these areas will be passed on to other parts, thus building up an integrated multi-purpose extension service organisation throughout India.

The Foundation will also consider the granting of financial aid to sound extension training programmes at a few selected higher educational institutions and of assistance to the Government and States in evaluating the work under way or planned.

Dr. Douglas Ensminger, a representative of the Foundation, who is expected to arrive in India soon, will approve allocation of funds available under the agreement to the five proposed training centres and the 15 intensive development projects."

Such aid should always be welcomed as it opens up the possibility of large-scale investigation and experiment with highly trained technical assistance abroad, which would not be obtainable otherwise.

Tunis

French colonialism has met with another challenge, this time on the northern shores of Africa. The people of Tunis in their turn are now aspiring after independence and are meeting with the same obduracy as before from the French.

"The local French Commander and nine others were killed and 25 wounded in rioting at Sousse about 60 miles south of Tunis on January 22.

Tunis itself was calm this morning after isolated incidents during the night. Shots were fired on two gendarmes of a night security patrol at Porto Farina near Bizerta killing one of them. A train was derailed between Sousse and Sfax. An explosion damaged the track between Sousse and Tunis. South of Sousse, telegraph poles were cut down.

Two people were wounded in shooting outside the French Resident-General's building at Tunis on January 21 in a demonstration following the arrest of Nationalist and Communist leaders.

About 50 detained by the police but released later included Serge Moatti, President of the Tunisian League of the Rights of Man.

Britain Warned of Bankruptcy

Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Chairman of Lloyds Bank, warned on January 25 that Britain was at the brink of disaster. "In the past six months we have lost more than a third of our entire gold reserve," he said. "Another nine months at that rate and the last gold bar would be gone," he said.

If once Britain lost control of the value of the pound in international exchange "50m people cannot long survive on this island."

At Nottingham, Mr. Robert Carr, Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, said on January 26 that Britain would be "literally and completely" bankrupt by the third week of August if the present rate of spending continued.

The country was running into debt at the rate of £25m a week, and if national credit broke down, as was likely to happen in such circumstances, "we should for all practical purposes be bankrupt from the middle of June," he said.

The Russo-German Alliance

The Russo-German Pact of August, 1939, that hastened the outbreak of the Second World War of the 20th century has yet to find its historian to reveal the sinister possibilities of such an alliance even today when Germany is down and out and Russia feels herself isolated in a world of growing State power called by Hobbes, The Leviathan.

An attempt has been made by A. Rossi whose book entitled as above has been reviewed in the American press. We publish extracts from what Alexander Dallas, Russian specialist of the *New York Times* wrote:

"The Russo-German Alliance is the revised edition of a book first published in France two years ago. Relatively little new material has come to light in the intervening period. Thus Mr. Rossi's task has been to pull together the available documents, including those bared at the Nuremberg Trials, in the Ciano Diaries, in the Hitler-Mussolini correspondence, as well as contemporary journalistic reports and—something new—a number of heretofore unpublished items from the captured German files of 1939-41. Mr. Rossi makes no claim to exhaustiveness. Indeed, it would be impossible to write in a semi-popular vein if one were to amass all the available detail. The result in this study is a certain selectivity which, on the whole, must be deemed successful.

"What remains in the reader's mind is effective pictures of the 1939 negotiations; the secret clauses of the Pact providing for the partition of the area between Germany and the U.S.S.R.; the cashing in on these terms by both sides: the partition of Poland; the watchful waiting of the U.S.S.R. while Germany conquered Denmark, Norway, the Low Countries and France; the aggrandizement of the Soviet Union in Baltic, Finland and Bessarabia; and the German build-up for the attack on its partner once it decided that Molotov's terms for a new partition agreement, this time involving virtually the entire Old World, went too far. Mr. Rossi does well to include in his treatment the less obvious ramifications of the Pact: the intensive Soviet propaganda campaign against Britain and France and in favor of the German "peace" campaign after the double stabbing of Poland; the economic and naval aid of the partners; the ideological concessions; and the effect of the Pact on German-Italian and Soviet-Japanese relations. (He fails, however, to go into such symptomatic problems as the turning over of anti-Nazi German refugees by the NKVD to the Gestapo, and the fate of the Polish Jews.)

"Some historians may wish to quarrel with a few of Mr. Rossi's interpretations. Perhaps he overstates Stalin's commitment to the German gambit prior to August 1939, just as he seems to give excessive weight to Hitler's "obsession" to make peace with Britain in 1940.

"... a frustrated Molotov waits in vain for German approval of his draft for a four-power pact with the Axis, providing for the expansion of the Soviet Union into the Near East, toward the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Mr. Rossi shows how the Kremlin's abrupt about-face was blindly aped by obedient Communists throughout the world; and how ideology was subordinated to *Realpolitik* when the Pact made such a self-castration of Soviet vocal cords desirable.

"The Pact began an era of aggression for the Soviet State, an era that continues to this day. For what Germany failed to accord its one-time accom-

plise, the Western Allies permitted Moscow to acquire a few years later. Thus, in Mr. Rossi's correct conclusion, 'the break between Hitler's Germany and Soviet Russia was' not only an act of unilateral aggression, but a 'break between two imperialist programs'."

This story of "dual duplicity" should teach us in India that what the Anglo-Saxon negotiators in the Kashmir affair have been doing is justified by recent history. Perhaps, this duplicity has even been a State's safety measure.

The Revolt in Nepal

The attempted *coup de etat* which failed in Khatmandu, has left in its train an obscure position in Nepal. Some light has been thrown on it by the following official statement, but as yet our anxiety regarding our neighbour remains unallayed:

"As told by the Nepalese Ambassador on January 24 the story of the insurrection confirms earlier reports that the revolt was planned by the chief ringleader, Dr. K. I. Singh, with the assistance of a part of the Raksha Dal.

It appears that Dr. Singh was detained in a part of Singha Durbar, which also houses the Government Secretariat. His guards consisted of members of the Raksha Dal, with whom he was in constant communication.

After releasing Dr. Singh, the rebel section of the Raksha Dal, comprising about 1,200 of the total of nearly 5,000, took charge of Singha Durbar. As the Raksha Dal also served as guards at the airfield and the Broadcasting House, they had no difficulty in capturing these either.

All this occurred at about midnight on Tuesday. By 11 the following morning, however, State troops had retaken the airfield and, according to the Nepalese Ambassador, the other rebel-held places by about 3 p.m.

Apparently before the Government forces re-entered Singha Durbar, Dr. K. I. Singh had managed to escape, along with 'less than 100 armed followers.' He was last reported to be going south along the bank of the river Bagmati.

It is understood that Dr. Singh left Khatmandu in a Raksha Dal jeep which he abandoned after some distance. He is now being pursued by State troops and warrants for his arrest have been communicated to the district authorities by wireless.

Among the rebels who have already been arrested are two senior leaders, including Mr. Agni Prasad Khara, whose home is in Eastern Nepal. About 800 rebel members of the Raksha Dal have also been captured. It seems that there was not much fighting, the only casualty mentioned by the Nepalese Ambassador being one rebel killed and two wounded.

Referring to reasons for the Raksha Dal's participation in the revolt, the Ambassador spoke of discontent in the force over their conditions of service.

case when the Damodar Valley project came up before the Parliament. But all the same we wish to draw the attention of our readers to the following news-item, just to show that the Hirakud project, though it is directly under the Central Government's executives, is also going to cost almost double the amount originally estimated:

The Government of India have appointed a three-man expert committee to examine the revised estimate for the construction of the Hirakud Dam.

The committee will make its recommendations to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research on the following points:

1. The technical feasibility of the project; and
2. Economics of the project as a whole with special reference to irrigation and power generation.

The committee consists of Mr. S. C. Mazumdar, Consulting Engineer to the Government of West Bengal (Chairman), Mr. M. L. Champhekar, Chief Engineer, Public Works Department, Bombay, and Mr. T. J. Mirchandani, Chief Engineer, Bombay Electrical Grid.

The members will "commence their work immediately" to submit their report within three weeks.

The project was originally estimated to cost Rs. 47.8 crores but, on account of the general rise in prices both in India and abroad, devaluation, increase in wages, and extension of the scope of the project, the original estimate became obsolete and a revised estimate was prepared, according to which the project is expected to cost about Rs. 87 crores. The Government of India consider it necessary that this revised estimate should be reviewed by a committee of experts.

India's Navy

The recent unfortunate incident in Calcutta, in which an unruly mob of sightseers broke through the police cordon in their eagerness to view I.N.S. *Delhi*, and caused a disaster in which ten unfortunate persons were thrown into the river and drowned, has focussed public attention on our Navy. The details of that unfortunate incident are given in the following Press Note:

The Government of West Bengal in a Press Note on Saturday (January 26) night said:

"I.N.S. *Delhi*, which is in Calcutta port for a week, was kept open on January 24, 25, 26 and 27 between 9 a.m. and 12 noon to organized batches of students and between 2 p.m. and 4-30 p.m. to members of the public, admission being strictly regulated by issue of cards. Batches of 50 card-holders each were to be admitted every half an hour.

"This afternoon at about 3-15 there was a crowd of over 5,000 people on the foreshore wanting to be admitted to see the ship. Batches of 50 persons were being admitted as arranged, the civil and military police regulating the crowd and naval ratings arrang-

ing their transport by a boat and admission into the ship.

"At this stage there was a rush of people, mostly those not holding admission cards, on the gangway trying to come to the pontoon landing. The police had effectively kept back the crowd on the foreshore all the time, but after this the crowd came on to the gangway, some people even hanging to the railings from the outside. The railings of the gangway collapsed under this heavy weight in about a length of 30 feet on the south. It may be mentioned that the Princep moorings gangway has strong iron railings of double bars on both sides.

"About 50 persons were pushed into the river under the pressure of the crowd from behind. A boat belonging to the West Bengal Fisheries Department and another to Messrs. Assam-Bengal Cement Company were present very near the gangway, and boatmen immediately managed to rescue a large number of people. The 'skin divers' of the Port Commissioners also rushed to the spot, and a search was started which continued until about 7 p.m. Eight dead bodies were recovered, seven of which have been identified by their relations and friends."

Mournful as that disaster was it shows the amount of interest the public has in the Navy.

December 22nd was celebrated all over India as her "Navy Day" recalling to her people the present and past exploits of this arm of the State. During the previous regime, niggardliness and distrust had characterized its attitude towards India and her people. Of the past we can all be proud. India's ship had sailed over the waves of the eastern seas and oceans; her citizens had colonized far-flung islands even in the Pacific, carrying her culture to them. Tamilians, Oriyas, Bengalis, Marathas and Gujaratis had taken part in these activities. And today they are descendants prepared to play their part in emergencies threatening their sea routes. It is, therefore, the State's duty to train up these maritime peoples to meet the demands of naval warfare.

We know that there has been no neglect on the part of the Government, but there is a disposition to blame the people for their easy-going habits and soft ways. But when put to the test, our young men have proved their willingness to learn on board ship at Cochin, Bombay, Vizagapatam and Calcutta. Even people inland are capable of doing this job. The bogey of "martial races" has no reason to exist.

A Central Government Report describes what has been done during the year that is just ended. It was devoted, we are told, by the Indian Navy for the most part to the further consolidation of the Service and towards perfecting the functional efficiency of sailors and ships.

I.N. warships carried out four 'flag-showing' goodwill cruises to some of our neighbouring countries which gave them a cordial welcome.

Commanded by Captain B. S. Soman, I.N.S. *Jumna* and *Cauvery* of the Frigate Flotilla received a rousing reception during their five-week visit to ports in Iran, Iraq and Arabia during the opening months of the year.

The senior ship of the I.N. Destroyer Flotilla, I.N.S. *Rajput* (commanded by Captain A. Chakraverti) steamed to Australia to represent India at the Commonwealth Jubilee celebrations held there in January last. Later, on an invitation by the Government of New Zealand, the *Rajput* paid a brief courtesy visit to New Zealand.

During all these cruises next to 'showing the flag,' the emphasis was laid on sea training of the Navy's officers and men. Forming, as it does, an integral part of a Naval career sea training was also the main purpose of various combined air-sea exercises carried out by the Squadron during the year.

Exercises, tactical or otherwise, apart from providing opportunities for training our young men, also help to keep the Navy in sound functional fitness. The I.N. Squadron had many exercises in the Indian Ocean with ships of the East Indies Squadron and aircraft of the R.A.F. Coastal Command and the Indian Air Force. One such series, termed as Staff College Exercises, was carried out mostly for the benefit of the officer-students of the Defence Services Staff College at Wellington. To these future staff officers of the three Services, it is essential to work with and know the sister Services as the defence of a country, to a very great extent, depends on the successful co-ordination of the Services.

As a further step to the building up of a balanced naval force, the I.N. Squadron witnessed the formation of the Minesweeping Flotilla comprising I.N.S.'s *Konkan*, *Madras*, *Rohilkhand* and *Rajputana*. With improved forms of mine warfare being devised from time to time the importance of mine-sweepers is becoming ever-greater.

Hydrographic survey of the country's coast received more attention this year in view of its importance to our ships as well as the visiting foreign ships. The survey is carried out by I.N. Marine Survey Organisation which consists of the survey ship I.N.S. *Investigator* and some auxiliary craft. Plans are afoot for the expansion of this organisation and the setting-up of a hydrographic office.

To provide the necessary scientific guidance the nucleus of a Naval Scientific Research Wing started functioning under the control of a Scientific Adviser.

With the ultimate object of providing the naval training for our officers and men in India instead of continuing the present practice of sending them to U. K. for advanced courses, the Navy are gearing up programmes of the training centres ashore to a higher pitch. Shortly, it is hoped, the Navy would be in a position to provide facilities ashore as

well as afloat for the necessary advanced training of our personnel.

In the sphere of naval commands, the year witnessed some changes of far-reaching importance. Capt. A. Chakraverti and Capt. B. S. Soman were appointed to two of the key positions—Captain Superintendent of I. N. Dockyard and Naval Officer-in-Charge of Vishakhapatnam respectively—hitherto held by British officers. Posts of commanding and executive officers of all the ships of the fleet were 'Indianised.' Today in the I.N. Squadron, comprising hundreds of officers and men, only two are British including the Rear-Admiral Commanding the I. N. Squadron, Rear-Admiral N. V. Dickinson who took over from Rear-Admiral G. Barnard in October last.

To meet the Navy's medical needs at its premier base, Bombay, the first Indian Naval Hospital known as I.N.H.S. *Asvini* was formally commissioned on September 18. This has made possible training our medical personnel in the study and treatment of ailments and disabilities peculiar to the sea.

The year saw some progress in the development of Naval Aviation. In mid-1950, owing to financial stringency, the development was restricted to the formation of a shore-based Fleet Requirement Unit. Subsequently, the number of officers and ratings under training as pilots and artificers, etc., in U. K. and India, has increased. While the blue-prints of future plans and programmes were being worked out at N. H. Q., field work had been in full swing at Cochin.

History Congress

Doctor Sardesai presided over the last session of this Congress held at Jaipur during the last week of December, 1951. Rightly did he emphasize in his speech that "the nationwide awakening in India emphasised the duty of Indian scholars to contribute something solid and worthy of world acceptance to the task of unveiling India's life through the centuries. The search for original materials must be incessantly carried on by scholars both in and outside the country. In the archives of the royal houses as well as in private families in Bundelkhand, Malwa and the Doab there are still manuscripts to be found which are likely to throw much light on our country's history. The *Akhbarat* of Jaipur running into 39 volumes were utilised by Dr. J. N. Sarkar for writing a history of Jaipur which has not yet been published."

Again, "history should no longer be a preserve of the high-brow, a dainty available to a select few." He spoke of history "as an agency of social service" and suggested a new synthesis of cultures by scholars who devoted themselves to the amelioration of the lot of distressed humanity."

The note struck here of concern for distressed humanity is a new thing in India. Prophets and saints, social legislators have spoken of avoiding personal salvation, a long one created being was in distress. Achan's Sardesai has repeated that soul's

cry. And he came to concrete duties when he asked our research students to assess the value of their past on the touch-stone of what European scholars have said. Their contribution to unearthing this past must, he said, be gratefully acknowledged. There might have been political bias in interpreting Britain's record in India. But this was amply compensated by Max-Muller and others. It would be useless to engage in this controversy. It would be more useful to take up the burden from where these men and women left them.

One remark tempted to make against the office of annual conference like those of the Jaipur History Congress. They do not care to send us the addresses of presidents, and we have to depend on the daily press for summaries generally. This is a bad practice.

Mass Retrenchment at Sealdah

Commotion prevails at Sealdah at the rumour of mass staff-retrenchment. They want absorption in their home area. 'Cut the strength of Sealdah Division,' has become the very principle of the high authorities of E. I. Railway Administration. Job Analysis working was started sometime back in different places of this highly-concentrated border division of the Railway and it has been common knowledge now that nearly 150 staff of the Sealdah Goods are going to be declared surplus, who would await orders of transfer to the furthest corners of E. I. Railway. Retrenchment will yield approximately a saving of Rs. 150,000 per year.

The Job Analysis department was formed mainly to adjust the railway workers in different departments according to the awards of the Adjudicator but it is now found that this department has been made to function as a retrenchment machinery. The importance of Sealdah Goods has, in fact, been reduced after the partition but no effort has ever been made by the Chief Commercial Manager as well as the Divisional Superintendent, Sealdah, to revitalise this important commercial centre by diverting traffic from Howrah and other local areas and also by introducing traffic with the extension of facilities to the merchants who are close to the Sealdah Area.

It is remoured that the surplus people including 150 unfortunates of Sealdah Goods will not have any room in the Sealdah Division although there are many stations where remains the acute demand of additional staff for a better and smoother working. For example, Canning, Diamond Harbour, Birnagar, Krishnagar City, Nabadwip Ghat, Beldanga and Berhampore Court and many other important stations may be mentioned to require additional staff for the efficient performance of various commercial duties that would help in the substantial increase of railway revenue.

The above we quote from the *Railway Labour*, organ of the Railwaymen of India. We feel that there is reason behind this protest. And it is up to Shree Gopalaswamy Iyengar, Transport Minister, to look

into the matter. It is not sufficient that the virtues of railway grouping should be extolled. It may be necessary to retrench. But the first duty of the Administration, claiming to act on behalf of a Welfare State, to see that the people retrenched are provided for. They possess technical knowledge and skill. It is bad economy, therefore, to get rid of this knowledge and skill.

The Food Problem

Shree Prafulla Chandra Sen, West Bengal's Food Minister, spoke with responsibility on December 19 last detailing the many factors that have been making this problem such a terrifying one for India, and our State specially. The West Bengal Rural Welfare Society organized this meeting, and the Minister produced certain facts of the situation which demanded of us reciprocal sense of responsibility.

The Food Ministers of India, Central and Provincial, had met at an emergency Conference at Bombay ending their deliberations on the 13th December. They arrived at a 'six-point conclusion' to tackle the problem. These are: (1) As a result of natural calamities in all except four States, the food position in the country has been very grave. Apart from internal difficulties, the international situation has been growing difficult. It is affecting both availabilities and shipping. It is, therefore, imperative to take all possible steps in accordance with a unified policy and direction to meet the critical situation during the year 1951.

(2) The misunderstanding in the country as regards the self-sufficiency pledge should be cleared. According to this, foreign imports have to be stopped by March 31, 1952, except for—(a) building up reserve, (b) making good diversion to other crops in national interests; and (c) meeting the deficiency arising from natural calamities.

It is implied in the pledge that the deficit areas have to be helped by the country as a whole thereafter. But so far as the coming year is concerned, the pledge does not interfere with securing sufficient import. The target of import for 1951 is fixed at 3.7 million. At the same time, international situation might create unexpected difficulties for which the country must be ready.

(3) Any theoretical consideration of control or decontrol is out of question in the context of the present situation. The controlled economy in the matter of food-grains must continue. The price level has to be maintained in so far as it may be practicable. Distribution arrangements must continue to be controlled and directed with suitable adjustments. Austerity measures must be stiffened.

(4) As regards the nature of control and the manner in which it should be enforced, each State should, in consultation with the Centre, maintain the arrangements which best serve the purpose of meeting the situation in the State in the coming year.

(5) The grow-more-food drive and controls are part of an integrated system, and every step should be taken by the States to see that interdependent activities are controlled by a uniform and effective policy and that till the next 'kharif' season efforts should be made to grow short-term supplementary food in the areas wherever it is possible.

(6) The situation though critical is under control and the Centre and the States are mobilising all available resources to see that the country is enabled to face it with as little hardship as possible. At the same time the public will appreciate that under no circumstances should they give way to panic, which only aggravates the situation without providing any remedy.

India's President

The decision of Babu Rajendra Prasad to retire from his position of dignity and of ultimate responsibility for his people's uplift will be widely felt. We sympathize with and share his feelings and that of his family and friends that he has put forth enough energy in the discharge of his office, that a life-long arithmetic could do by a supreme effort of will and moved by the idealism of a born *sadhaka*. Happily all his *sadhana* was directed towards the attainment of socio-political freedom. This was from 1905 to 1917. And when in 1918 Gandhiji emerged into Indian politics Rajendra Prasad had no choice but to surrender and dedicate the superb powers to this creator of new India.

For about thirty-six years he has followed the path of peaceful revolution, "open" rebellion; and at its end he retires with the blessings and good wishes of all men and women, Indian and foreign. Though none is indispensable in God's economy, Rajendra Prasad's place will be hard to fill up. It must have been causing India's Prime Minister, "the dictator" of the Congress and his advisers, no end of trouble to fix upon an adequate successor.

Animal Service Society

Mira Bahin (Sister Mira), Gandhiji's English disciple Miss Slade, has silently devoted herself to the service of animals, specially the dumb, driven cattle. In an appeal, recently published, she made out a case which is the best under Indian economy which depends so much on what the West calls "animal husbandry." These animals are the producers of the biggest industry in the country, the yearly value of which is more than rupees one thousand crores (Vide *The Cow in India* by Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, West Bengal).

Mira Bahin said that "it is a project of broad dimensions. It aims at nothing less than the realization of a form of society based on Baru's ideals in which man and his animals combine with Nature in creating a simple, self-sufficient, healthy and happy life, which, if successful, can be used as a model for indefinite extension, and carries in it Baru's message

of world peace. Without decentralization and simplification there is little hope for man's survival as a sane and healthy being, judging by the way modern civilization is developing. The whole world over, thinking people are beginning to realize this truth.

In nearly 3,000 acres of scattered woods and grazing lands, where 300 acres have already been cultivated, it is proposed to establish co-operative cultivators, and co-operative village craftsmen, and every family is to keep two or three cows. For, is not the cow the indispensable foundation and support of our village life? In this way also it will be possible to instil true service of the cow in family life. Go Seva (Cattle Service) societies will also be formed with the neighbouring cattle-keepers, and a special feature of the cow service is a big Hirbal Pashushala (for old and unproductive cattle) already established, for which we hope to obtain the loving services of Sadhus who are true devotees of our Go Mata (Mother Cow). The old cows who come here to spend their last days, are so pathetic, and it cuts me to the heart if I cannot provide for them all the sympathetic care they need. This is a true service for true Sadhus.

The Uttar Pradesh Government is helping nobly, but the public must join hands. No extensive work of this kind, needing all the freedom of initiative as it does, can be achieved only through Government aid, without public sympathy and public funds."

She asks votaries of this ideal to write to her. Pashulok, Po. Rishikesh (U. P.).

The claims about "world peace" may not prove a solution. But as an economic proposition, all can join the project and help to extend it.

Milk Supply of Calcutta

The Corporation of Calcutta propose to observe a week of "Better Milk" for the citizens, specially for children. In view of this we desire to draw attention to a speech delivered by Doctor Lalchand Sikka to a recent meeting of the Rotary Club. As Director of the Haringhata "Milk Town," a colony about 35 miles distant from Calcutta, with vast schemes of improvement in milk-supply, in cattle-raising, in poultry and dairy products, this speech deserves notice as a contrast to Bombay's Are "Milk Town" scheme and the Ananda scheme in Gujarat.

Doctor Lalchand's speech appears to be a routine business; it adds very little to our knowledge of what we got in 1949. His reference to cow and buffalo milk and a hit at the former is out of date. Otherwise Gandhiji would not have thought so highly of the former's value. The controversy over "toned milk" will continue to confuse people milk experts' opinion notwithstanding.

We used to get occasional reports about Haringhata. But we do not do so now. Bengal's Food Minister, Shree Prafulla Chandra Sen, is busy with elections, and there appears to be no one in his office to prod this particular department. The Bombay

Government is very keen about their projects, and from 1949 to the present day, officials and non-officials are found advertising its success. Even the Prime Minister of India took a hand in the matter.

The history of the Are Scheme is given below: "Some time ago Government appointed Mr. M. D. Bhat, I.C.S., as the Milk Commissioner of Bombay and a scheme to supply milk to the city was undertaken, but it cost a crore and thirty lacs of rupees to Government and gave satisfaction to nobody as the quality of milk was far from satisfactory. Government then made a thorough inquiry of the problem of milk supply and several aspects of the trade were brought to the notice of the public. Most of the animals live in very insanitary conditions. They are stalled and are required to remain tied down in their stables all the twenty-four hours of the day and night. This kind of life makes them unfit for calf-bearing. They become dry much earlier on this account. When they become dry, they are sold to butchers for a fraction of their original price. A new milking buffalo costs Rs. 800 but a dry one is sold for about 200. Most of the calves are neglected and have to die as there is no place to keep them. The milk dealer allows them to die because he does not think it necessary to keep them alive. Besides, if a calf grows and has horns it is charged rent and licence fee. So it is killed before it has horns. The economic aspect of the business is such that dealers in milk have to get their profits and all expenses from the milk of an animal obtained in one lactation period. A buffalo is purchased for Rs. 800. For eight months it gives milk. Then it becomes dry and is sold to a butcher for Rs. 200. This loss of Rs. 600 is to be recovered from the milk sold in eight months. In addition to this all the expenses of maintaining the animal, rent, licence fee, servants' wages and profits of the trade are to be obtained from the same milk. This is an impossibility and hence the Government undertook to launch a scheme for the production and distribution of milk. The old scheme which was only a short-term measure was dropped and with the best efforts of Messrs. M. D. Bhat and D. N. Khurody a long-term scheme was prepared. The present Milk Colony is the final development of this idea."

The aims and objects are of the usual type. But the following facts are worth telling again:

"It is expected that this model colony of thirty units accommodating 15,000 animals will cost more than two crores of rupees. Arrangements are being made for water supply, electrical connections, veterinary hospitals, malaria prevention, disposal of dead animals and manure. A central dairy for collection, processing and distribution of milk will soon be set up and every care will be taken to produce clean healthy milk and to distribute it to consumers. Milk will be produced under good supervision and the work of distribution will be done under Government supervision. So far as the work of the constructing of units

is concerned, it is necessary to congratulate Government upon the promptness shown in completing the work of construction. On the 13th of March 1949, when the ceremony of opening the colony was performed people had an opportunity of seeing it.

"Milk production is a village industry and the experience of Kaira District which is very valuable in this respect, should teach us that *the industry cannot be worked on factory lines*. It is the village farmer who does the business of producing good milk. People who are engaged in this business know the inherent weakness of the trade. Whoever has done work among buffalo-keepers is aware of the fact that keeping a buffalo which is stall-fed is an uneconomic proposition. Buffaloes can be maintained with profit where grazing land is plentiful. Even in villages where pastures for grazing are not sufficient, farmers hesitate to keep buffaloes. The cow is a cheaper animal to maintain, but we neglected her and gave undue preference to the animal which wants more food and appears to give more milk. A cow requires a smaller quantity of food and gives nearly the same quantity of milk if we take the total yield of the lactation period. In the Agriculture College of Poona figures were recorded which prove that there is not much difference between the total yield of the two animals. The average yield from cows was 7 pounds 12½ ounces, whereas the average from buffaloes was 7 pounds and 2 ounces. It is only in India that a buffalo has become more important than a cow. In all other countries the cow is the only animal which gives a better yield. Besides a cow by scientific processes of improvement can increase its yield enormously; it has been proved that in the fifth generation or in about 20 years a cow can increase its yield cent per cent. It may be noted however, that buffaloes are not responsive as cows the matter of this improvement. The cow which thus proved to be a better animal requires less food has a shorter dry period, and gives a good supply of bullocks which are so much valued by cultivators. India we are thus maintaining two sets of animals the buffalo which is supposed to be a good milk but is found by many people to be uneconomic and the cow which is neglected and therefore gives less milk, but is necessary for supplying bullocks as use animals. Experiments made at Wardha also go to prove that there are cows yielding 12 to 20 pounds of milk every day. We have neglected their breeding and they have got the bad reputation as bad milkers. Doctor Sikka's speech contained a complaint against Calcutta's milk suppliers. But why should they be found more indisciplined than Bombay's? The majority of them come from the same area in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as the Calcutta people. Bombay, they are known as *Bhaiyas*, and we have occasion to give their history in these columns recently. We hope the authorities concerned in Bengal will do the needful in the matter in the light of these criticisms.

GANDHIJI AND PROHIBITION IN INDIA

By His Excellency Dr. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,

Governor of West Bengal

II

THE GANDHI-IRWIN PACT AND THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The First Round Table Conference lasting from the 12th November, 1930 to the 19th January, 1931, in which Congress went unrepresented was full of an air of unreality and the necessity of associating in its labours representatives of the largest and the most influential political organisation in the next meeting was realised. Gandhiji and the members of the Working Committee were given their freedom on the 26th January, 1931 to ensure freedom of discussion among themselves in regard to the desirability or otherwise of participation at the next meeting of the Round Table Conference. In due course came the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of the 5th March, 1931, the seventh item of which reads as follows:

"In regard to the methods employed in furtherance of the replacement of non-Indian by Indian goods or against the consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs, resort will not be had to methods coming within the category of picketing, except within the limits permitted by the ordinary law. Such picketing shall be unaggressive and it shall not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public, or any offence under the ordinary law. If and when any of these methods is employed in any place, the practice of picketing in that place will be suspended."

The prohibition campaign carried on in 1930 during the major part of which Gandhiji was in prison drew additional strength from the above assurance that non-violent picketing would not be interfered with and it began to be conducted with still greater energy and effectiveness than before. This was because Congress workers faithfully observed certain specific instructions issued by Gandhiji which have been summarised by the historian of the Congress in the following terms:

- "1. The seller or the purchaser cannot be treated discourteously.
- "2. Volunteers cannot prostrate themselves before the shops or before the vehicles.
- "3. They cannot raise shouts as raised at the time of mourning. (Cries of *Hai! Hai!*).
- "4. Effigies cannot be burnt or buried.
- "5. Even if he is boycotted, one cannot stop a shop-keeper or a purchaser purchasing his provision or other necessities. But one cannot go to his place for dinners or accept any services from him.
- "6. Fasts and hunger-strikes cannot be resorted to under any circumstances. Fasts could only be resorted to in case of a breach of contract, and when the parties respect and love each other."

The most important three out of many articles which give detailed information about the results achieved during the second phase of the campaign

coming after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact are as follows: The first (*Young India*, July 16, 1931) describes the success of the movement among the poorer classes in Malabar, the second (*Young India*, July 30, 1931) tells us what happened in Ratnagiri, while the third (*Young India*, October 29, 1931) supplies statistics showing marked reductions in the number of licensed shops and in the excise revenue realised in Madras and in Tamil Nadu.

THE KARACHI CONGRESS AND PROHIBITION

The appeal the campaign against drink and drugs had for the country can be inferred from three resolutions of the Congress which met at Karachi on the 31st March, 1931 and which, from the standpoint of the present discussion, possess special interest for us. The first of these dealing with the prohibition campaign of 1930 was as follows:

"The Congress notes with satisfaction the visible progress of the Nation towards total prohibition during the past twelve months and calls upon all Congress organisations to continue the anti-drink and drugs campaign with renovated vigour and hopes that the women of the country will redouble their efforts in weaning the drink and drug addict from a habit that ruins both body and soul and desolates happy homes."

The second one recommending the continuance of picketing said:

"The Congress notes with gratification the great success that has so far attended the boycott of foreign cloth and the sales of intoxicating drugs and drinks, and calls upon the Congress organisations not to relax their efforts in the matter of peaceful picketing, provided that the picketing shall be in strict accord with the terms of the settlement in this behalf between the Government and the Congress."

The thirteenth item in the Fundamental Rights Resolution passed here stated:

"Intoxicating drinks and drugs shall be totally prohibited except for medicinal purposes."

Officials had resented the Gandhi-Irwin Pact which, in their view, had encouraged contumacy and belligerence among Congressmen as demonstrated by their insistence on the liberation of political prisoners and on the return of papers, documents, etc., seized in 1930, by the holding of public meetings in which speeches, sometimes indiscreet and never humble, were delivered, etc. They welcomed the replacement of the Labour by a National Government in Great Britain and that of Lord Irwin by Lord Willingdon as heralding a new policy.

The offensive started by taking steps against picketers of shops selling foreign cloth and drink and drugs. As during the Non-co-operation Movement,

workers were assaulted, sometimes seriously, by drinkers either on their own initiative or at the suggestion of shop-keepers, and sometimes by the latter when they were exasperated by losses due to diminution of custom. Reference may be made here to only three instances of this ill-treatment. Abed Ali suffered seven injuries from projectiles hurled at him by some infuriated Parsi drinkers (*Young India*, August 27, 1931). Picketers of Malabar were harassed, beaten and prosecuted by shop-keepers and their agents (*Young India*, July 16, 1931). Women were insulted and sometimes assaulted so severely that, in one particular instance mentioned in *Harijan*, (June 10, 1939), the evil effects persisted even eight years after the lady had been injured.

Gandhiji returned from the Second Round Table Conference on the 28th December, 1931 and was informed about the various deliberate breaches of the Pact.

The Congress Working Committee met on the 1st January, 1932 after his failure to contact the Viceroy, passed a long and comprehensive resolution on the political situation and concluded by suggesting a twelve-point programme to be followed by all Congressmen, the seventh of which is as follows:

"Picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops should be vigorously conducted chiefly by women but always so as to ensure perfect non-violence."

ARREST OF CONGRESS LEADERS

The same day the refusal of the Mahatma to co-operate with Government if it declined to review its attitude together with a copy of the resolution referred to above was communicated to the Viceroy. The arrest of Gandhiji and of Sardar Patel, President of the Congress, came on the morning of the 4th January, 1932. This was followed by the banning of the organisation and the arrest of practically all its leading members.

Congressmen who were not in jail were not, however, cowed down. They took up whatever national work they could find. Different items were selected in different Provinces, the choice depending on local conditions. A detailed account of these activities is furnished by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya in his *History of the Congress* (Part VI, Chapter I). But the picketing of foreign cloth and drink and drug shops was common in all the Provinces.

The Congress, then a banned organisation, met at Delhi in April, 1932 and passed four resolutions, the second of which endorsed the revival of Civil Disobedience one of the items of which was the picketing of drink and drug shops. It met under similar circumstances at Calcutta on the 31st March, 1933 and in spite of the arrest of the President elect and about 50 per cent of the delegates, passed seven resolutions two of which are relevant to the present discussion.

The first of these reaffirmed the decisions of the Congress Working Committee passed on the 1st January, 1932, a matter dealt with previously, while the second reiterated the Fundamental Rights Resolution of the 1931 Karachi Congress one of the items of which was the introduction of prohibition. These two resolutions make it abundantly clear that the Congress had not resiled from the position taken in regard to this matter during the Non-co-operation Movement.

The announcement of Mahatma Gandhi that he would undertake a purificatory fast for twenty-one days to begin from the 8th May, 1933 induced Government to set him free. Accepting his suggestion, the Acting President suspended Civil Disobedience at first for six weeks which, later on, was extended by another six weeks. In due course Mass Civil Disobedience made way for Individual Civil Disobedience followed by the arrest of Gandhiji on the 31st July, his release, re-arrest and sentence to one year's imprisonment on the 4th August, 1933.

INDIVIDUAL CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

This was the signal for a campaign of Individual Civil Disobedience in every Province. The Acting President and, after him, his successors were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Congressmen followed the example set by our leaders from Gandhiji downwards and an uninterrupted stream of civil resisters maintained the campaign from August, 1933 to March, 1934.

Gandhiji commenced another fast on the 15th August, 1933 as a protest against the denial to him of certain facilities he had enjoyed when imprisoned in the past. By the fifth day, the deterioration in his health was such that he was set free unconditionally. Placed in an embarrassing position, Gandhiji felt that it was improper for him to take any part in the Civil Disobedience Movement and he decided to spend the one year during which he would have been in prison in doing Harijan work.

It was about this time that some patriotic and influential Congressmen began to feel that the only way to break the deadlock caused by the refusal of Government to even consider the overtures of peace made by the Congress was to enter the legislatures, elections to which were proposed to be held in November, 1934 and to compel it to come to terms through constitutional efforts. After some deliberation, Mahatma Gandhi gave his approval to this suggestion. Following the lead given by Gandhiji and, after him, by the Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee which met at Patna in May, 1934, recommended the suspension of civil resistance even by individuals and the recognition of the Swaraj Party. This pledged itself to press for the repeal of all repressive laws, to reject the political reforms embodied in the White Paper and to carry out the Constructive

Programme one of the items of which is the introduction of prohibition.

At a later meeting held in June, 1934, the Working Committee framed a fresh programme one of the main items of which, in the language of the resolution passed, was "the promotion of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs and advocacy of prohibition" through persuasion addressed to addicts and to dealers in them.

On the 17th September, 1934, Gandhiji issued a statement from Wardha announcing his withdrawal from the Congress but there was no diminution in the influence he continued to exercise over it, a fact so well-known that it does not require anything beyond the barest mention. One proof of it is to be found in the Purna Swaraj resolution prescribed by the Working Committee in January, 1935 which was to be passed at meetings summoned for the celebration of Independence Day. Among other things, every one who joined in the function pledged himself "to adopt and promote complete abstinence from intoxicating drink or drugs."

CONGRESS MAJORITY IN 1937 ELECTIONS

Elections under the Government of India Act, 1935 which had received the Royal Assent on the 4th August, 1935 were held in January, 1937. Congress had clear majorities in five provinces—Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa. In Bombay, it won nearly 50 per cent of the seats and could count on the support of certain Congress groups to give it a working majority. As the strongest party in Assam it was likely to have a commanding position in any coalition cabinet. In the North-West Frontier Province, the Congress won 19 out of 50 seats and held a strong position as the Muslim League Party which had won 23 seats was torn by dissensions. In the other three Provinces, Sind, Punjab and Bengal, it was in a hopeless minority.

The Working Committee met at the end of February, 1937 mainly to chalk out, after proper consideration, the line of action to be followed by Congress legislators. This meeting was held at a time when no decision in regard to the acceptance of office had been arrived at. The Committee gave a list of eleven reforms, the introduction of which was regarded as important, among which was included the prohibition of drink and drugs. Another resolution dealing with the extra-parliamentary activities of Congress members made it clear that they, like all Congressmen who were not members of the legislatures, were expected to create public opinion in favour of prohibition.

IMPLEMENTATION OF MAHATMA'S PROHIBITION POLICY

What has been said above clearly proves that the Congress, the organ selected by Gandhiji for the India-wide implementation of his prohibition policy,

continued to be inspired by his enthusiasm and that even at a time when it was not quite sure whether it would undertake the administration of the Congress majority provinces, it, as an organisation, persisted in adhering to the position it had taken as early as 1920.

The deadlock in regard to interference in certain matters and under certain conditions by Governors was solved and Congress was in office in six provinces by July 1937. Mahatma Gandhi discussing the question of the introduction of prohibition in *Harijan* (July 31, 1937) pointed out that the excise revenue was largely drawn from rural and urban labour and that it was the duty of the Congress as its representative to save it from an evil to which it had been a victim for generations. In view of administrative difficulties, he gave the Congress Cabinets three years in which to do the work and expressed the hope that their example would be followed by the five non-Congress Provinces.

The Congress Working Committee which met towards the end of August, 1937 passed a resolution calling on Congress Ministries to bring about total prohibition in their provinces within three years.

Commenting on the above resolution of the Congress Working Committee which he described as "its greatest act at any time of its chequered career," Gandhiji observed that as prohibition had been "one of the chief constructive items of the Congress" from 1920, "it could not but go in for total prohibition immediately it came into power in any part of India." Stating that it would mean a loss of eleven crores of rupees, he said that the Working Committee "had taken the risk for the sake of redeeming its pledge and conserving the moral and the material welfare of those who are addicted to intoxicants and narcotics." He concluded by saying that, under these circumstances, the Congress had the right "to expect the sympathy and support not only of all the parties in India, including the Europeans, but of the best minds of the whole world in this, perhaps, the greatest moral movement in the country."

The main difficulty which confronted the Congress ministries was financial, for the excise revenue under British rule had always constituted one of the main stays of Provincial finance. To take two representative cases only, in 1936-37, the year before Congress assumed office, 26 per cent of the total revenue of Bombay and 25 per cent of the total revenue of Madras came from this source. The introduction of prohibition meant not only the disappearance of this revenue but also the incurring of new expenditure for its enforcement. The introduction of agrarian reforms to which the Congress had pledged itself in its election manifesto and which too had to be implemented meant a reduction in the land revenue, another important source of Provincial finance.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES

Undeterred by apprehensions of serious reductions

in the revenue, the different Congress Cabinets backed by the Congress members of the legislatures, the Congress organisation, Congress workers and the public went ahead. Lack of space permits only the barest of references to the achievements of the different Congress Ministries in the implementation of prohibition in the Provinces administered by them. But when they vacated office between October 27, and November 15th, 1939 prohibition had been introduced in four districts in the province of Madras; in six Talukas in three rural areas and in the highly industrialised cities of Bombay and Ahmedabad in the province of Bombay; in two districts and four industrial towns in the United Provinces; in one district in Bihar, in three districts and in three large towns in the Central Provinces and in one district in the North-West Frontier Province.

As news of the imposition of prohibition in Congress Provinces became widely known as also the benefits derived by the masses from this measure, the Opposition parties in non-Congress Provinces insisted on the adoption of similar steps within their areas. What disturbed non-Congress Ministers was that, in spite of their hold on the masses, generally Muslim, this move of the Opposition seemed to have the approval of those whose support had enabled them to seize power. As they did not have sufficient courage to contest the principle of Prohibition and to state openly that they intended to follow the old British excise policy, they preferred the easier and questionable plan of either applying it in such a manner as to cause nominal financial loss meeting it by increasing the number of licensed shops in thickly populated areas or of deliberately shelving its introduction after its formal acceptance in the respective legislatures. This was the policy followed by the non-Congress Ministries in Bengal, Assam, Sind and Punjab.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE REVIVAL OF THE OLD EXCISE POLICY

The dragging of India into the Second World War and the lack of sympathy shown by the British Government in regard to the political future of India led to the resignation of Congress Ministries, all of which were out of office by November, 1939 and their replacement by Governors' rule under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. The imperative need for finances and similar other factors led to the revival of the old excise policy. The "Quit India" resolution of 1942 resulted in the arrest of practically most prominent Congressmen and in the going underground of those among them who wanted to embarrass the administration. For the time being, all types of social service work ceased to engage their attention and it was thus that the anti-drink and drug campaign suffered a set-back. In due course came the partition of India when at last the Swaraj, for which millions had suffered and fought came to us and, with it, our

opportunity to carry out the great social reform which the country had looked forward to from 1920.

The attention of the reader may here be drawn to three articles written by Gandhiji in the period between the securing of freedom and his tragic death. In the first of these (*Harijan*, September 21, 1947) he pointed out that the legal banning of intoxicants which he was confident would be put through by the Congress Cabinets would not, by itself, put an end to the drink and drug evil. It would have to be supplemented by positive measures in regard to which he made certain suggestions. In the second one, the post-prayer speech delivered at New Delhi on the 11th January, 1948, he pointed out a second condition for the success of prohibition, viz., the co-operation of the addicts themselves in the shape of their determination to give up their evil habits. This was, he said, essential in the case of the Harijans and the labouring classes who were the largest consumers of intoxicants. Gandhiji's last pronouncement made at his post-prayer speech on the 18th January, 1948 contained eloquent appeals to these groups and to the Congress Cabinets who were told that loss of excise revenue should not deter them from introducing anti-drink and drug laws throughout the length and breadth of India.

GANDHIJI'S LAST PRONOUNCEMENTS

Gandhiji's last three pronouncements unmistakably reveal the great interest he took and the equally great importance he attached to the elimination of the drink and drug evil from our motherland. They also show the great love he felt for our submerged masses who take to intoxicants on account of their ignorance of their evil effects and the miserable conditions under which they are compelled to live as well as his conviction that, given proper encouragement, they can exercise their will-power to overcome their appetite for these injurious substances. The third point made is the apprehension that financial considerations might either put a total stop to or materially slow down the efforts of Congress Ministries to introduce this great social reform. And, it is probably correct to assume that, if in future, such a contingency arises in his absence from among us, this is the greatest menace which will have to be faced by those who along with our great leader, believe in the necessity of making India dry.

From what we see around us, it is evident that though the practical difficulties which have to be encountered by the introduction of prohibition are fully realised by all the Congress Ministries, most of them seem to be undeterred by them. The Congress, as the representative of the masses, has repeatedly pledged itself to their upliftment in all spheres of life. And this because though its leader is gone, he has left behind him followers who are equally fired by the same ideals which had inspired him all through his life.

PROHIBITION AND THE CONGRESS CABINETS

It is therefore that the introduction of prohibition has come to be regarded by the different Congress Cabinets as a socio-economic reform of the highest national importance. The protection of the people from economic ruin and moral degradation is as essential from the national point of view as the removal of illiteracy, the enactment of the right type of tenancy legislation, the launching of schemes for public health, for increasing production and for enlarging the material resources of our country. Without it, the masses are not likely to enjoy to the fullest possible extent all the benefits derivable from these nation-building activities. These feelings explain the enthusiasm with which the prohibition programme has been put through in the different units of our country, a brief account of which in the barest of outlines is given below:

Ajmere-Merwara: This small area under the direct administration of the Central Government has introduced a five-year prohibition programme. Under it, there will be a ten per cent cut in the amounts of drink and drugs permitted to be sold to the public, increases in excise duties and other charges on them, compulsory closing of shops on Sundays, pay days, and on certain days of festivals, etc.

Assam: Opium is more extensively consumed here than liquor. This explains why the Congress Cabinet has started with the total prohibition of this drug. The question of banning liquor is under consideration.

Bihar: This over-populated and poor State with agriculture conducted on not always fertile land, has not yet imposed prohibition anywhere within its borders. But it has introduced the central distillery system under Government control to limit the output of country spirit and an improved system of licensing shops permitted to sell alcoholic beverages to the public.

Bombay: The policy of 20 per cent progressive cut in the supplies of foreign and country liquor and of intoxicating drugs was inaugurated in April, 1947. The number of trees tapped for toddy was also reduced in the same proportion. In addition, all excise shops were closed on Wednesdays and Saturdays each week. All this has made the State completely dry.

Central Provinces: The Congress Cabinet of this State took up anti-drink legislation with enthusiasm so that nearly half of its area measuring about 40,000 square miles is now dry. If nothing unforeseen happens, the whole of it is expected to become dry by the end of 1951.

Delhi: This is centrally administered and includes the urban area and the countryside surrounding it. Partial prohibition introduced on and from April, 1948 includes the closing of a majority of country liquor and opium shops, stoppage of sale of alcoholic beverages in railway restaurants, one dry day in the week

with an additional one at the time of festivals and fairs.

East Punjab has introduced prohibition in the two districts of Rohtak and Amritsar. It seems rather doubtful whether in view of its very urgent need for funds and the inability of the Central Government to come to its assistance, the Ministers of this State will be able to summon up sufficient courage to further extend the dry area.

Hyderabad, an Indian State in the south, started with imposing prohibition in the districts bordering on the Indian Republic; it joined us and under the advice of the Congress, has abolished 40 per cent of the shops selling country spirit and 42 per cent of those selling toddy, a beverage obtained by fermenting the sweet sap of the palm, date or palmyra tree.

Madras: The Congress Government of this State was the first to introduce prohibition in 1937 under the leadership of Shri C. Rajagopalachari who was then its Premier. It has also been the pioneer on this occasion for it enjoys the unique distinction of being the first State in India the whole of which went dry.

Mysore, a progressive Indian State in South India, started prohibition in July, 1947 with an annual 20 per cent reduction in the number of liquor shops with a corresponding limitation of liquor supplies. After joining the Indian Republic, five out of its nine districts have gone completely dry so as to have a dry belt in the areas adjoining the State of Madras to which it is contiguous in order to help the latter in controlling illicit practices.

Orissa: Opium, which is both eaten and smoked, has been prohibited throughout this State in addition to which prohibition of alcoholic beverages has been introduced in three of its more important and, comparatively, more prosperous districts.

Saurashtra is a viable union formed by the integration of about thirty Indian States, large and small, situated to the west of and adjoining the State of Bombay. The adoption of a common policy in the matter of prohibition led to the acceptance of a programme under which it has gone dry with effect from April, 1950.

Travancore-Cochin: This is a recent union composed of two adjoining Indian States which have joined the Indian Republic. Eleven of its districts are already dry. The whole of this unit of our Republic is expected to go dry in three years.

Uttar Pradesh: There is total prohibition of drink and drugs in eleven districts which form a dry block in the heart of the State the whole of which is expected to go completely dry within three years. The Congress Cabinet has abolished all liquor shops lying within five miles of the dry zone to minimise chances of smuggling and has also raised duties on all intoxi-

cants to the maximum possible limits in order to discourage their consumption.

West Bengal: The partition of Bengal under the Radcliffe Award and the arrival of Hindu refugees from Eastern Pakistan to the number of a million and a half who have to be assisted in various ways have hit this State very hard. This explains the halting manner in which the prohibition policy is operating here. All that has been done so far consists in a gradual reduction in the number of shops licensed to supply intoxicants to the public, increasing duties on them till they have become the highest in the whole of the Republic, reduction in the hours during which only intoxicants may be sold and making Saturday a dry day so that the wages of labour may not be wasted on liquor.

CONCLUSION

From the above, it is abundantly clear that we have so far made substantial progress towards the goal of prohibition to the attainment of which the Indian National Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi pledged itself in 1920 when even the most optimistic among us could not dream that our country

would acquire complete independence in less than three decades.

Our financial position just now is far from satisfactory. We have to solve the problem of refugee rehabilitation; we have to spend more than we can afford for importing food; we have in hand expensive irrigation, land reclamation, power, public health and welfare schemes; we have to import machinery for our industrial expansion. Refusal to take into consideration these and similar other factors would be no sign of wisdom. And it seems probable that they are partly responsible for the policy of the gradual extension of our dry areas in some units of the Indian Republic.

While it would be premature to say definitely when the Indian Republic with an area little over 1.22 million square miles and a population of 319 millions or so will become completely dry, it seems more than probable that this will come even though we may be compelled to take our time. And it will come because as Gandhiji himself said at the Karachi Congress in 1931:

"Gandhi may die, but Gandhism will live for ever." (Concluded)

—:O:—

UNION EXECUTIVE IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., PH. D. (LOND.)

II

In the last section we have enumerated the powers granted to the President under the constitution and described his general position in the constitutional machinery. But to assess correctly his place in the constitution it is imperative to study his relations with the Council of Ministers. Let us first of all state the main provisions in the constitution in this behalf. The constitution requires the President to be aided and advised by a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head in the exercise of his functions. (Art. 74-1). But the question whether any, and if so what advice was tendered by Ministers to the President shall not be enquired into in any Court. (74-2). The Prime Minister is to be appointed by the President as also the other Ministers, but the latter on the advice of the Prime Minister. (75-1). The Ministers are to hold office during the pleasure of the President (75-2) and to be collectively responsible to the House of the People. Ministers are to be ordinarily appointed from within Parliament but may also be appointed from outside provided they must secure a seat in either House within six months (75-5). Their salaries are to be determined by Parliament (75-6). The President is required to make rules for the more convenient transaction of business of the Government of India, and for the allocation among Ministers of such business. (77-3). The Constitution establishes special relationship between the President and the Prime

Minister. Article 78 imposes on the Prime Minister the duty (a) "to communicate to the President all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation," (b) "to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for," and (c) "to submit, if the President so requires, for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council."

It will be apparent from the above provisions that the authors of our constitution wanted to adopt mainly the British pattern of parliamentary system of which we have already had some experience in the provinces since 1937; but as we shall see presently they were not prepared to accept the system in its totality or at least that has been the effect of certain provisions, whatever may have been their intention, and it can only be counteracted by the growth of conventions to the contrary. English parliamentary system is the product of a process of slow growth through the rise of usages and conventions peculiar to the history and social milieu of that country which hardly admits of transplantation *en bloc* to foreign soil. It is perhaps the realisation of this fact that weighed with the authors in diluting the system with features borrowed from other constitutions, but

which are not quite congruous with the British pattern of parliamentary system and which therefore it may prove difficult to fit into the system.

Thus under the orthodox form of parliamentary system as it is working in England the head of the State, in this case the President of the Republic, should be a mere titular executive completely bound by the advice of his Ministry in the exercise of all his formal powers granted under the constitution and should have no independent discretion in this matter under any circumstance. Is that the position under the provisions of our new constitution as they stand? We have grave doubts. Of course, we should underline the last part of the proposition. It is needless to point out that the written provisions of the constitution do not always work on the lines of their true significance or of the intentions of their authors. They are very often overlaid with conventions which alter their effect beyond recognition and which alone sometimes render them workable. That may and perhaps will happen here; but for the present in the absence of such conventions we have to take them as they are and on their face value. We shall first of all examine the general position as regards the relation between the President and the council of ministers in this respect before discussing some particular provisions which are calculated to introduce a departure from the orthodox British parliamentary system. The general relation is defined in Section 74 which requires the existence of a council of ministers with the Prime Minister at its head (and this is made mandatory by the use of word 'shall') to "aid and advise" the President in the exercise of his functions. The President, therefore, in the exercise of the multifarious functions already enumerated must seek the advice and aid of the council of ministers, but there is nothing to suggest here that the President would be bound by such advice and would not be in a position to override his Council under any circumstances. The meaning of the term "aid" as given in the Oxford Dictionary is "to help person to do or abstain" and that of "advise" is "to offer counsel to." Taking the words in their ordinary meanings they cannot be construed as implying an obligation to be bound by such 'aid' and 'advice' offered by the council of ministers. It is true, the requirement of seeking its aid and advice in every case of the exercise of the President's functions carries with it the implication that the President should not reject its aid and advice lightheartedly, but should ordinarily be guided by such advice. This is further necessitated by the prospect of a crisis being precipitated by the resignation of the ministry whose advice is rejected but who may be enjoying the confidence of Parliament. In that case the President may find himself in the difficult position of not being able to find an alternative ministry in the place of the one he

has been instrumental in turning out by his refusal to accept advice tendered. That consideration sets an outer limit to the independence of the President in the exercise of his powers and functions.

But between the point of normal compliance with the advice of the ministry and the limit stated above there remains a margin where the President may, under the constitution, if he so chooses and particularly if he feels that to act on the advice of the ministry would be contrary to the well-being of the people, act in his discretion in disregard of the advice of the ministry. The constitution places upon the President by the oath of his office the obligation to "faithfully execute the office of President (or discharge the functions of the President) of India" and "to preserve, protect and defend the constitution and the law" (presumably in the light of his own judgment and understanding) and "to devote himself to the service and well-being of the people of India." The President will have to be very judicious and cautious in deciding that occasion has arisen for the exercise of his discretion on the ground that to act on the advice of his ministry would be contrary to the oath of his office. He should in the first instance exercise all his influence and persuasion to win over his council of ministers to his point of view. In actual working of the Constitution personal factors will have great scope here and in course of time suitable conventions will have been established to smooth off the sharp edges of the written provisions of the constitution. But as the constitution stands it leaves a margin of discretion for the President, though within limits indicated above. It may be objected here that in England also the Crown is not legally bound by the advice of the Ministry in the exercise of its prerogative powers, but actually it never uses its discretion in disregard of ministerial advice. But the thing is that in England the entire system rests on and works by well-established conventions, but here in India as also in the Dominions where the British system is embodied in written constitutions we must be guided by the written provisions of the constitution till conventions are established to the contrary. It would not therefore be correct to argue that as our constitution-makers adopted substantially the British model, we have to follow British practices in toto, written provisions to the contrary notwithstanding, because our constitution-makers have drawn largely on other constitutions as well. Of course, the final shape of things will depend on the way conventions grow and it is entirely possible that written provisions of the constitution may be twisted by conventions beyond recognition and actually work contrary to the intentions of the authors as in U.S.A. and other countries, but for that reason we should not pre-judge issues.

There is another material point of difference here from the British situation. Britain has got a hereditary

head of a unitary state, our President is an elective officer emerging from a process of election combining both the federal and national principles, making him as much the head of the Union of States as of the Indian nation at large. That puts him *vis-à-vis* his council of ministers decidedly in a position of advantage which is hardly enjoyed by the constitutional head in parliamentary system elsewhere. This will at least give him a consciousness of power with which no other constitutional head under Parliamentary system of government can confront the ministry in case of a showdown. This is of course fraught with danger to the smooth working of parliamentary system, by making the President in certain circumstances the rival of the ministry. That is, however, an altogether different matter. The relevant point that concerns us here is that this fact may be an additional source of authority and inspiration to the President to act independently of his Ministry when occasion demands it, in his opinion and as such constitutes a departure from the orthodox English system.

The question arises how far the weapon of impeachment may be used against a President who disregards ministerial advice and exercises his powers and functions in his independent discretion and would act as a deterrent to the President's exercise of free discretion. Now impeachment is everywhere meant to be an extraordinary procedure to be used in extraordinary circumstances as a desperate remedy, when normal processes fail. That is why it has either fallen into disuse in some places, e.g., in England or is used very sparingly as in U.S.A. In our country also the cumbersome procedure and huge majority insisted on for its effective use indicates clearly that the authors of our constitution did not mean it to be available as a normal remedy against what Parliament might deem to be a lapse on the part of the President. To it is not to be used as an incidence of day-to-day administration for the President from disregarding ministerial advice on occasions. Apart from that it is doubtful if an act of the President within his legal powers as granted under the constitution can be construed as constituting a "violation of the constitution" the only chance on which an impeachment can be sustained. Of course, political considerations are likely to enter into the procedure, but it is difficult to think that less than one-third of the membership of at least one House would not be found to like a dispassionate view of the matter when the President's act is not a clear breach of any written provision of the constitution. It appears, therefore, that the impeachment process would not be any effective safeguard, in normal circumstance, against the President's use of free discretion in the exercise of his functions and against the advice of the ministry, nor was it intended as such by the constitution-makers.

Lastly, if the authors of the Constitution really intended ministerial advice to be binding in all cases on the President there was nothing to prevent them from stating that in explicit terms in the constitution or by introducing a provision as in the constitution of both the Third and Fourth Republic of France requiring every act of the President to be countersigned by a Minister or by a Minister and the Prime Minister respectively. In the absence of such clear provision it may be presumed that it was intended to leave room for the exercise of the President's discretion if the necessity arose. Referring to the wording of Art. 74(1) even Dr. Rajendra Prasad is reported to have observed in the Constituent Assembly: "I have my doubts that these words will bind the President. The article does not say that the President shall be bound to accept that advice." Even under the pre-existing constitutions of 1919 and 1935 there was provision for the issue of an Instrument of Instructions to Provincial Governors or the Governor-General regulating the exercise of their discretion in the matter of acceptance of ministerial advice, but even that has been omitted in the present constitution.

It is true that the President would be ill-advised to impose his will upon a popular ministry in season and out of season and thus precipitating an open conflict and perhaps a constitutional deadlock. On the contrary, he should try to accommodate the ministry to the furthest possible limit, but consistently with the sacred trust placed on him by the oath of his office "to preserve, protect and defend the constitution and the law" and to devote himself "to the service and well-being of the people of India." If it appears to him that to accept the advice of the ministry in a particular matter would amount to a breach of that great trust, say when an undesirable appointment is advised by the ministry acting clearly from partisan motive or say when he is advised by his ministry to exercise his emergency powers to suspend the constitution in a state (under Art. 356) where another party is in power and he has reasons to think that the advice is prompted more by partisan motives than the necessity of the situation it would perhaps clearly be his duty not to accept ministerial advice and in such cases he would also be supported by the country. In case of difference between the President and the ministry the ultimate arbiter would certainly be the people and in exercising his discretion he should always weigh carefully the possible reactions of public opinion to his decision. It is only when he has reasons to think that the ministry has not the support of the people, the ultimate sovereign behind them in a matter that he should interpose his veto, so to say. Otherwise he would run the risk of placing himself in a very difficult position. This consideration itself would reduce the occasions for the use of his free discretion in the matter of acceptance of ministerial advice to the minimum.

HUMAN WASTE IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog), M.Com.

"Expenditure of money and effort on improving the nation's health is a gilt-edged investment which will yield not deferred dividends to be collected years later, but immediate and steady returns in substantially increased productive capacity of the Nation."—DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA

INDIA like all the backward countries of the world has characteristically poor levels of health notwithstanding any improvement in recent years. They are reflected in low vitality and a short span of life. Estimates made nearly two decades ago about the expectation of life at birth reveal the glaring contrast between India on the one hand and the Western countries on the other. In Australia the expectation of life in case of males was as high as 63.48 years and 67.14 in the case of females, while New Zealand's record was a little higher at 65.46 and 68.45 years. The corresponding figures for Sweden were 64.30 and 66.92; for Canada, 58.96 and 60.73; for U.S.A., 60.60 and 64.50; for Germany, 59.84 and 62.81; for U.K., 60.18 and 64.40; Japan, 46.92 and 49.63; for Denmark, 63.5 and 65.8; for Switzerland, 64.30 and 64.6 and for India it was 26.30 and 25.56 years respectively.¹

These figures reveal a tragedy in Indian life. Paradoxical it may sound but it is no exaggeration to say that India is a death-ridden country and we are fundamentally a death-stricken people. This fact is proved by the high infantile and maternal mortality at reproductive ages, though the Census Report of 1941 shows some improvement in both these directions. Dr. Gyan Chand is of the opinion that in view of the inaccuracy of the statistics it is estimated that the death rate in India is 33 per 1000 live birth, though of late these have begun to decrease. From 1885-1890, the death rate averaged 26 per 1000, from 1890 to 1901, 31 per 1000, from 1901 to 1911 it averaged 34 per 1000; from 1921 to 1931, 26 per 1000, and from 1931 to 1941, 23 per 1000 and between 1937 and 1949, the death rate per 1000 inhabitants registered a decline from 22 to 15.6. This declining trend, however, is by no means peculiar to India alone, but rather it is in keeping with the global fall. It registered a decline from 11.3 to 9.7 in U.S.A., 12.6 to 11.7 in U.K.; and 14.3 to 10.8 in Italy. So far as India is concerned it appears to have improved considerably during the last few decades, but if allowance is made for the high death rate in the three decades from 1891 to 1921 caused by famine in the first decade, plague in the second, and influenza in the third, the improvement does not seem to be so considerable. The most important cause for this decline in death rate may be attributed to the steady decline in infant

mortality. But unfortunately even now our death rate is comparatively very high. In India, the annual death rate per 1000 of population was 22, against 9.6 in Canada, 12.3 in Germany, 15.3 in France, 12.2 in U.K., 10.6 in U.S.A., 14.0 in Japan, 0.9 in Australia, 9.7 in New Zealand, 21.7 in Ceylon and 27.2 in Egypt. This high death rate in India is a matter of utmost concern. From the point of view of the future of the nation, the death of a child or of a mother has much greater significance than the death of an old man or woman.

PECULIAR FEATURES OF OUR DEATH RATE

We have not only a high death rate but the distribution of our death rate by age and sex is also very peculiar. The death rate is very high among the first year infants about a fifth of whom die every year. In the next age period (1-4) it comes down quickly but it is still high (about 38 per 1000 children dying every year), and the lowest level is reached in the age-period 10-14 (when the death rate falls to about 6 per 1000) after which it rises again. Further, it is to be noted that we lose not in the first year of existence but in the years that follow up to the end of adolescence and even beyond.

The relative movement of our male and female death rate is not the same in comparison with England, where the female death rate is consistently lower than males whereas in our country the female death rate is slightly lower than the male during infancy and childhood but by the age ten the two are equal and therefore the female death rate remains higher to the male death rate up to the age 20-30. But still in higher ages they change their relative positions.

The level and structure of our death rate restrains our power to grow and seriously impairs our economic strength. It has been found that in India a quarter of the original batch disappears through the gate of death by the time the first year of life is reached, by the age 5 the loss amounts to 40 per cent, by 20th year only 50 per cent survive and by age 60, only 15 per cent of the initial number survive whereas in England the population has a larger proportion of survivors at the age of 60 than we have at 5. This clearly means that we have a very short span of life, as already stated.

CAUSES OF HEAVY DEATH RATE

The causes of death in India are extremely imperfectly recorded. During the period 1922-41 the general death rate of 22.2 was distributed as follows:²

1. The average length of life of the people in various countries of the world is: Sweden, 59.0 years; Canada, 63.8; U.S.A., 60.0; Germany, 62.0; U.K., 65; Australia, 65; New Zealand, 65.4; Japan, 49.0; Denmark, 60; Netherlands, 65.1; India, 27.0.

2. Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, Vol. I, p. 10.

	1922-31	1932-41
Fevers	3,703,459	3,622,869 (58.4)
Cholera	225,187	144,924 (2.4)
Small-pox	74,064	69,474 (1.1)
Plague	129,067	
Dysentery and Diarrhoea	224,450	261,924 (4.2)
Respiratory Diseases	358,559	471,802 (8.2)
Others		1,599,490 (25.8)
Total	6,270,662	6,201,434

(1) *Malnutrition*: The most important single factor behind our death rate is malnutrition which is consequent on the abject poverty of the people. Various dietetic surveys have been carried on in different parts of the country particularly in South India and Bengal by Drs. Aykroyd and John Megaw, which have clearly shown that the food situation in India is thoroughly unsatisfactory. The majority of the population live on a diet far remote from the most modern standards of adequate nutrition. The deficiency is marked in certain directions, viz., animal protein, animal fat, dairy products and calcium. Dr. Aykroyd found that in 50 per cent of the families calorie intake per consumption unit was below 2,300, in the agricultural families; and in the industrial survey, an approximately similar proportion of families were found to be underfed by the same standard. Dr. Megaw found that 20 per cent of the population was badly nourished, another 41 per cent was poorly nourished while 39 per cent only got sufficient food. Allowing for the margin of error in the estimates we can conclude that a high percentage of the Indian population do not get enough to eat, and what is more striking is that the diet consumed by them does not contain in right proportions the various elements that are necessary to health and physical efficiency. According to Sir John Boyd Orr:

"Permanent under-feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30 per cent of the population do not get enough to eat, while a much larger section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a preponderance of cereals, sugar, root-vegetables, and insufficient 'protective food' of higher nutritive value. Intake of milk, pulses, meat, fish, vegetables and fruits is generally insufficient, which leads to ill health, disease and high mortality in India among the 'vulnerable groups' including infants, children, pregnant and nursing mothers, factory workers and school boys."

A comparison of energy protein contents of the food consumed in India and in other countries tells the tale of the extent of under-nutrition here. The calories obtained from diet per person per day in 1948-49 were 1,620. The average requirement of 2,400 to 3,000 calories at least demonstrates the extent to which the Indian diet is ill-balanced and insufficient.

3. Dr. Aykroyd: *Nutrition* (O.U.P. Pamphlet), p. 15.

Corresponding figures for Pakistan are 2,030, Western Germany 2,530, U. K. 3,030, U.S.A. 3,130 and Australia 3,160. The disparities in total protein grams obtained in the diet per person per day are much wider. The figures are: India 42 as against 54 in Pakistan, 81 in Western Germany, 90 in U. K. and U.S.A., and 95 in Australia. Animal protein was lowest in India at 3 grams per day.

Malnutrition raises our death rate in two ways. In the first place, it gives rise to certain deficiency diseases, and secondly, malnutrition lowers the resistance to infection of our people and makes them an easy victim of various diseases like malaria, hookworm, cholera, dysentery and tuberculosis.

Specific deficiency diseases (which are due to insufficiency of some food factor or factors in the diet and which can be prevented or cured by making up the deficiency) are in themselves a serious problem of public health. The most important are beriberi, keratomalacia, osteomalacia, rickets, clinical conditions associated with riboflavin deficiency and goitre. Various forms of anaemia and nutritional oedema are also present among ill-nourished children and adults. In addition to these deficiency diseases, there are numerous other diseases in the causation of which nutritional factors are concerned. These include epidemic dropsy, peptic ulcer, lathyrism, flurosis, various forms of cirrhosis of liver, urinary lithiasis, diabetes, tropical ulcer, eclampsia, sprue and certain kinds of chronic diarrhoea and various eye and skin diseases.

Besides the nutritional deficiency, various epidemic and endemic diseases play havoc to the Indian population. Plague, cholera and small-pox are the most important diseases taking a heavy toll of mortality. The average annual number of deaths from small-pox and plague in India during the period of ten years (1932-41) was 77.4 per cent of the corresponding figure for 1902-11, and 45.7 per cent respectively. Other endemic diseases, such as leprosy, filariasis, guineaworm infection, and hookworm disease are responsible for a considerable amount of morbidity in the country, although their contribution towards mortality is relatively small.

Among the epidemic diseases the most important are tuberculosis and malaria. Tuberculosis is a disease which spreads rapidly among the ill-nourished and badly housed people and correspondingly diminishes when the people are well-fed, well-housed, and cleanly in their habits. The increase in death rate due to this disease has been most marked in connection with those centres which have shown the greatest commercial and educational development and in the village districts which are linked up with them by direct lines of communication. According to Dr. P. V. Benjamin:

4. *Report of the Famine Enquiry Committee*, p. 109.

5. Quoted by B. Shiva Rao in *Industrial Labour in India*, p. 75.

"Mortality figures for cities show a tuberculosis death rate of from 200 to 450 per 100,000 as far as can be ascertained. It can be safely admitted that there are at least 500,000 deaths from tuberculosis and 2,500,000 active cases of tuberculosis annually in India."

Dr. A. C. Ukil is of the opinion that in predominantly agricultural countries like India the infection varies from 21 to 34 per cent in rural areas and from 80 to 90 per cent in the urban and industrial areas.

Malaria is another disease which takes a heavy toll of human life in India. According to Colonel Sinton:

"At least 100 million individuals suffer from malaria every year in India and about 1 million deaths occur due to this disease. It may easily exceed 100 million in some years. It is estimated that death from malaria involves from 2,000 to 4,000 sick days."

(2) *Lack of Medical Facilities*: Besides these diseases, there is also an utter lack of medical and nursing facilities and of preventive health measures on a scale commensurate with the needs of the vast population. In 1940, for all India there were a total of 6,947 hospitals, of which 505 were state public, 4,106 were local fund, 865 private but aided, 399 state special, 385 railway personnel, 589 private but unaided, and 98 subsidised. There were 4,75,000 doctors, 7,000 nurses, 750 health visitors, 5,000 mid-wives, 75 qualified pharmacists and 1,000 dentists. Out of 47,000 doctors available in the country only about 14,000 are reported to be employed in the Health Services. The remaining, being necessarily in private practice, have concentrated in urban areas. When it is remembered that about 88 per cent of the population live in villages, the extent to which the provision for skilled medical aid is lacking in the country as a whole becomes glaringly obvious.

(3) *Unfavourable Environment*: The fatalistic attitude of the average Indian, particularly to matters pertaining to personal and community health is an important factor to be reckoned with. This factor is further encouraged by the extreme maldistribution of wealth, the vast majority of the population live in a state of poverty with a standard of living which is perhaps one of the lowest in the world. The low economic level of the people militates against the maintenance of the public health which requires the fulfilment of certain fundamental conditions, which include the provision of an environment conducive to the healthy living, adequate nutrition and the availability of health protection to all members of the community. In fact, the Indians live in overcrowded places, eat, drink and inhale infection in every conceivable way and though they may have developed a

certain degree of immunity even then they contract and succumb to infectious disease in large numbers.

The environmental sanitation is at a low level in most parts of the country. In rural areas, the houses are without water supply and latrines, lighting is inadequate or non-existent, many are in a state of disrepair and without ventilation. The huts in which majority live are really, "low-roofed, windowless, airless, and miserable abodes." The average number of persons living in such mud boxes varies from 8 to 12 livestock, and the inmates are found to sleep along with cattle and other animals. The housing conditions in the industrial areas are also indescribable and intolerable. Thousands are without any house or shelter and have to live and sleep on pavements, verandahs, in open places, under trees, in cowshades or in any temporary shelter; overcrowding and congestion in the cities greatly affect the health of the persons living continuously in the cities. A more confined atmosphere, crowded insanitary dwellings, lack of outdoor recreation add fuel to the fire and make people more liable to various infections.

We can sum up in the words of the Health Survey and Development Committee the factors responsible for the low level of health in India in these words:

"The prevalence of mal-nutrition and under-nutrition among appreciable sections of the people; the serious deficiency of existing provision for affording protection to the community; and a group of social causes consisting of poverty and unemployment, illiteracy and ignorance of the hygienic mode of life and certain customs such as the *purdah* and the early marriage. The cumulative effect of these factors is seen in the incidence of a large amount of preventable morbidity and mortality in the community."

The continued prevalence of such conditions for many generations has probably helped to create in the minds of the people an attitude of passive acceptance of the existing state of affairs. This attitude will have to be overcome and their active co-operation enlisted in the campaign against disease, insanitation and undesirable personal and community habits, if any lasting improvement in the public health is to be achieved.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE HIGH DEATH RATE

The high death rate in India is a matter of great concern. The hidden pitfalls referred to in the vision of Mirza, "which the passenger no sooner trod upon but they fell into the tide and immediately disappeared are set very much thicker in the bridge of human life in India than in most other countries of the world." The fact that about 45 per cent of the passengers on the bridge disappear before they are 10 years old and 65 per cent before they are thirty is a very grim commentary on the state of the social hygiene in India after 150 years of British rule. We as a nation are

6. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Vol. IV, p. 4.

7. *Ibid*, pp. 19-20.

8. Gyan Chand: *India's Teeming Millions*, p. 116.

badly handicapped in the race of life by our mortality conditions. We nurse, feed, clothe, house and train every batch of newly-born population only to lose 45 per cent of them before they are 10 years old. If the cost of maintaining a young man up to the age of 15 is assumed to be half that of an adult, we throw away some 22½ per cent of our national income on rearing up persons from whom the community gets little or no return, the corresponding figures for England and Wales are only 6½ per cent. The short expectation of life in India implies that too many men who have gathered experience and wisdom are snatched away when their power to be of service to the community is at its highest.

Secondly, out of every 1,000 born in our country only 541 survive to enter working life at 15. But by the age 60 only 149 are living. Out of 45 years of working life theoretically available to each entrant into production career, the average number actually gets only 30 years.

Thirdly, our death rate is inescapably associated with a high rate of morbidity. For one who succumbs to a disease in a year there must be 5 to 10 times as large as the incidence of mortality. In fact, the number of deaths annually resulting from preventable diseases is from 5 to 6 million and that the average number of days lost to labour by each person in India from preventable disease is not less than a fortnight to three weeks in a year, that the percentage loss of efficiency of average person in India is not less than 20, that the percentage of infants born in India who reach a wage-earning age is about 50, and other diseases rising from diet-deficiency insidiously reduce the labour power of the cultivating classes. The wastage of life and efficiency which results from these diseases cost India several hundreds of crores of rupees each year.

From the biological standpoint too, the value and structure of our death rate are highly significant. Firstly death takes away a large proportion of our girls in the prime age of life before they begin reproduction. While of those who enter the child-bearing phase only a small proportion live through the whole of it. Thus out of every 1,000 girls only 568 reach the age of 15 (at which child-bearing commences for most women) and of these only 264 live to the age of 45 (when the reproduction normally ceases). Thus the average Indian girl has only 13 years of reproductive life, whereas the average English girl has 26 years. Again, those who survive to the age of 15 in India have an average of 22 years in which to bear children.

Secondly, the relatively high mortality of our women in the child-bearing age creates a problem of shortage of partners for married life. Though many of our men meet this scarcity by marrying girls much below their ages, but given the mean-after-life-time

men and women in our country, this difference in age regarding the marriage of the husband and wife itself contributes to the high proportion of widows among us.

INFANTILE MORTALITY

The two outstanding features of our death rate, as already said, are high infantile mortality and the high maternal mortality at reproductive ages. The infantile mortality is far higher in India than any other country of the world. For India, it was 150 in 1949, the corresponding figures for Canada were 36 U.S.A. 46, Japan 144, Germany 63, England and Wales 55, France 91, Italy 104, Australia 38, New Zealand 31, and Egypt 165, though of late the infantile mortality rates in India have gone down, from 204 in 1911-15 to 171 in 1931-35 and to 150 in 1949.

According to the official estimates, about half the deaths among the infants in India occur in the first month and of these nearly 60 per cent in the first week. According to the Public Health Commissioner's Report (1936):

"About 49 per cent of the total mortality in any given year is among those below ten years of age, while the corresponding figure for England is only 12 per cent. During the first year of life India's proportionate mortality is about 4 times (24.3) that of England (6.8); in the next age period (1-5) it is about 9 times greater (18.6) as against 2.1; and between 5-10 year age group, it is more than five times as high."

It is worthy of note that owing to the highly insanitary conditions prevailing in our industrial towns, infant mortality is specially heavy there. The average rate for India in 1934 was 218 as against 183 per mille for the rural areas. The recorded rates for some important cities are 244 per 1,000 live births in Calcutta in 1931; 323 in Nagpur, 202 in Delhi and 185 in Lahore, 251 in Madras, 274 in Bombay while in the same period it was 30.8 in New York in 1941 and 48.0 in London in 1940. As already stated, the infantile mortality is on the decline in most countries, the range of progress being marked in the countries with higher health services. Between 1937 and 1949, the rate of infantile mortality per 1,000 live births decreased from 38 to 28 in Australia, 31 to 22 in New Zealand, 61 to 36 in U.K., and 54 to 32 in U.S.A. Together with these countries India has also registered a fair margin of improvement, but the decrease from 162 to 122 maintains infant mortality at a high level.

The infantile mortality is due to various factors both environmental and economic. The ignorance, inability and unwillingness of the people to avail themselves of the maternity services is one of the main causes of infantile mortality. Majority of our people are ignorant of the simple laws of health and the importance of cleanliness. Secondly, the chief

medical causes of infant deaths in this country are infantile debility and malformation during premature birth, diseases of respiratory system, convulsions, and diarrhoea and enterics. Premature births are probably closely associated with premature maternity, while pneumonia is casually connected with malnutrition and overcrowding which are the normal indices of poverty. Thirdly, poverty of the masses compel the female industrial workers to start work too soon after confinement, hence the consequent drugging of the child with opium when the mother wants to be free for the work. This affects the health of the baby very much. Finally, the general experience of those concerned with infant welfare work supports the view that much sickness and mortality among the infants are due to the faulty feeding of mother and child. When breast feeding has ceased children of poorer classes cannot be supplied with milk from animals as a substitute and are usually fed on an unbalanced diet consisting of rice or another cereal with a few vegetables. Their development is impaired and resistance to such diseases as pneumonia and dysentery is reduced.

MATERNAL MORTALITY

Like our infantile mortality, our maternal mortality is also very high. It is a well-known fact that at birth the number of male children is greater than female. But to the age of 12 the mortality of the female children is less than that of the male children. It is after the age of 12 that the female mortality is higher as compared with the males between the ages of 12 and 45; and that it is higher between the age of adolescence and the age when capacity for child-bearing normally ceases.

It has been said that every mother has to pass through the portal of death in order to give birth to new life, but the portal in India has been made unnaturally narrow by human follies, and of these the one which is most obvious and the least excusable is that which results in an unending procession of death of mothers and babies due to our women being subjected to the strain of excessive child-bearing. The highest female mortality which exceeds that of the males by 60 to 61 per thousand occurs in the age period 14-30. Deaths of young mothers at child-birth is not an uncommon occurrence, but more common than this, is the death of women in the later period of maternity, say, between the years 20 to 30 brought about by physical exhaustion, nervous breakdown and other ailment, which are the aftermath of premature child-bearing. The Age of Consent Committee has concluded:

"There is a large amount of truth in the theory that frequency of birth has very direct bearing on maternal and infantile mortality and that according to the medical evidence the effect of frequency of birth at short intervals is far more disastrous when maternity starts at an early age."

Various estimates have been made about female mortality rates in India. Three specific enquiries were conducted by medical men in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay which yielded figures of 16.6, 24.4 and 8.9 per 1,000 childbirths. The range is too high indeed. It has been estimated by the Bhow Committee that in India maternal deaths total annually about 200,000, and that the number of those who suffer from varying degrees of disability and discomfort as a result of child-bearing must be many times that figure, probably about 4 million.⁹ It has been held that for every woman who dies as a result of pregnancy or child-birth 20 suffer from impaired health and lowered efficiency.

In 1933, Dr. John Megaw surveyed the health conditions in 600 villages scattered all over India and his enquiries gave an average maternal mortality of 24.05 per 1,000 births. In Assam, the maternal mortality was 26.20, Bengal 40.16, Bihar and Orissa 26.87, Punjab 18.73, U.P. 18, C.P. 8, Madras 13.24, and Bombay 20 per 1,000. Similarly an enquiry conducted by Dr. Neal Edwards in Calcutta in 1936-37 yielded one of 24.41 per 1,000 registered births. The Public Health Commissioner for India makes a tentative suggestion of 20 deaths per 1,000 births in India. The latest figures for England and Wales was 2.9 in 1941.¹⁰ In this connection it is interesting to note that the maternal mortality in India is highest in the world. It is nearly five times as much as in Australia, New Zealand and Germany and S. Africa (5.5; 4.8; 5.1; 4.9); thrice that of U.S.A. (8.3); six times that of England (4); and Switzerland (4.4); and twelve times that of France (2.5); Sweden (2.6); Japan (2.8); Italy (2.8); Norway (2.8) and Denmark (2.6).

CAUSES OF MATERNAL MORTALITY

Various factors have been responsible for such a high female mortality in India. Dr. Neal Edwards' enquiry in Calcutta showed that the most important causes of maternal mortality were puerperal sepsis, anaemia, albuminuria, convulsions and haemorrhage. Behind these immediate causes were three ultimate factors—poverty, malnutrition and insanitary living; early and frequent child-bearing and inadequate pre- and post-natal care.¹¹

(1) *Early Marriage*: The most important reason of excessive female mortality is the prevalence of early marriage. Marriage is universal in India. Religion advocates it. In order to avoid social obloquy it is necessary specially in the high caste Hindus to marry the girls before puberty. No consideration of future poverty restricts marriages, for in India, a wife is a

9. Age of Consent Committee Report, p. 152.

10. Health Survey and Development Committee Report, Vol. II, p. 97.

11. Census of India, 1941, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 34.

12. Neal Edwards: Report of an Enquiry in the Causes of Maternal Mortality in Calcutta, p. ii.

cook, a drudge and a mate. Of all the countries in the world, India has the lowest proportion of unmarried for both sexes. It has been rightly remarked that we are much-marrying people, we marry early and we marry in large numbers. These early marriages subject girls to the risk of motherhood at a tender age when they are of a weak constitution and have not reached full physical maturity. Their constitution is undermined and their vitality impaired by frequent child-births. Frequent child-birth emaciates the mother, makes her a victim of diseases, while the children are invariably underfed and neglected. Statistics show that in the case of mothers below 16 the percentage of still birth and neo-natal deaths is 14.8, it is 9 in case of mothers from 16 to 20 and it is 4.3 in the case of mothers between 20 and 30. An Indian woman oscillates between two states of gestation and lactation till death winds up the sorry tale. A Census Superintendent feelingly remarks that "thousands of child wives march from nuptial bed to the funeral pile." Enquiries show that when marriage of young people is consummated at an early age, i.e., when the boy is not more than 16 years and the girl is 12 or 13, a fairly large percentage of wives die of child-birth, phthisis or some ovarian complication within 10 years of the consummation of marriage.¹³ Many female troubles like nervous debility, consumption and uterine diseases cause havoc among them. To the strain of bearing children too early is added that of bearing them too frequently. According to Dr. John Megaw, "One hundred out of every 1000 girl wives are doomed to die in child-birth before they cease having children."

(2) *Fatigue and Over-work*: It has also been alleged that in some cases women die of overwork. It is a common sight to see women big with child working till the last day and sometimes till the last hour before delivery. This is due to their poverty, as they cannot employ servants to do the household work. After delivery too these females do not take complete rest and hence, whenever they survive they become physical wrecks. In many cases for lack of medical care and treatment before and after confinement she may not survive at all.

(3) *Lack of Midwives*: The mishandling of women during child-birth is also a contributory factor to it. In India, except the relatively well-to-do classes, the delivery of women is helped either by female neighbours or the relations or by untrained village Dais. This results in the contraction of various urinal and female diseases leading to heavy deaths among the females. This fact was proved by the enquiry made in the city of Madras by Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, who reached the conclusion that in 7,324 cases more than 60 per cent of the deaths were due to sepsis or Septicaemia, which disease arose because of the employment of Dais in the delivery

13. Report of the Baroda Census Commissioner.

work.¹⁴ She is also responsible for a number of cases of vesicobaginal fistulae.

(4) *Lack of Care*: Another probable cause is that here female life is held cheaper than in the West not only by men but also by the women themselves. Their health and diet is deliberately neglected even in the so-called upper classes. In this connection it is interesting to note the remark given by the Census Commissioner of 1911:

"There is the deliberate neglect with the object of causing death, and there is still the half-conscious neglect due partly to habit and partly to the parent's great solicitude for their sons. The boys are better clad and when ill more carefully attended than the girls."

Girl children are neglected also on account of social customs and attitudes due to which parents look upon girls as a burden, while sons are looked upon not only as means of support in the old age but also as instrumental to the very preservation of the life and prosperity of the family.

CHECK TO MORTALITY

From the above description it would be clear that in India majority of deaths—both infantile and maternal—occur due to causes which have their origin in our environmental conditions. It, therefore, implies that if we control and improve that environment, we are sure to check a steep rise in our death rate. In order to bring an immediate fall in our death rate the first objective should be to increase the income of the masses per head so that they may be able to improve their diet and spend more on healthy living and thereby resist the diseases to which they are at present a great prey. It has been remarked by the eminent authorities that all the important diseases—both epidemic and endemics—which at present cause great havoc can be brought under control and even eradicated root and branch by means of better organised health service. According to Dr. Megaw, there is hardly any disease so serious which is easier to eradicate than cholera provided an intelligent effort is made by the community and the State. Similarly, small-pox can also be completely got rid of by compulsory vaccination. So also the heavy incidence of tuberculosis and other diseases of the respiratory organs can be greatly reduced by proper nutrition and proper habits of personal hygiene. According to the same authority:

"If the people of India were properly nourished, if they avoided living in the same room with persons who sneeze and cough, and if they took precautions to avoid swallowing infections with their food and drink their average duration of life would be doubled."¹⁵

As late as 1946, the Health Survey and Development Committee also refers to the fact that at least

14. A. L. Mudaliar: Report on an Investigation into the Causes of Maternal Mortality in the City of Madras, p. 7.

15. Blunt: Social Service in India, p. 229.

one-half of the existing annual mortality of over 6 millions in this country is preventable. If proposals are carried out, there is every reason to believe that there will be a saving of at least 3 million lives every year in British India, which will bring the mortality down to the level of what has already been accomplished in a number of other countries.¹⁶

MODERN TRENDS

Before I go to enunciate what in my opinion should be our health policy, it would be useful to consider in brief the modern trends in the organisation of a National Health Service, as are evident in most of the countries in the West. Broadly speaking, the modern tendency is towards the provision by the State of as complete a health service as possible and the inclusion within its scope of the largest possible proportion of the community. The need for ensuring the distribution of medical benefits to all, irrespective of their ability to pay, has also been recognised. The general tendency appears to be towards basing the national health plan on a system of social insurance. The completely socialised medical service of Russia, the recently introduced National Health Programme of Great Britain and Truman's plan of Compulsory Health Insurance if it comes into operation in America, illustrate the modern tendency on the part of national governments to assume responsibility for community and personal health. Even in a country like the U.S.A., with its highly individualistic society and capitalistic economy, people are clamouring for National Health Planning. Against a background of unmet medical needs and burdensome medical costs, people are thinking in terms of State-aided health services.

The Bhole Committee after a careful study of the modern trends in health organisations in other countries and a comprehensive survey of the existing conditions and requirements of this country, came to the conclusion that medical service should be free to all without distinction and that the contribution from those who can afford to pay should be through the channel of general and local taxation. Though the immediate feasibility of this suggestion is doubtful, no one can deny the compelling necessity for adopting governmental measures in order to bring the benefits of modern medical science within easy reach of every member of the community, rural and urban.

POSITIVE ACTION NEEDED

It should be borne in mind that a Nation's health is perhaps the most potent factor in determining the character and extent of the Nation's development and progress, and should therefore be given first priority in the country's budget.

"Public expenditure on national health is like expenditure on a life-boat or a fire-engine: even more, it is like a long-term investment. It yields

the interest with absolute certainty, a hundred-fold but only in the course of years and sometimes in course of generations."

With this view in mind the Bhole Committee made their recommendation. In laying down the short-term plan, their guiding principle had been that the plan should produce an appreciable improvement in the health of the people within the period of its completion.

RURAL NEEDS

What then should be the Nation's immediate health policy? Perhaps the most important factors that contribute to the maintenance of good health are adequate nutrition, good housing, hygienic and sufficient water supply and satisfactory sanitary arrangements for conservancy and drainage. As already stated our policy should be to give top priority to rural health, if we want to improve the condition of the common man. Attempts which have been made in the provinces in the past years for providing rural health relief, through the system of subsidised medical practices, rural dispensaries and cottage hospitals have not solved the problem to any desirable extent. Public health arrangements in most of the rural areas can be considered to be almost non-existent. The first step towards developing a rural health organisation should be the integration of the curative and preventive health services which exist at present. The integration at the village level should no doubt be preceded by the amalgamation of medical and public health departments at the top level.

VILLAGE DISPENSARIES

As a preliminary to the expansion of medical facilities in the rural areas it is essential to establish a unified administration by provincialising all the hospitals and dispensaries which are at present under the control of local bodies. At the district hospital it is desirable to have at least a minimum staff of a surgeon, a physician and a woman doctor if available. The development of maternity and child welfare should form an essential part of such a health organisation. Modern medicine in the form that is now practised in large parts of the country lacks the scientific approach, partly because of the inadequacy of laboratory facilities for diagnosis and partly because of the enormous volume of work to be done in the rural dispensaries and hospitals. Once the rural dispensaries and cottage and other hospitals are taken over by the respective Governments, steps should immediately be taken to convert these small village institutions into proper health centres where all facilities for preventive and curative work will be provided. The doctors and other ancillary personnel who will work in these health centres should have training both in curative as well as preventive health work. The combination of preventive and curative duties in the same doctor in the district is of advantage to the medical officer and the quality of work he or she performs. To divorce the doctor

16. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 481.



Dr. Wilbur A. Sawyer, discoverer of the first successful vaccine against yellow fever, who died of heart ailment in Oakland, California, on November 12, 1951



Dr. Luther Evans, Librarian of the U. S. Library of Congress, who arrived in New Delhi on a six-day visit to exchange views with librarians and Government of India officials

SWAT THAT WASP!

121

purpose in the various parts of the country by the women doctors to women whose health would be endangered by further or excessive child-bearing and also to the women who seek advice because of a reasonable desire to "spacing" their children.

CONSEQUENCES OF IMPROVEMENT IN MORTALITY RATES

Thus it will be observed that any reduction in the mortality either through the organisation of better sanitary facilities, spread of knowledge of birth control and the spacing of children together with an improvement in the standard of living will surely lead to a much better and happier life. It is expected that with an improvement in our mortality conditions it is likely that certain groups—infants, children, boys, girls and women—will reap more than average benefit thereby raising our birth rate. This for various reasons:

- (i) The women will gain more than men and the deficiency in the sex relation of the population will be reduced.
- (ii) Maternal mortality will fall in a greater degree than death rate of women in general enhancing thereby the proportion of child-bearing women.
- (iii) The benefits of improved circumstances surrounding motherhood are likely to accrue most to men in an early and more fertile phase of their

career which will cause more than proportionate improvement in total fertility.

(iv) As the relative numbers of men and women in the middle ages become less unequal the difference in age during marriage of husband and wife will decrease, and

(v) Finally the death rate will fall precipitately in the early years of life in infancy, childhood and adolescence.

It is because in all communities this group receive the first attention of awakening social conscience, and the first surplus that rising national income brings into existence is spent on them. A fall in death rate will, in a few years, inflate the proportion of persons in the child-bearing ages and add to the total number of births in the community in the first and succeeding generations. This aspect of the problem has been considered by the Actuarist in his note to the Census Report of 1941 wherein he says:

"With an infant mortality of 160 in 1940 as compared with 195 in 1920, we shall have an addition of 6.5 million persons to our population in 1951 and 13.4 millions in 1961. Similarly, a fall of our maternal mortality rate from 20 to 10 per thousand live-births will add over 6 million females to our population which has again to be multiplied by their reproductive potential to give us an ideal of the total accretion."

17. Census of India (1941), Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 34.

SWAT THAT WASP!

Pandit Nehru Resurrects an Exploded Myth

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Sin has many tools, but a lie is the handle

which fits them all."—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

LIGHT-HEARTED ASSENT

The phrase, "Alice in Wonderland," is, by the way, not my own. I am only a Liberal, as I have had occasion to confess in these columns so often, "suckled in a creed outworn," and, as such, am permanently debarred from indulging in any soaring flights of imagination, from creating, out of the (self-made) political desolation around me,

"Forms more real than living Man,
Nurslings of Immortality."

The phrase was coined by no less a person than our Premier and Rashtrapati rolled into one, though, to be sure, in a totally different context. It was the fantastic proposals contained in the Dixon Report on Kashmir that provoked him to that characteristic rhetorical outburst. For once his imagery was beyond cavil or criticism: it was, if I may say so, true to the kindred points of heaven and home—I mean, to the loftier realms of poetic fancy and to the lower regions of prosaic fact. It is a Biblical maxim that we should love the highest when we see it. I have, therefore, not hesitated to appropriate that arresting phrase for my own purpose of describing the ridiculous wishful thinkings of our top-ranking Congress leaders *vis-a-vis*

The New Year, which, as usual, will shortly be ushered in everywhere with no little pomp and circumstance, will be bringing in its wake new problems for our long-suffering people: or, rather, not new problems precisely but the same old ones—smartened and secured, with their hair, so to speak, in curl-papers and their feet in patent-leathers. That, however, as the inimitable Sam Weller would have put it, is wrapping it up in a small parcel: our trials and tribulations appear to have suddenly assumed well-nigh gigantic proportions. The partition of our beloved Motherland, there is now not a shadow of doubt, has utterly falsified the "Alice in Wonderland" anticipations of our exalted Congress leaders. Our country, far from overflowing with milk and honey as a direct consequence of it (in the manner so fondly imagined by them), has, since then, been wallowing in a mire of discontent and destitution almost unprecedented in the annals even of her chequered history. As the poet has lamented,

"Out of the day and night
A joy has taken flight;"
and the urn of bitter prophecy, to quote from the same poet again, has been drained to its dregs.

completely from clinical work, tends to reduce his efficiency while, by combining both functions, he is able to use to the best advantage the ancillary health staff such as health visitors, midwives and sanitary inspectors for an integrated attack on the health problems he has to deal with. These rural health personnel should be provided with transport facilities of some kind in order to enable them to discharge their duties efficiently.

STAFF FOR HEALTH UNITS

So far as the staff is concerned, each rural health centre should at least have one doctor, two health assistants of whom one will have training in compounding, a sanitary inspector, two midwives, a male nursing orderly and a female nursing orderly and a peon. As and when available an additional doctor may be appointed, preference being given to the women doctors. Though this falls short of the recommendations of the Bhore Committee, one should be satisfied under existing conditions in the country if all the provinces are able to staff all their primary rural health centres with the above-mentioned personnel.

This brings us to the very important question of health personnel. The Bhore Committee has rightly pointed out that one of the main difficulties that will be experienced in establishing a co-ordinated health organisation in the country will be in respect of the availability of the adequate number of medical and ancillary staff. Even if our immediate aim is to provide a health centre for every 20,000 population, it will be impossible to do so as we have not at the present moment a sufficient number of doctors and other personnel.

As has already been pointed out that there is at present a concentration of doctors in urban areas and only 14,000 out of 50,000 doctors are in the service. Any half-hearted scheme evolved for the purpose of persuading private practitioners to settle in rural areas is bound to fail as the prospects of earning a decent living through practice in the village are not very bright. Also, the lack of social and other amenities, and facilities for the education of the children make living in the villages unattractive. It has, therefore, become imperative to establish a uniform health service for both rural and urban areas, with adequate emoluments to attract private practitioners in large numbers into the service and with an additional allowance for service in rural areas to make good to some extent the lack of facilities and amenities referred to above. Members of the service can be in that case posted to rural areas by rotation.

STOP-GAP MEASURES

The suggestions made are merely stop-gap measures of a temporary character. They should on no account be considered as a permanent health programme which should be broadbased on modern scientific principles. It will be a short-sighted, unfair

and pernicious policy if the health organisation for the villages should be of an indifferent type and the 88 per cent of the country's population is asked to be satisfied with a propaganda programme which does not afford all the modern medical facilities which are made available to the other 12 per cent of the privileged inhabitants of the cities. Our aim should, therefore, be to establish a comprehensive health organisation on scientific lines which will benefit every man and woman in the country.

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

While writing about National Health Policy one should not fail to mention about the part which the Centre has to play in shaping the policy for the country as a whole. Though the main health functions even after the adoption of the new Constitution may continue to remain under the responsibility of the provincial governments, the Central Government should assist the provinces in the development of their health plans as well as co-ordinate provincial health activities in a manner designed to promote the interests of the country as a whole. In order to maintain a uniform standard with respect to medical relief and public health, it is desirable to place them in the group of concurrent subjects so that the Centre can have an effective say in the Nation's health policy as a whole. In certain spheres, such as control of inter-provincial spread of diseases, regulation of common standards of purity and of quality for food and drugs throughout the country and labour welfare work, absence of central co-ordination is bound to produce undesirable results.

One of the ways by which co-ordination and indirect unification of the health organisations throughout India will be achieved is by the creation of a Central Health Service on the lines of Central Administrative Service whereby there can be an exchange of medical officers between the Centre and the provinces and the State Unions. This will be particularly beneficial in the fields of medical administration and public health, as a central cadre will facilitate the maintenance of a uniform health policy in the country. The creation of a Central Health Service may also enable the loan of senior officers from one province to another, if necessary and thus facilitate the pooling of provincial experience for the benefit of the country as a whole. As a matter of general national policy the subject merits immediate consideration of all Governments.

DISSEMINATION OF EDUCATION

Side by side with the evolution of a National Health policy, it is deemed necessary that the standard of living of the masses should be increased by increasing their purchasing power, and by introducing compulsory education. Not only that but it is also the legitimate duty of the State to disseminate the knowledge of birth control among the poor and encourage its practice. This knowledge could be imparted through the maternal and child welfare centres opened for the



The Gebel Aulia Dam on the White Nile, Sudan, completed in 1937



The Main Canal, whose huge earthworks dominate the Gezira Plain, Sudan

that dastardly act of partition to which they so gaily lent their full-throated moral support.

POLITICAL NAIVETE

Political naivete, it is clear, could no further go. Even that justly-acclaimed "Iron Man" of the Congress, our one and only Sardar (now, alas, no more!), had often been driven, in the interests of scoring a (doubtful) debating point, to advance the fatuous—I had almost said the frivolous—argument that he gave his imprimatur to that drastic surgical operation because, in his considered opinion, it promised to usher in an unending era of peace and good-will and amity between the sundered halves of our "vast sub-continent." In the last January (1951) number of *The Modern Review* I endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to expose the utter hollowness and absurdity of that contention—indicating, in the process, that, when it came to monumental bungling, to double-distilled idiocy, our reputed "Iron Man" could, as the saying is, be "second to none" in the country. As the rain falls on the just and on the unjust alike, so does the born bully spare neither "secularists" nor "non-secularists" from his all-consuming wrath. That ought to have been obvious—even to Congressmen, whose mentality, I have always maintained, is sub-normal to a degree.

Time and again have the members of that most intransigent minority in our midst—to wit, the Muslim—wrung out concessions, more concessions, and still more concessions from our side, not (as had been innocently surmised by us when doling them out) with the outstretched hand of fellowship, but with overt and covert acts of further hostility. But did we ever profit by these bitter and humiliating experiences? Have we profited from them even now? To ask the questions is to furnish the answers.

SLITHERING DOWN THE GADARENE SLOPE OF RUIN

Everyone has, in the end, to lie on the bed he makes for himself. This is no less true of countries than of individuals. When, at the behest of the Mahatma, the appeasement of that intransigent minority aforementioned was turned by Congressmen into a regular fetish, into a veritable shibboleth, when it was made a sort of "ark of their covenant" that would be scoffed at by their opponents only at their own imminent peril, it seemed to those of my way of thinking that our *soi-disant* premier political organisation had begun slithering down the Gadarene slope of ruin and abasement. In retrospect it appears to me that I must have spent a not inconsiderable portion of my uneventful life in warning my countrymen against the very real dangers inherent in that extremely shortsighted policy and in noting down the various steps, or stages, by which our Congress "high-ups" have landed us in our present most unenviable predicament.

It may be that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. But when we are up against nothing less than

a whole array of moral posturings and spiritual exhortations no amount of forewarning, it is evident, can be of any positive assistance to the nation that has, of its own free will, chosen to repose such implicit faith in its leaders. It was a constant boast of the late head of the "largest Muslim State" in the heavens above, the earth below, and the waters underneath the earth that one Muslim was the equal of three or four Hindus in martial valour. The Quaid-e-Azam's arithmetic is, of course, not to be sneezed at, nor do I, as a rule, belong to the sneezing fraternity, but it is a pity that he forbore to reckon the heaviness of the odds against which we had had to fight while he was with us in the flesh, and against which we are continuing to fight even after his deeply lamented departure from the scene of his devoted labours.

"GATHERING GRAPES OF THORNS AND . . ."

The New Year, then, has its problems for our hapless country no less than the old year had; and the most of these, as I have indicated, arise from the gargantuan blunder of partition that was perpetrated on August 15, 1947. This partition itself was the direct offspring of the age-old policy of appeasement—that "putrefying albatross" which, at the Mahatma's bidding, the Congress dutifully clamped on its neck decades ago. The present can, in no sense, be divorced from the past, and it is part of the historian's task to correlate the two. It is a well-known saying—and experimentally proved on unpteen occasions—that one cannot gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles. By the same token, an "Alice in Wonderland" approach to politics cannot be expected to yield results other than grotesque. The man who, according to the unimpeachable authority of the late Mr. G. K. Chesterton, elected to go to Birmingham via Beachy Head did not, in the end (as we all know), reach Birmingham. Mr. H. M. Tomlinson, writing of the demented hero of Herman Melville's unforgettable masterpiece, *Moby Dick*, comments:

"The cross-bearings taken by Captain Ahab to find his ship's position, to set, if he can, the right course for her, would bring his ship to a harbour no man has ever reached. And he did not reach it. Destiny sank him and his companions in the waste."—*Gifts of Fortune*.

DISCREDITING THEIR RIVALS

The incredibly altruistic policy of the Congress *vis-à-vis* the Muslims has, likewise, "sunk" the Hindus and their champions "in the waste." Our revered Congress leaders have consistently preferred playing to the international gallery to safeguarding the interests of these same Hindus who, on any valid reasoning, are the true nationals of that truncated part of our beloved Motherland now going by the shameful name of "India that is Bharat." But "broad-mindedness" is no substitute for bread and the leaders have awakened to the fact that, in an election year, they must provide themselves with some more

dust to throw into the eyes of the masses if they wish to retain their present dominant position in the gruelling contests that are at hand. Obviously, one way of doing that is to set about discrediting their chief rivals and showing them to be fit only for what the poet has called "treasons, stratagems and spoils." And this they have set about doing in right earnest. At any rate, Pandit Nehru has set about doing it in right earnest. Is he not ever at attention when that "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God," Duty, beckons him as the lonely lamp in Greenhead Ghyu beckoned Wordsworth's Michael?

ALL IS FAIR IN LOVE AND WAR

All is fair in love and war (and elections) and Pandit Nehru has not taken long to cash in on such a hoary tactic: nor has he had to ransack his memory overmuch in the process of doing so. Does not the Mahatma's name cry out to be exploited? As a weapon of attack there is not, it seems to me, an equal to it in the armoury of the opponents of the Congress: Congressmen (both high and low) are accustomed to bear, 'mid snow and ice,' this banner with the strange device. If the Mahatma alive had been an invaluable asset to them the Mahatma dead has become a veritable godsend! Besides, it is notorious that dead men tell no tales. The Mahatma alive might, for instance, in so far at least as certain of their performances are concerned, have repudiated them with all the vehemence at his command; but the Mahatma dead can be invoked by them for any purpose they choose without the slightest fear of his frowns. People talk of "blessings in disguise": Gandhiji's assassination, so deplorable to outward view, has paid Congressmen very, very handsome dividends, indeed!

PULLING THE CONGRESS'S CHESTNUTS OUT OF THE FIRE

Wielding the big stick the Congress almost completely routed the opposition elements and, creating a desert, called it peace. Reason—or a modicum of it—returned to the throne subsequently: the first fine careless rapture of decimating its opponents yielded place to a saner and a calmer review of the over-all situation. Still, the relevant point for our consideration is that a Gandhiji dead miraculously restored the Congress's waning prestige; and the further point for our consideration is that the Congress leaders appear to pin their faith on the possibility of his memory continuing to restore its waning prestige to the extent of winning the ensuing elections. Nor (worse luck!) is it such a forlorn hope as might be imagined by the uninitiated: public opinion in the country, highly dissatisfied though it be with the Government's acts—of omission and of commission alike—may yet allow itself to be swayed appreciably by the unprincipled and misleading invocation of Gandhiji's name and memory. There is, no doubt, such a thing as the Law

of Diminishing Returns in human affairs; and there is now, it is plain, not as much chance as there used to be in days gone by of that unprincipled and misleading invocation bearing any tangible fruit. But the risk, all the same, is there that it may, at a crucial moment, succeed in pulling the Congress's chestnuts out of the fire. It will be my endeavour in this article to try to minimise that risk as far as possible.

THE MAHATMA'S ASSASSINATION

Pandit Nehru's recent astounding elevation to the Presidency of the Congress was, manifestly, with the object of enhancing the prospects of its emerging victoriously in the coming electoral contests. No one knows it better than Pandit Nehru himself and he has been straining himself to the uttermost to vindicate his (unconstitutional) election. One outward and visible sign of that undue straining was his speech at Bhopal on December 3. It was there that, like Paul of Tarsus on his way to Damascus, he was smitten by a dazzling light: it was there that, without any premonition whatsoever, the "vision splendid" came to him. That blinding flash of illumination was none other than this: it was the Hindu Mahasabha that was responsible for the assassination of the Mahatma on January 30, 1948. So he went at the leaders of the Mahasabha hammer and tongs: he gave them no quarter. The offence of the Mahasabha being so heinous he said that he should be "soiling his tongue" even if he were to mention the name of the organisation that was guilty of such a dastardly crime. He said many other things besides: as, for instance, that the Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh were weakening the country by creating dissensions among the masses, that they were raising false slogans of religion and culture to confound the people, and that they were exploiting those people's religious sentiments to further their political ends. He reiterated this in a subsequent speech at Gwalior. In fact, he has been ringing the charges upon it ever since—"soiling his tongue" in the process an interminable number of times. If I remember aright he has seen it fit to hold forth on it even after its hot repudiation by the leaders concerned as well as by one eminent in law who has absolutely nothing to do with the organisations named by him.

A WELL-MERITED STRICTURE

But, before I come to the repudiations themselves, let me quote a well-deserved stricture on our beloved Panditji by the *Times of India*. In its issue of December 13, it has an editorial, "Election Fever," in which it severely takes him to task:

"Irresponsibility might be excused in factions which have mushroomed overnight. But what has one to say of Congress leaders to whom verbal irresponsibility seems second nature? In recent weeks perhaps the worst of these offenders was the Congress President who accused one of the parties contesting the elections of responsibility for Gandhiji's murder. This has provoked the latter to

charge the Congress Government itself with responsibility for the crime inasmuch as it failed to protect the Mahatma adequately despite dire warnings. What is in issue is not the rightness or wrongness of these charges and counter-charges. The point is that such charges inevitably set in motion an evil chain of action and reaction which pollutes the electoral atmosphere. And why in any case bandy the Mahatma's name?"

Echo answers: "Why, indeed?"

A ROLAND FOR AN OLIVER

The editorial proceeds:

"The Congress is not so virtuous that it can afford to cast stones indiscriminately at others. Part of the reason for Mr. Nehru's irresponsible statements may be sought in the fact that, having to speak at half-a-dozen places in a day, he is often liable to make casual remarks which, if he had had more time to reflect, would not have been made. But this danger should make him even more than ordinarily cautious. It is disturbing to see how, instead of being content with analysing the record of his Government or describing its plans for the future, he is self-righteously indignant about things in regard to which he should be busy explaining the conduct of his administration."

Panditji has asked for it—and he has received it! The Bombay daily has given a Roland for his Oliver; and has politely suggested to him to turn the searchlight inwards rather than outwards. The following words to be found in Isaiah deserve being bound by our Congress leaders for a frontlet on their brows and a talisman on their wrists:

"Be not righteous overmuch: neither make thyself overwise: why should'st thou destroy thyself?"

BOYCOTTS FOR THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND

Before coming to the repudiation of the Congress President's monstrous charges against the Hindu Mahasabha by that party's accredited leaders and, as I have indicated, by one eminent in law who does not belong to that organisation at all, let me take leave to challenge a statement of his in a speech he made at Gwalior on December 2 wherein he paid a handsome tribute to the Muslim League for its supposititiously dissolving itself after independence. His exact words were:

"Communalism is the greatest enemy of the country. The Muslim League disappeared from here after partition, but even then the communalists who indulged in the most irresponsible and foolish talk of 'Akhand Bharat' were encouraging communalism. Those who talk of 'Akhand Bharat' know fully well that they are only deceiving the public and trying to lead the country towards ruin."

BACKS FOR THE HINDU MAHASABHA

For all that the very mention of the Hindu Mahasabha's name "soils his tongue" Pandit Nehru not only cannot refrain from mentioning it but cannot, it appears, help expatiating on it till the cows come home. One thing, I suppose, leads on to another and the Parthian shot is almost always this—namely, that it was this party that was responsible for the assassi-

nation of the Mahatma nearly four years ago. So, even in this speech he was compelled, by that irrefragable inner urge of his, to haul the members of the Mahasabha over the coals for that infamous deed.

"Beg your pardon, Sir," said Sam (Weller), when he had concluded, "but when I gets on this here grievance, I runs on like a new barrow with the wheel greased."

Similar, one presumes, is our Panditji's predicament when he finds himself referring to the Mahasabha: "he runs on like a new barrow with the wheel greased." That was why he was impelled to ride his hobby-horse once again. He repeated, parrot-like, the charge that the Mahasabha "was full of misdeeds" and that it was "those people" who had a hand "to a great extent" in the murder of Gandhiji. Then it was but a step to patting himself and his Government on the back for his and their extraordinary tolerance.

"There is no other nation in the world which would have dealt with those people so leniently as the Indian Government has. But even then they have not come to their senses."

CONGRESS'S "LEONINE VIOLENCE"

Extraordinary tolerance, indeed! Even street urchins, suspected of Mahasabha or R.S.S. leanings, had not been spared; and in many places Congressmen (or their agents) had gone literally berserk—especially in Maharashtra, the home-province of Godse, the assassin of the Mahatma. It was not the Government that deserves that superlative encomium. Those who eminently deserve it are our people who surprisingly kept their heads when the Government, led by our beloved Panditji, almost ran amok. Let not Pandit Nehru lay the flattering unction to his soul that he, or his myrmidons, let off the Hindu Mahasabha lightly: the unwarranted arrest (and humiliation) of Veer Savarkar is eloquent testimony to that! There was then no question of ahimsa: what met the eye everywhere was Government "red in tooth and claw."

ONE EXAMPLE

Ahimsa is reserved only for those modern Herrenvolk, the Muslims: for the Hindus it is the jackboot! It does not lie in the mouth of Pandit Nehru to talk of his tolerance where the Hindus—his countrymen only in name—are concerned. His activities in Bihar in 1946 when the Hindus started trouble against the Muslims by way of a *quid pro quo* to Muslim brutalities against the Hindus in Noakhali earlier do not exactly bear out his claim for tolerance. As a member of the then interim Cabinet he toured Bihar and threatened the Hindus there with bombing and machine-gunning them.

HAS THE MUSLIM LEAGUE DISSOLVED ITSELF?

Now I come to a discussion of Pandit Nehru's declaration in his Gwalior speech from which I have quoted above that, after partition, the Muslim League disappeared from our political scene. Has it? If it has, of which organisation is Mr. Mahomed

Ismail of Madras the President? Far from committing himself as has been suggested by Panditji, the Muslim League is, if I may be permitted to say so, gloriously alive. Nor can it be asserted that it has failed to make its existence felt by its contemporaries. In a sense it is more alive now than in the pre-partition days: it is alive in its own name as well as in some others. The Fourth Party in Bombay, for instance, is nothing but the Muslim League in another garb. The Muslims were the favoured children of the British Government: they are the favoured children of the Indian Government, too! If the *divide et impera* policy of the former was an invaluable boon to them the "secular" policy of the latter is a no less invaluable banana. The Muslim League has had no cause, so far, to liquidate itself: on the other hand, it basks in the sunshine of official favour in no uncertain fashion.

CONGRESS'S MENDACITY

Only the other day, for instance, the Congress Government in Madras made significant overtures to the League there for co-operation in the ensuing elections. Congressmen everywhere are out to enlist its support in these contests: so catholic is their outlook, indeed, that they do not care to draw the line even at the notorious Rasakars of Hyderabad! "Come one, come all, and the more the merrier!" "Come one, come all, and the more the merrier!" seems to be their motto. At places they have been so mendacious as to warn the Muslims that if they do not help the Congress in winning the elections, the Hindu Mahasabha will exterminate them ruthlessly: it is a case of "Codlin's the friend, not Short!" The point is that, far from frowning upon their activities, the Congress has been actually encouraging the Muslims to redouble them and to "cock a snook" at the Hindus and their aspirations.

No, Panditji, the Muslim League has not disappeared from our country after partition. It is ferociously alive, and alive under a variety of aliases. It has been your own party that has been ceaselessly encouraging them to flourish like the proverbial green-bay tree.

MR. MAHOMED ISMAIL COMES OUT INTO THE OPEN

The ebullient President of the Muslim League, Mr. Mahomed Ismail, has now come out into the open to justify its existence. The sub-committee of the Muslim Central Parliamentary Board, of which he is the President, met in Madras on December 2 and issued a 2,000-word statement two days later in defence of the continued existence of the Muslim League. The statement says, *inter alia*, that the Constitution has conferred certain rights on the minorities; and, that being so, it further opines that the State should have the means to ascertain whether the minorities are satisfied with the implementation of the rights guaranteed under the Constitution. The corollary, it would seem, naturally follows that "such

a means" must "legitimately take the shape of a minority organisation. With regard to the Muslims the League undeniably is such an organisation."

The statement holds that it is "neither logic nor fairness" to compare what it chooses to call "minority organisations" like the Muslim League with the "communal organisations" of the majority community. The case of the minorities is different. "When the minorities have got any view of their own to be formulated and put forward," it adds, "it is a sheer necessity for them to have an organisation of their own." It proceeds:

"The Constitution of our country contains positive provisions which recognise and secure certain of the rights of the minorities. These rights have to be secured, maintained and continued in actual practice in the government of the country. In such a context, an organisation, a political organisation at that, is an utter necessity for a minority."

LEAGUE NOT COMMUNAL AT ALL!

This fairly takes one's breath away! The Muslim League may be many things: what, however, it indubitably is not is being communal! It has been well said that orthodoxy is our "dory": heterodoxy is the other fellow's. The Muslim League is a minority organisation, not a communal organisation: "that is all ye know on earth and all ye need to know." We have all these years been waiting devoutly for some such consummation as this: now we may go home and enjoy our beauty sleep. For the Muslims are jolly good fellows and are not in the least communal! They are obsessed only with the desolating sense of their minority position: they are content to leave the luxury of being communal to the majority community, the Hindus. It looks almost as though Mr. Mahomed Ismail argued that a minority community is, *ipso facto*, precluded from being communal: its hands are too full with guarding the rights it has secured for itself under the Constitution. Charity, Bacon says, will scarcely water the ground if she must first fill a pail: so also if a minority community is condemned to concentrate its attention on protecting its interests where has it the time to indulge its communal bent, if any? These interests that Mr. Ismail's community is trying to protect are strictly its minority interests: its communal interests do not enter into the question at all!

A SUBTLE DISTINCTION

Mr. Ismail, it will be seen, is at infinite pains to draw a subtle distinction between his community's minority interests and its communal interests: a dichotomy that may pass muster with his community's patron, Pandit Nehru, but not, I am sure, with anyone else. Perhaps it will be a waste of effort to attempt to convince Mr. Ismail that those minority interests that he is so much concerned with are precisely the communal interests of his community. It is a distinc-

tion without a difference. Mr. Ismail is simply playing with words. That he is himself conscious that he is playing with words will be evident from his open avowal that "neither the League nor the Congress migrated from where they were." From this it is obvious that, with the best of intentions, Mr. Ismail cannot help letting the cat out of the bag. Truth will out, however cunningly it may be camouflaged for the time being. What, else, did the poet say?

*"E'en from the tomb the voice of nature cries,
E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires."*

"THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE IN EXCHANGE
FOR BEAUCHAMP!"

The implications of the Muslim League President's open avowal that his organisation "has not migrated from where it was" are not as innocuous as they might have appeared to him when he rushed into print to clear his breast of the perilous stuff that had been accumulating there for the last four years. The implications of that open avowal, far from being innocuous, are really very dangerous: for they shed more than a ray of light on the League's psychology even in the post-partition era. The League, we are now definitely given to understand, has not abandoned its old policy or programme: its old policy or programme of hatred, violence and bigotry. It was this combination of hatred, violence and bigotry that was responsible for the dastardly vivisection of our beloved Motherland. I am perfectly aware that it is now the fashion not to bemoan that vivisection: Pandit Nehru even regards it as "the Pillars of Hercules of mortal achievement," in the classic phrase of the late Mr. Maurice Baring. All the same, that vivisection was dastardly; and it was the League's policy of hatred, violence and bigotry that set it in motion. Mr. Ismail tells us, blandly, that that policy remains intact: a policy that was based on rampant communalism. How, then, does he propose to square this with his other assertion that the League is at present simply a minority organisation, not a communal organisation?

Pandit Nehru also has a hard row to hoe: how does he propose to square his statement in Gwalior on December 2 that the Muslim League has disappeared from the country after partition with Mr. Mahomed Ismail's open avowal that not only has it not disappeared from the country after partition but that its ideology remains the same as of old—the same ideology, he it remembered, that was responsible for that partition? Pandit Nehru has never any good word to spare for the Hindu Mahasabha: it is his "King Charles's head." With the Muslim League he takes a different line altogether: "becks and nods and wretched smiles" come out not as single spies but in battalions. And yet—*and yet*—it is the communal in every one of them is this... [unclear]... exchange for Beauchamp!" is the unspoken comment

of two characters at the conclusion of George Meredith's fine novel, as they stare at the small gutter-snipe whom Beauchamp died to save. That about sums up the matter. Well may the country say to the Congress:

*"Thou hast led me, like a heathen sacrifice,
With music and with fatal yokes of flowers,
To my eternal ruin."*

REPUDIATION BY SABHA LEADERS

The foregoing is by way of clearing the decks for action. I shall now deal with the oft-repeated charge of Pandit Nehru that the Hindu Mahasabha was deeply involved in the assassination of the Mahatma. The Mahasabha leaders have been crying themselves hoarse ever since that fatal day of assassination that their organisation had absolutely nothing to do with it and that it was the individual act of the culprit, Godse. Dr. N. B. Khare, the President of the Mahasabha, has given a fitting rejoinder to the Pandit's contemptible calumny. He has issued a statement wherein he says:

"It is most deplorable that such a responsible leader should make such a baseless and mischievous allegation and hit below the belt of a rival political organisation. People should remember that in the judgment delivered after the long and protracted Gandhi murder trial there is not even an oblique reference to the Hindu Mahasabha organisation. Why then does, Pandit Nehru repeat, parrot-like, this unfounded allegation? It is obvious that the Government of India cannot escape this charge of neglect. The name of the Congress, and its Government should stink in the nostrils of every right-thinking Indian, not only for this neglect in affording adequate protection for the tribune of the people, but also for the slaughter of the innocent and outrages against Indian womanhood perpetrated before and after partition."

MR. P. R. DAS'S REPUDIATION

I have written that not only the Hindu Mahasabha leaders but also an eminent lawyer absolutely unconnected with the organisation has repudiated Pandit Nehru's wild allegation. This eminent lawyer is none other than Mr. P. R. Das, President of the All-India Civil Liberties' Union. In a statement given to the *United Press of India* in New Delhi on December 10 he replies in this wise to that allegation:

"I do not belong to the Hindu Mahasabha and I have nothing to do with the organisation. But I was the leading counsel for Mr. V. D. Savarkar who was one of the accused in the Mahatma Gandhi murder trial. I can confidently contradict the statement or the insinuation that the Hindu Mahasabha had any hand in the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. The learned Advocate-General of Bombay, who is at present the Solicitor-General of India, never made any such allegation throughout the trial, and no such case was made by, or on behalf of, the State. It is most unfair that passions are being roused just before the election to connect an organisation with a dastardly crime. As the President of the Civil Liberties' Union in India I feel it is my duty to

enter my protest against any such attempt to defame any organisation which is running candidates in the ensuing general elections."

Mr. Das has this final fling at our beloved Panditji:

"Truth is often a casualty in the elections. But we expected a higher standard of conduct

from Mr. Nehru, both as the President of the Congress and as the Prime Minister of India."

But Pandit Nehru deliberately made this insinuation: that was the only way of getting round the Mahasabha in the ensuing elections. Was he not elected to the *Presidentship of the Congress* only with the object of winning the elections?

O:

MAHATMA'S POLITICAL ETHICS

BY PROF. IQBAL NARAIN SRIVASTAVA, M.A.

"After Mr. Gandhi went away, I fell to thinking about the different elements that met in him. There was the St. Francis, vowed to the simple life of poverty, in harmony with all creation and in love with all created things. There was the St. Thomas Aquinas, the thinker and the philosopher, able to sustain high argument and to follow the subtleties of thought in all their windings. There was also the practical man of affairs, with a legal training to back and strengthen his sense for affairs—the man who could come down from mountain tops to guide with shrewd advice transactions in the valley."—EARNEST BARKER.

MAHATMA GANDHI was remarkable indeed in being the subtlest and the most understandable of those intellectuals who have also been rich in practical wisdom. He was something more than this. He was a principle in himself. An inspiring and a thought-provoking challenge to the West, our Mahatma had been a revolution and a reformation not only to India but to the whole world in all spheres of life—moral, social, economic and political. The truth of this statement will be borne out by an analysis of the political ethics of Mahatma Gandhi, which is attempted here.

Mahatmaj's political ethics may be discussed under the following heads:

I

FOUNDATIONS OF HIS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Unity of Life: Mahatma was a political thinker because he was a seer of life. To him, life was a wholesome unity. It could not be divided into watertight compartments as moral, social, economic or political. To him, all aspects of life were inter-twined like the twigs of a bush. Thus Mahatmaj's political philosophy was a part of his philosophy of life—life which was to Mahatma, a living quest of the Higher Self.

Love: An important implication of his view of the *Unity of Life* was that man is one with creation. Naturally he should live and let live. Men must essentially be humane. Kindness, fellow-feeling and sympathy should be his greatest virtues. In a word, he should be a great lover. It was in this spirit, that Mahatmaj declared, "If love would not have been the law of life, life would not have persisted in the midst of death." Our Mahatma, in fact, was a spiritual mystic in revolt against the facts of difference and dissension. Harmony was the quest of his life. And in love, he found a cohesive force. And this love and not power, service and not exploitation, is the cornerstone of his political ethics.

Ahimsa: Love, naturally implies non-injury, non-violence and conscious self-suffering and sacrifice. All these virtues were summed up by Mahatmaj in one

word—*Ahimsa*—which naturally became the basic idea in his political philosophy. Indeed our Mahatma's "greatest battle has been," as Miss Mande D. Petre has remarked, "against the spirit of domination and violence and he has gone forth, even more totally disarmed than David against the Goliath of human force and passion for he has carried only one weapon that of non-violence."

His faith in spirit: As already stated, life for Mahatmaj in its ideal sense was a quest of the Higher Self, for the spirit in man, being a part of God, wants to be one with Him. Mahatmaj had faith in this spirit of man, which he termed soul force. His politics was, in fact, political ethics, having its source of strength in spirit and soul force instead of metal and steel power.

II

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF HIS POLITICAL ETHICS

From the aforesaid discussion, the following characteristics of Mahatmaj's political ethics emerge:

Its Religious Tenor: Mahatmaj spiritualised politics. Like Jefferson, he thought of politics in moral and religious terms. To him, politics was religion and religion was brotherhood. Barker was justified when he stated:

"I should, therefore, celebrate in Mr. Gandhi—the man who could mix the spiritual with the temporal and could be at the same time true to both."

Gandhiji once himself said:

"If I seem to take part in politics it is only because politics today encircle us like the coils of a snake from which one cannot get out no matter how one tries. I wish to wrestle with the snake. . . . I am trying to introduce religion into politics."

Thus Gandhiji did contradict by his ideas and also by the facts of his own life the gloomy view of Aldous Huxley that "Man of religious genius cannot take part in large-scale politics without being corrupted by them."

The Harmony of Means and Ends: As Mahatmaj was essentially religious in his political philosophy, his political ideals could admit of no duplicity. For him, ends did not justify means. Noble ends and

noble means must go together, for ends do grow out of means. Today the world suffers from a big paradox of life, which presents us daily with innumerable instances of human beings virtuous in ends, vicious in means, selfish in ends but deceptively selfless in means. But this paradox, though a keystone of the so-called modern practical politics, did not inspire Mahatmaji's political ideals in any way.

No Antithesis between Individual and Society: One notices the aforesaid harmony of means and ends in Mahatmaji for the simple reason that he did not admit of any antithesis between individual and society. To him, "Man is the architect of human society. He is the root of mankind . . . a measurement of liberty and progress." He also realised that society is the soul in man. Without society man cannot grow, cannot become himself. Consequently Mahatmaji realised that a man should feel his indebtedness to society and serve it. According to Mahatmaji, a man who acts as a parasite on society degenerates himself.

A Synthesis of Idealism, Realism and Practical Wisdom: It has to be noted that though Mahatmaji was Platonic in his idealism—always, dreaming of his *Ram Rajya* like 'Plato's philosopher king'—yet he was greater than Plato in his political wisdom. He combined in himself, idealism and practical wisdom. He rather insisted that idealism to be real must be practical. He once stated that

"Abstract truth has no value unless it incarnates in human beings who represent it by proving their readiness to die for it."

Gandhiji, in fact, was a great idealist but a greater Karma-Yogi. For him, the highest ethics must necessarily be the highest expediency.

III

MAHATMA'S POLITICAL IDEALS

Let us now briefly analyse Mahatmaji's political ideals under the following heads:

His View of Liberty: Gandhiji was above everything a philosopher devoted to freedom. He wanted freedom for life in its wholesomeness. The purpose of freedom for him was welfare, both moral and material, spiritual and worldly. Liberty consisted for him in justice and equality of opportunities for all to realise their best selves. His faith was that

"Progress, if it is to be real, must consist in liberty actually enjoyed by individuals . . . the sum total of liberty actually enjoyed by individuals constitutes social progress."

But he never treated 'liberty' as a licence. He could dream of no liberty which could be anti-social. To Mahatmaji, liberty implied duties rather than rights. In the Gandhian vocabulary, individual liberty was, in fact, identified with public duty.

His View of Democracy: There are three main things to be noted in his view about democracy. In the first place, he stressed that democracy must have the greatest possible measure of local autonomy as its

basis. He believed that concentration of power is 'anti-democratic.' Conversely speaking, decentralisation was to him the very soul of democracy. Men, he believed, should do their actual living and working in communities of a size commensurate with their bodily and mental stature, communities small enough to permit genuine self-government and the assumption of personal responsibilities. He opined that these communities should be federated in larger units in such a way that the temptation to abuse power might not arise. His belief was that larger a democracy grew, the less real would become the rule of the people and smaller would be the say of the individuals in deciding their own destinies. Here again our Mahatma was near Jefferson. In the second place, he held non-violence to be the life spirit of democracy and the psychology of the true democratic. According to him, thus Great Britain which is non-violent at home and violent abroad is democrat at home and autocrat abroad. In the third place he believed criticism to be the 'Ozone' of a really democratic life. It is essential to purge the government of its anti-national leanings. Being a great corrective of administration, it is, in fact, the corner-stone of every democratic regime.

His View of State and Its Functions: He advocated the concept of a welfare State. He believed that citizens form the State and so the State must live for the citizens. He had indeed, as Barker has pointed out,

"a Platonic feeling that governing and administrative persons should be content with the opportunity of service and not expecting great rewards."

He believed the greatest good of all to be the end of the State. Dr. Dhawan in his thesis has pointed out that Mahatmaji, "is a philosophical anarchist, because he believes that this end can be realised in the classless and stateless society of autonomous village communities." It seems difficult to agree with Dr. Dhawan. He considers autonomy to be opposed to the existence of the State while it is only opposed to centralization of power. Gandhiji never wanted to abolish the State. He instead desired the State to be maintained as *Ram Rajya* which had decentralization of power and free criticism of the ruling authority as its chief features.

His Political Strategy of Revolution: Gandhiji believed that resistance of injustice and tyranny was but inevitable, human and essential, for man has in him a hatred for injustice and cruelty. But he gave the political world a new weapon to fight against injustice and tyranny. It is not the atom bomb or a dazzling spear—but a sword of gold named *Ahimsa*—'non-violence.'

"Non-violence does not mean," as Gandhiji himself said on August 4, 1920, "weak submission to the will of the evil-doer but putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant."

"Resistance" thus in him, "finds its outlet," as

THE MEMORIES OF MALABAR

Romain Rolland puts it, "not in violence but in the active forces of love, faith and sacrifice." Personal suffering and sacrifice, faith and will to do and die for a cause—this is a new technique of revolution or political salvation which Mahatmaji has given to the world.

Gandhi's Pacifism and World Federalism: Lastly, our Mahatma, the great lover of humanity, stood for world peace. He correctly realised that peace is radically inconsistent with the lustful craving for power. He was sure that peace could not be sought with a warlike spirit. For, war breeds hatred and peace needs love. He made a psychological approach to the problem of peace and urged that the love of humanity at large must inspire man's mind, heart and soul before peace is really established. His personal experience was, "To the extent I have represented love in my life, in thought, word and deed, I have realised the 'peace' that passeth understanding . . ." He was

—:O:—

also an advocate of world federation. He insisted that the whole world should be treated as one big family. He wanted us to "widen the circle of our love, till it embraces the whole village, the village in its turn must take in its fold the district, the province, and so on—till the scope of our love becomes coterminous with the world."

In the end, while Gandhiji's political ideas may be open to criticism, it cannot be denied that they have abounding interest and enduring value. The ending of tyranny lies at the root of victorious human life—such is the lesson of history. And spiritualisation of statecraft can alone end tyranny—this is Gandhian prophecy in experience as a real logic of history. The pressure of this thesis of our Mahatma is irresistible. Sooner or later it will be realised that this dreamer had his feet firmly planted on the ground and that this idealist was the most practical of men that the world has ever produced.

THE MEMORIES OF MALABAR

By R. T. SAHANI

To see Malabar and die would not be an inappropriate variant on the old theme of Naples. Once you see Malabar there is the will to live in it till eternity. There are places which get into your bloodstream insidiously by habit or by constant visit or by sheer associations. Malabar grips you immediately and then

Maybe it is the sheer picturesqueness of the panorama around you. If you are near the sea as you usually are, you are constantly being wafted by the languorous sea-breezes. There is a narcotic perfume in the air. It soothes you. It dulls your senses and you feel like the lotus-eater. Why should life all



The Thwaru Cross River

you dare not get away from it in a hurry and if you do, there is the dread certainty that you will come back to it sooner than you expected. To that extent, it reminds you of a falling in love at first sight without the trepidations involved in that state. Malabar has a haunting fascination about it.



Another view of the Thwaru Cross River

labour be? The palm-fringed water-logged backwaters and lagoons beckon to you. Acre after acre is planted with rice, tapioca and the coconut. Nature could not have been more bountiful and more pretty, except perhaps in some parts of Ceylon.

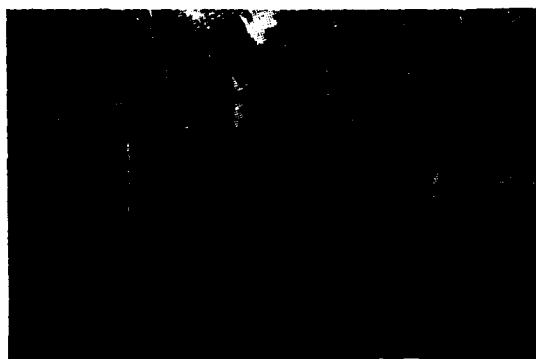
COCHIN CALLING

How do you reach this tropical paradise? Simple enough if you are in Bombay or for the matter of fact, anywhere else in India. The Air Services take you on a thrice-weekly flight to Cochin within a few hours. An itinerary of Cochin, Trivandrum and Cape Comorin with a few adjacent places thrown in should be a good idea. Alternatively, Air India can take you



Cochin Harbour

to Madras and thence by air to Coimbatore, Cochin and Trivandrum. If you want to go to North Malabar first, you should go by train from Madras to Calicut, Cannanore and Mangalore, or by Scindia's steamers from Bombay to Mangalore and thence to Cochin. The air trip is the easiest as it saves considerable time and bother and relatively not so expensive either, the fares from Bombay to Cochin being only Rs. 150. By the way you could hop into the Nilgiris if you so desire it.



The backwaters

The west coast is admirably well-served by hotels. Spencers, ubiquitous by their presence in the South, have a beautiful haunt—the Malabar Hotel—situated right on the sea-front on top of the Willingdon Island and as you sip your chhoti peg lazing in the lounge of the hotel—thank goodness, Cochin is not dry—and hear the murmur of the waves, the lilting music of the

Malabari fisherman on the sea, with the palm-fringed vista of the old Cochin town before you, you may for once forget the cares of the world and relax. The hotel itself has a lovely bar, a good swimming pool, a couple of motor launches always at your disposal at reasonable rates and you should, as a rule, be out of the hotel on the sea front after dinner, with someone by your side. An unforgettable experience if the moon chooses to oblige.

Nor are Cochin Town and Ernakulam devoid of interest. Cochin Town itself is old and decrepit in parts but the European quarter is well laid out, the beach well worth a visit. There are relics of Vasco da Gama's visit—his house, for example—and a Jewish synagogue which is rich in architectural splendour. There are naval establishments in Willingdon Island and the harbour itself is usually a bee-hive of activity.

THE LAZY LAGOONS

Perhaps the most picturesque part of your trip should begin now. You could do it in a rapid hop—



Chambakulam boat-race

Cochin to Trivandrum by air. It takes only a few minutes. I would, however, advise you to linger a little. Time in Malabar has not much significance. The tempo of life since ages has been in tune with the slow-moving dinghy on the sea. There is no mad hurry of life here. A boat-ride from Cochin to Alleppy—preferably in a private motor launch—on a moonlit night should be tried out. Then a day in Alleppy and thence by road to Quilon and by train to Trivandrum. The changes are slightly tedious but then it is worthwhile. You will get through a kaleidoscopic variety of vegetation and verdure which you are not likely to forget in a hurry. The train journey from Quilon to Trivandrum holds you enthralled.

At Trivandrum again *The Mascot*, now no longer run by Spencers, serves you adequately. Unfortunately Trivandrum is dry at the moment. But there are compensations. The food is excellent, the rooms well-equipped—each double room has two separate baths

and showers—a beautiful Art Gallery and Chitralayam are at close hand, the State Zoo is worth a visit. A few miles out of the city is the fascinating Arabian Sea waiting to welcome you. The beach is lovely, clean and inviting. Sea-bathing should be a 'must.' If you are interested in marine life and fish, a museum and an aquarium will amuse you no end. And perhaps if you desire to get away to a more sylvan spot, I would recommend Kovalam. One would think that Shakespeare conceived his *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream* in the wooded glory of Kovalam.

RELIGION OR ORTHODOXY?

Perhaps you are religious. In that case, you should visit Shri Padmanabha Temple particularly at evening time. A myriad oil-lamps play on this temple when it is dusk. Unfortunately, orthodoxy stabs you in the face. You must be a true Hindu: none of the modern ersatz stuff is appreciated. You should have your sacred thread on, your *lungi* should be properly tied, you should be up-to-the-minute in your *gotras*. In short, a very stiff oral test awaits you, reminiscent of the days of your public service examinations, before the portals of God can be opened to you. There is more form, less reality; more show and sham, less substance, which is a pity.

However, let us move on to the land where the three seas converge in one astonishing sweep. This is a sight for the gods to behold. Here you reach quite literally the southernmost tip of the great sub-continent of India. There is a good state hotel which can accommodate you at reasonable rates. The food and service could be improved upon, to suit more Europeanized tastes.

Of course, the beach is wonderful. The natural rocks make bathing and changing easy. The walks on the sands are a delight. And there is nothing to beat

the sunrise and the sun-setting at the Cape. We were favoured with the latter but not the former. A cloudy morning can spoil things a bit.



Alway Sivaratri festival

The term Cape Comorin itself has a legendary background, derived from Kanya Kumari, the eternal virgin goddess. According to ancient lore, the high and mighty Shiva himself proposed marriage to the goddess and was accepted. Unfortunately, Shiva proved a late-comer and the bride would have none of Him. The goddess remained adamant, despite furious protestations from the all-powerful Shiva and remained a virgin for the rest of her life.

Yes, Malabar is a land of languorous beauty. It distils charm, a way of life which we in the cities are fast losing and to which we would like to revert as and when it becomes possible to do so. By all means see Malabar. You may avoid the monsoons as nature is in a furious mood for four months. Otherwise, I am sure you will not regret it.

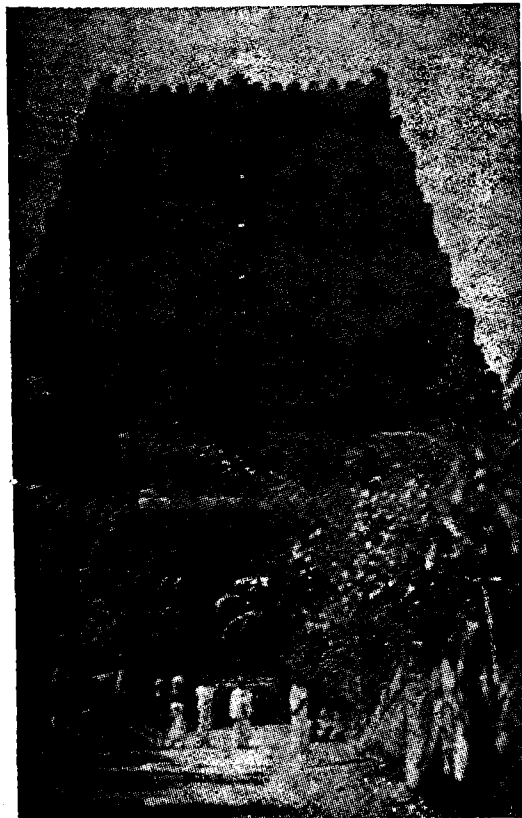


JAMBUKESWARAM Sacred Siva Temple in South India

By L. N. GUBIL

ITS POSITION

THAT the greatness of ancient India is still preserved in its temples admits of no doubt, as is evidenced by numerous shrines scattered all over the length and breadth of the country. Of the many Saivite temples, that at Jambukeswaram, popularly known as Thiru-



The Temple of Jambukeswaram
vanaikoil, is perhaps one of the most ancient. It is
situate in the beautiful island formed by the rivers

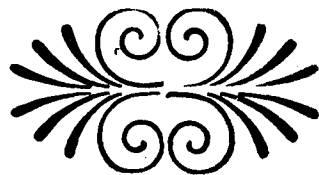
Cauvery and the Coleroon, a mile to the east of Srirangam. Jambukeswaram is a part of the Srirangam municipality and attracts large crowds of pilgrims from all parts of India.

ITS AGE

From all accounts and in the light of an inscription recently discovered in the Holy of Holies, it is learnt that the temple was renovated nearly a thousand years ago. Its exact age is still a mystery, though it must have been built by one of the early Cholas. Some of its architectural remains, however, point to an age 1500 years ago and tradition has it that Vibheeshan, the brother of Ravana, stayed here on his return from Ayodhya and worshipped the deity. Be that as it may, the temple is an ancient monument of Hindu architecture.

ITS SPECIAL FEATURES

Apart from the grandeur and vastness of the temple with its thousand-pillared Mandapam and nine sacred tanks, it is marked by certain special features. It is dedicated to Lord Siva, manifesting His Omnipresence in the element of Appu or Water. That it is so, is evidenced by the perennial spring of water which does not dry even in the hottest weather, not to speak of the rainy season, when water rises 5 ft. above the deity and worship is held up till all the water is baled out. Another feature is the presence just behind the deity of a Jambu tree, which according to tradition, is older than the temple and still bears fruit. The temple is enclosed within five high walls of granite, each surmounted by four beautiful towers. The work of further renovation was undertaken 35 years ago by a philanthropic family belonging to the Nattukottai Chettiar community and is nearing completion. The temple has its own festivals, the most important of which is generally known as Panchaparakaram and comes off in the Tamil month of Panguni which attracts thousands of devotees every year.



ON THE BANK OF THE GODAVARI

By NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

I had come to know of the Andhra Sramik Dharma Rajya Sabha some three years ago and I was eager to gather first-hand information about its activities. In the latter part of May 1951 I received a letter from the Secretary of the Andhra Sramik Dharma Rajya Sabha, Sri R. M. Sarma, requesting me to visit Kovvur on the occasion of the Cultural Conference that was going to be held on the 9th and 10th of May, 1951, under the auspices of the Sabha. I readily availed myself of this opportunity of visiting Kovvur and gaining some personal experience of the Sabha.



A lonely path of Waltair

Immediately after reaching the Howrah Station at 3 o'clock in the afternoon on 5th June, I sent a wire to Sri Sarma and got up in a compartment of the Madras Mail. The train was proceeding full-speed leaving behind paddy fields, vast meadows, great wide spaces and small village-huts with banana trees growing in clusters. I peeped through the window. The sky was covered with black clouds. Suddenly the bright red setting sun appeared in the western horizon breaking the mass of black clouds and the whole landscape was all on a sudden changed as it were into a dreamland.

Next morning as soon as I gazed outside through the window it appeared as if I was passing through a strange land. The form, colour and contour of the

landscape had totally changed. Our train after crossing the borders of Orissa was proceeding through the hilly tracts of the Agency area of Andhra. Small hillocks standing near were covered with thick vegetation and their greenness was soothing to the eye. Far, far away deep blue mountain-ranges were silhouetted against the blue sky. The colour of the earth of this hilly tract was red. Innumerable palm trees were standing erect in endless rows.

Vast plains at the foot of the hills were dotted here and there with small villages inhabited by aboriginal tribes. Each village consisted of clusters of huts with pointed roofs thatched with palm leaves and walls made of mud and bamboos. The houses were without windows, a small opening in the front-wall served the purpose of a door. Eaves of the thatched roofs of some houses almost touched the ground. Only a glance from the window of the train convinced me that extreme poverty prevailed there, that the poor simple village-folk were ill-fed and ill-clad.

The train reached Waltair just at noon. Here I saw the station-platform swarming with mango and banana sellers. These delicious fruits were being sold here at a comparatively cheap price. I was informed that the train would stop here for more than half an hour. The distant view of the Visakhapatnam (Vizagapatnam) harbour at the foot of the Birch Hill specially attracted my attention. From Waltair our train sped through palm and mango groves and leaving behind a few stations stopped at Anakapalli. I was simply



A village hut of Andhra

charmed by the natural scenery of the locality. Long ranges of hills were extending towards the horizon. A path which lay at the foot of the hill revealed to me a beautiful sight.

The train reached Kovvur at 4-30 p.m. I was led to Sri Sarma's quarters by a young volunteer who had been waiting for me in the station. Kovvur is a small town of the West Godavari District of Andhra, situated on the western bank of the river Godavari. The town is very neat and clean. The main road of the town starts directly from the station and reaches the northern extremity of the locality. The road is



A view of Anakapalli

bordered on either side with trees of enormous height. The town is gradually developing on the southern side where in open spaces huge buildings are under construction. The Sanskrit Vidyapith situated not very far from the main road covers a large area and is an object of attraction to the new-comer at Kovvur. Almost all the houses of the town are surrounded on all sides by strong brick or stone-built walls. The *Jhatka*, a cart drawn by a single cow, is the main vehicle of conveyance of the locality.

The river Godavari flows by the eastern side of Kovvur. There stands a lonely temple on the bank facing the river under the thick foliage of a big tree. The Godavari is as sacred to the Southerners as the Ganges is to the Aryavarta people. The delta of the Godavari is not very far from the river ghat, so the river is extremely wide here. On the opposite side an enormous area of the river-bank is covered by pink-coloured sand. On the northern side long ranges of hills in several rows are visible on the horizon. At a distance of half a mile to the south is the Godavari bridge, the second longest bridge in India, forming a connecting link between the eastern and the western banks of the river. The vast empty open space by the riverside is solitary, calm and quiet. Here far from the madding crowd one attains peace, tranquillity and equanimity of mind. At a distance of one furlong from the river-ghat there is another ancient temple called the Gautama temple. It is said that Rishi Gautama practised religious austerities here. Hence Kovvur is known as Gautama Chhatra or the place of Rishi Gautama. The temple was erected in olden times in memory of this great sage of ancient India.

Various stories associated with Gautama are current at Kovvur. One of them runs as follows:

One day while Gautama was practising religious rites a cow entered the cornfield in front of his Asrama and began to devour ripe corn. The Rishi who was seated *padmasana* opened his eyes and saw what mischief was being done by the animal. Immediately he tore a *kusa* grass from his *asana* and threw it at the cow. The animal died instantaneously. In no time this news spread over the whole locality and Kovvur-Brahmins who were very shrewd thronged there and demanded that the Rishi should expiate for the sin he had committed. At last it was suggested by one amongst them that he should bring the sacred river Ganges in this locality and all the Brahmins were unanimous in their opinion that this would be the only atonement of his sin. The Rishi finding that there was no other alternative, agreed and went to Bhadrachalam, a hill situated at a considerable distance from Kovvur and there began to practise severe austerities. Thus through *tapasya* and penance he was able to propitiate the goddess Ganga who consented to descend from Aryavarta to the plains of Dakshinapath. Thus the Rishi started back for Kovvur, the



An Andhra woman

river Ganga following him. After traversing a long distance when he had reached Kovvur, the Rishi suddenly turned back to see whether the Ganges was really coming behind. At this the goddess Ganga was extremely enraged and instead of following him any more began from that point to run in all directions. It is said that the Ganges assumed the name of the Godavari in the Deccan. Indeed Godavari divided itself into many branches near Kovvur.

In front of the Gautama temple a tall brass pillar with a trident at its top arrests the attention of the visitor. In the paved yard of the temple there one meets with the stone images of a bull and a calf. Two rows of tall palm trees standing on either side of the temple have enhanced the beauty of the spot. The

stone image of the venerable-looking, long-bearded Rishi Gautama seated in *padmasana* on the procture of the temple-roof, facing the river Godavari, is imposing and impressive. The right hand of the Rishi

An excellent view of sunrise on the other bank of the Godavari can be had from this temple-yard. When the sun rises green forests beyond the sandy bank reveal a novel beauty and splendour against

the flaming sky. The first bright rays of the rising sun are reflected on the river and the vast expanse of waters is tinged with gold. Large boats carrying loads of red sand from the opposite bank begin to cross the river. Gradually local inhabitants, both male and female, come to the river-ghat to take their morning bath. The Brahmins standing in the water with their faces towards the newly-risen sun offer ablutions and utter *mantras* in sonorous voice. Here in such a holy atmosphere on the bank of the river Godavari one can almost feel the pulse of our national life.

During my short stay at Kovvur I spent most of my time in the Veermandir, enjoying the company of the workers of the institution. The



Photo-unveiling ceremony of Sriramraja

is on the chest while the left hand is placed across the thigh in the *Bhumisparsha Mudra* attitude. The first rays of the rising sun directly fall upon the head of the image like benediction from the heaven above.

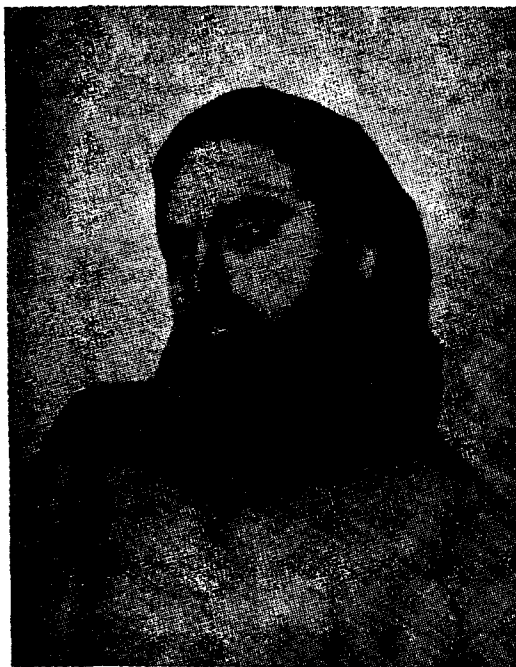
The architectural beauty of this important but least known temple is really wonderful. The statue of a god with five heads, seated on a peacock, is carved dexterously in the temple-wall. Two exquisitely beautiful finely chiselled female images are standing in graceful attitude on either side of the statue. In the southernmost part of the temple on a paved pedestal there is the stone image of a snake-god stretching out the hood. Inside the temple there is another image of Rishi Gautama, dyed in white colour. Both the hands rest on the knee, the sacred thread is held between the thumbs of the right and left hands. By the side of the image of Gautama there is the statue of a god over whose head a hooded snake forms a canopy.



Spinning demonstration in the Kamayyapeta Conference

Veermandir is a small one-storied building situated in the lonely outskirts of Kovvur, on the western bank of the Godavari. It is surrounded by brick-built walls on all sides. Just in front of the Mandir, a motorable road,

20 feet high from the ground-level runs from south to north along the course of the river. This highway hides the view of the Godavari though it is only a stone's throw from the Mandir.



Andhra-veer Alluri Sriramraja

The Veermandir is now the working centre of the Andhra Sramik Dharma Rajya Sabha whose parent institution Sramik Dharma Sadhaka Sangh was established at Tuni in 1941. The Veermandir was founded later on at Kovvur mainly with a view to commemorate the glorious deeds of the freedom-fighters and martyrs of Andhra who dedicated their lives for the liberation of our motherland from foreign yoke. The opening ceremony of this institution was performed by Deshabhakta Venkatappayya, a great patriot of Andhra on April 22, 1942. The workers of this institution under the able guidance of Sri R. M. Sarma, who is an embodiment of plain living and high thinking, have collected, after making extensive and intensive tours throughout the length and breadth of Andhra-desha, materials for biographical sketches of two hundred such freedom-fighters. This valuable collection, awaiting publication in bookform, has been carefully preserved in the Mandir. A good number of enlarged photographs of Andhra patriots, including those of Andhraratna Gopalakrishnaiah who was the Secretary of the A.I.C.C. during Deshabandhu C. R. Das's presidency, and Andhra-veer Alluri Sri Ram-raja, known in some quarters as Sitarama Raju,* who

with the help of the Adivasis of the Agency area waged war against the British Government, were unveiled in the Mandir by veterans like Acharya Vinoba Bhave and D. Sitaram Sastri of Vinayasram. Sri Ram-



Thakkar Bapa with a group of spinners and Mandeswar Sarma

raja's photo was unveiled in January, 1951, by M. Annapurniah, the leader of the Andhra Socialist Party and a friend from boyhood of the great Andhra-veer. On the occasion of this ceremony, Sri Annapurniah stated that

"Raja started his revolution in the Andhra Agency as a part of a premeditated and pre-planned All-India one for the liberation of the country."—*Jugadharma*, a bilingual fortnightly edited by R. M. Sarma.

All these photos hanging on the walls of the Veermandir present a pictorial account of the part played by the Andhra people in India's struggle for freedom.

Real constructive and nation-building work is being carried out by the workers of the Sramik Dharma Rajya Sabha, an organisation whose definite

* "The tribesmen are excitable and their risings, known as Futuris, resulted in several punitive expeditions against them. The last of the Futuris in which the late Sitarama Raju figured as the leader was a rising against oppression by unscrupulous officials."—*Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras* by Dr. Aliyappa, M.A., Ph.D. P. 7.

objectives, working programme and rules were formulated in September 1947. Its motto is mass-contact through service and it is divided into three sections:

The Hill-tribes Welfare Section: This section is affiliated now to the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh, Delhi. Uplift work is being continued amongst the aboriginal tribes of Madugole and Anantagiri Agency, Vizag District, by the *Pracharaks* of the Sabha. This organisation was fortunate enough to receive the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji mentioned about its activities in the *Harijan*, August 25, 1940. The late lamented Thakkar Bapa of revered memory was closely connected with the hill-tribe

Sramik Welfare Centres have been opened in different parts of Vizag, Kurnool, Krishna and other districts of the Madras State.

The Cultural Section: The philosophical approach of the S.D.R. Sabha is an original and novel one. Sri R. M. Sarma has creditably expounded this approach in his *Sramik Dharma Rajya*, a work in three volumes. The Sabha is striving hard for constituting a new society which being entirely free from capitalistic exploitation will be based on economic equality. But it will not be a classless society conceived by Marx, based on materialism. The basis of this new society will be the purely Indian spiritual ideal of life



Two hillmen of the Agency area



Workers with Thakkar Bapa

welfare section of the S.D.R. Sabha and on one occasion he personally visited the inaccessible areas in the hills. The annual conference of the Madugole Hill-tribe Sangh, an offshoot of the hill-tribe welfare Section of the Sabha, held at Hukumpeta and Kamayyapeta on the 17th and 18th February, 1951 was a grand success. About four thousand aboriginal people, including women and children joined the ceremony. A spinning demonstration by a number of men and women assembled was a special function of the ceremony.

The Plain Section: The S.D.R. Sabha is carrying out uplift work not only in the hills but also amongst the labouring class people of the plains and

as expounded by Sankara and other Hindu philosophers of ancient India.

An All-India Cultural Contact Committee (Vijnanik Parichay Parishat) on the Sramik Dharma Rajya approach was constituted in the Veermandir on 2nd January, 1951. Now it has its branches in different provinces of India. Sri Akhil Vinoy, the famous writer of Rajputana, is a member of the Parishat.

I was delighted to see the well-equipped library attached to the Mandir. My joy knew no bounds when I found a small booklet on Naga-rani Gaidiliu, lying in a corner of the almirah. To me the book was worth its weight in gold. It may be mentioned

here that no authentic account of the Naga-rani, except that contained in this book, has yet been published.



A group of Adivasi women in the Kamayyapeta Conference

The conference began from the morning of the 8th June, 1951. Accompanied by Sarmaji, and his only son Chandramurti I reached the Mandir at 7 a.m. The ceremony began in a calm and serene atmosphere. *Vande Mataram* of Bankimchandra was the opening song. It was sung by a young Adivasi boy who came from a distant hill to join the conference. Then the *Sramik Dharma* song composed in Telugu was sung. Two flags were hoisted in the Mandir compound one by one, India's National Flag and the *Sramik Flag*, the symbol of the *Sramik Dharma Rajya Sabha*. After the flag-hoisting ceremony, spinning demonstration was held inside the Mandir, the workers of the Sabha taking part in it. All the ceremonial functions being over Sri Sarma gave a talk on "Einstein's Theory of Relativity and the S.D.R. approach." His clear exposition made the subject highly interesting even to a layman like myself.

Next day (June 9, 1951) we reached the Mandir just at 4 p.m. The gathering was a distinguished one. S.D.R. workers from distant places like Krishna District joined the conference. Sarmaji introduced me to the audience and requested me to deliver my address which was divided into two parts. In the first part I gave out my impressions about the S.D.R. movement and narrated my experiences amongst the aboriginal tribes of Assam. In the second part, I related the harrowing condition of the East Bengal refugees. Sri Apparao, M.A., Principal, Sanskrit Vidyapith, Kovvur, translated my speech, delivered in English, verbally into Telugu before the audience. After my address Srimati Rangamma, the founder of the local Hindi School, delivered a highly impressive speech. The meeting ended in usual course with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

Next day I was free from all engagements. So after taking my breakfast, which consisted of coffee, some *idlis* (a kind of cake which is a mixed preparation of powdered rice and gram), *chutney* and chilli powder, I went out for sight-seeing. First of all I reached the market-place which was nearby. There were heaps of ripe mangoes in the central place of the market. I saw Netaji Subhas Chandra's picture adorning almost every shop. Netaji is held in high esteem here by all classes of people.

There is not a single Bengali resident at Kovvur. Of course, a Gaudiya Math founded thirty years ago by a Bengali Vaishnava named Surya Siddhanta Saraswati stands in the north-eastern extremity of Kovvur. But now its management is in the hands of a Vaishnava who hails from the province of Orissa.

I stayed only for five days at Kovvur. But during this short stay in this holy place, watered by the Godavari and sanctified by the austerities of Rishi Gautama, I saw something of classical grandeur. For a few days I lived in the past, I visualised the Hindu Bharata.



Typical Koya girls

On my way back to Calcutta while passing over the Godavari bridge I looked back to have a last glimpse of Kovvur. The bathing ghat and the highway running parallel to the course of the Godavari was vivid before my eyes and the thought spontaneously sprang in my mind that veiled by the highway there on the bank of the Godavari stood the Veermandir, an institution without any outward grandeur, which might aptly be called the bedrock of true constructive and nation-building work, and I had not the least doubt that it would, in future, attract persons interested in humanitarian work from distant places.

MONTANA Mining and Cattle-raising State

By A. B. GUTHRIE, Jr.

In the north-western State of Montana, in the residents of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, population is small and space is vast. There is not a month in Montana without at least one day in which a man will be comfortable without a jacket. This is because of the warm, dry chinook winds from the west.



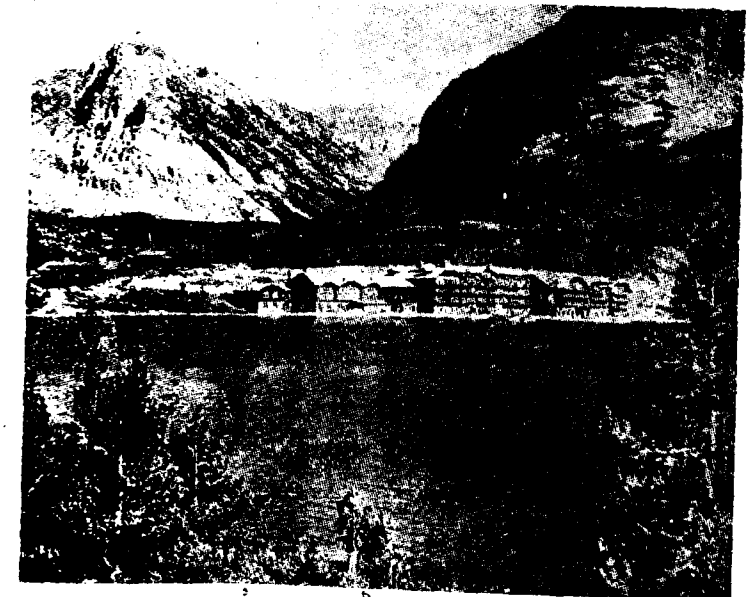
The State Capitol Building reaches towards the clear mountain sky in the north-western State of Montana

great. Human affairs are immediate and personal. The Montanan finds it hard to imagine a crowded world. This is a different world from the mid-western and eastern United States. Different circumstances bear on judgment in Montana. There one feels isolated, happily isolated, free of the frets of the present day. Montana is the third largest State in the United States. It has 146,977 square miles of badlands, high plains, foothills, mountain spurs, glaciated mountains, and valleys—with only three and one-half persons to the square mile. The State is rugged. It possesses a grim beauty. The grandeur of the place makes self-concern incongruous. Weather does too. The man whose livelihood depends on weather can never know what will happen to his prospects. Temperatures range from 80 degrees below zero Fahrenheit in winter to 110 degrees Fahrenheit in summer.

The Montanan realizes that nature is not overtly concerned with him, and he does not complain. This goes back to the early years of the north-west, around 1860, when the people united to maintain

Another element helps to mould the Montanan. It is the element of peril—peril from climate, animals, geography, and seclusion. In nearly any local cemetery can be found markers to sheep-herders who died in blizzards with their herds. There is also the danger from the great grizzly bear which still roams the State and which will attack even an armed man.

In Montana few men are rich. It is a State of livestock raisers, wheat ranchers, small businessmen, and the people who work for them. The only large companies are engaged in mining copper and in furnishing hydro-electric power. In Montana sentiment is vociferous for private enterprise and rugged individualism; yet there is reliance on group

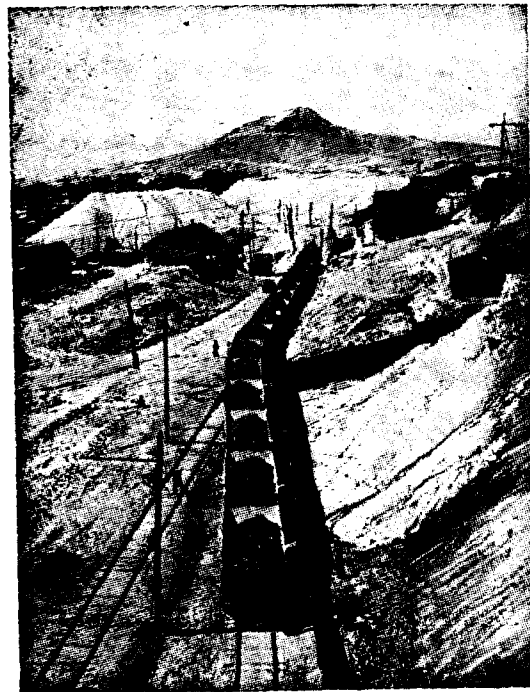


The rugged grandeur of the Rocky Mountains of North America is seen in Montana

their early settlements and to establish local law.

The sentiment for individuality is real. The early residents came from the eastern United States and from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Scotland, and Ireland. In Montana were open range free land, undiscovered ore, and unclaimed water.

The problem of conservation, of great importance to a great part of the State, is difficult in Montana because of the character of much of the land. Many square miles are level, with no trees and no barriers to the sweeping winds.



Copper ore leaves the mines on railroad cars

There is a great deal more to Montana than growing wheat or raising cattle and sheep. On the western slope of the Rocky Mountains cherries and apples grow. There is a sugar-beet industry and much of the State's story is the history of its mines. From a single hill near the city of Butte, the center of the huge copper-mining industry, has come nearly \$400,000,000 in copper, zinc, silver, gold, and manganese. How much remains nobody knows.

Labor unions made an early start in Butte. A group of 100 miners organized in 1878. By 1906 their union had 8,000 members. In following years the mine

operators agreed to spend millions of dollars in equipment and practices to reduce pneumonia, tuberculosis, and silicosis. Since then, in addition to more substantial benefits, the company has established for employees a clubhouse with a theater, bowling alley, library, and game rooms.

An enormous Federal program of river development is under way in Montana. A dam costing an estimated \$100,000,000 is planned. To be known as the Hungry Horse Dam, it will offer inexpensive electric power to industry.



Ranchers drive beef cattle across a stream in Montana

What most binds its people to the State of Montana are perhaps its natural charms. It is mountain water over shining rock. It is stars like campfires in the sky. It is the ripple of the west wind in the redtop grass. It is clouds among the peaks of glaciers. It is the magnificent roll of the badlands. It is the wild geese veering before a storm. It is the cool summer nights with the coyotes crying.

All this gives an informal cordiality to the people of Montana. It gives them a feeling of superiority to event, an undaunted attitude toward mischance, and an incurable optimism.—From *Holiday*

INDIAN ART AND INDIANS

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

ALL lovers of Indian Art should be grateful to Rai Krishnadasji who has built up this Museum, bit by bit, piece by piece, through many years of earnest and arduous labour and sacrifice. And no one knows better than I do the great value of this collection* and its many unique items of art-treasures representing the multifarious phases of the great history of Indian Painting throughout the ages. You are going to see today only one phase of this great treasure-house of Indian Art. And when I was asked yesterday to come and open this exhibition I was asking myself, why the organisers of this show have chosen to concentrate our attention on the Historical Portraits† which may or may not represent the best masterpieces of Indian pictorial art, and I was asking myself, why the supreme examples of other phases of Indian Painting in the collection (marvellous in their masterly colour compositions and linear designs, and of imaginative qualities of supreme spiritual values) have been ignored and why emphasis is being laid on the historical portraits, many of which could not represent the highest achievements of Indian pictorial art, though there are many historical pieces in other collections which are great masterpieces of art and deserve high praise as repositories of supreme aesthetic and spiritual values, apart from their values as interesting and important documents of history.

Scholars and historical students, as a rule, with some rare exceptions, are notoriously blind to the aesthetic, spiritual and technical values of the masterpieces of Indian Art and their supreme values as cultural expression of Indian civilization which have won the admiration of all connoisseurs of visual arts in Europe and America, and which leave, even now, the majority of our Indian scholars cold and un-responsive, because they have never learnt the A B C of the language of our visual arts and are unable to decipher the peculiar and difficult language of Indian Art or to interpret the great spiritual truth which they hide in the mysterious language of a new order of Beauty with a new system of grammar and rhetoric, and which are diametrically opposite to the cheap realistic and naturalistic languages of the general body of European Art. And I know several distin-

guished members of the Archaeological Department who still believe that *after all* the Gandhara School of Sculpture, with its realistic outlook, and accurate anatomical presentation is a superior expression of Indian Art to the great masterpieces of Gupta and post-Gupta sculptures of the mediaeval schools. This deprecatory attitude of the majority of our Indian scholars towards the great monuments of Indian Art is very typically illustrated in the first volume, just published, of the projected *History and Culture of the Indian People*, planned and sponsored by the Hon'ble Dr. K. M. Munshi, one of our distinguished Ministers, and President of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In the volume on the *Vedic Age* just published, there is not a single reference to the state of the cultivation of architectural, pictorial, or sculptural art, in the Vedic Age, though a chapter is devoted to Indus Valley culture and its visual arts. I am not claiming that there are many authentic vestiges of actual remains of visual arts of the Vedic Age. But I am sure my friend Dr. Vasudev Saran Agarwal will bear me out if I say that there are innumerable data in the Vedic texts, from which one could easily reconstruct a tolerable picture of the state of the cultivation of the Fine Arts during the Vedic Age.

The tragedy is that our great Indian scholars, very well grounded in all departments of knowledge, have neglected the data for the history of Indian culture that are buried in the records of Indian visual art, their motifs and formulations. Coomaraswamy and Havell have very clearly demonstrated that most of the later formulations of Indian Art are actually derived from Vedic sources and root-ideas. And my friend Dr. V. S. Agarwal has at least demonstrated in ancient Indian terracottas the unmistakable records of Vedic contributions. And to cite a very relevant matter, very pertinent to our Exhibition of Historical Portraits, the great French scholar Sylvain Levi, the father of Indian linguistic studies and of many phases of Indian culture, had recovered for us a series of portraits of Vedic Rishis, of Vasistha, Atri, Angirasa and Arundhati, which he believed were authentic likenesses handed down by continuous traditions. If we refuse to recognize in these effigies the proof of the practice of portrait-painting during the Vedic Age we shall be justified in refusing to accept even the inscribed portraits of Nur Jahan and other beauties of the Mughal harem as authentic historical documents and brand them as concoctions of the imagination of the Mughal portrait-painters. My friend Rai Krishna-

* Address delivered by Prof. O. C. Gangoly in opening the Exhibition of Historical Portraits at the Benares Hindu University on December 25, 1951.

† Derived evidently from the very rich collection of ancient Indian paintings of the Bharat Kala Bhavan which is now part and parcel of the Museum belonging to the Benares Hindu University.

dasji collected for me a valuable pictorial document, one of the treasures of this collection, which enabled me to contradict the contemporary evidence of Dr. Niccolò Manucci who had asserted that it was impossible to obtain actual likenesses of the inmates of the Mughal harems owing to the strict purdah observed to conceal the guarded flames of Mughal harems from the masculine gaze of portrait-painters.

It is popularly believed that the art of portrait-painting was introduced into India from Persia during the time of the Mughals. But all our Sanskrit scholars shall protest against this popular fallacy and unite their voices to assert loudly that there was a continuous history of the indigenous Indian schools of portrait-painting practised from remote antiquity, long before the advent of the Mughals. And our Sanskrit dramas of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods are full of continuous references to the art of portrait-painting. But the history of our indigenous schools of portrait-painting goes back to much earlier times. We have authentic literary proofs of the practice of portrait-painting during the time of Kaniska; I am ignoring the stone effigies of Kaniska and Huviska, very well-known to our antiquarian scholars, but I am referring to *painted portraits*. The history of Indian portrait-painting can be taken much further back, to the times of the Buddha himself, on the basis of the evidence of many passages of the text of the *Divyavadana*. But it can be taken still further back to pre-Buddhist times on the basis of the legend of Nagnajit recorded in the Tibetan translation of the text of the *Chitra-lakshana*, the original of which is now lost.

As regards the later history we are too familiar with the coin-portraits of the Gupta kings. But I have recently discovered in the famous Dasavatara Cave Inscription a distinct reference to numerous painted portraits of one of the Rastra-kuta kings, a reference to which has been missed by our scholars who have several times dealt with this great document of Rastra-kuta history, because most of our scholars do not care for the history of Indian Fine Arts and these references have no meaning or significance for them in setting forth the history of Indian culture in its many-faced revelations. I have been recently studying some valuable historical portraits from Rajasthan, bearing identifying inscriptions of the princes depicted, as well as the names of the artists who have drawn the portraits. From the large number of documents collected by Coomaraswamy and other scholars and a large number of Hindu portraits which have recently come to light, it is now

possible to present a connected history of the indigenous schools of portrait-painting, practised throughout the centuries, quite independent of the Mughal school of portraits imported from Persia. But this is not the time nor a suitable occasion to present even a summary history of the Indian art of portrait-painting.

But we cannot miss this opportunity to recognize and acknowledge our debt to various scholars, particularly to Dr. Steboulkine, Dr. Goetz, Dr. Coomaraswamy and Mr. Aravamuthan who have made valuable discoveries and contributed scholarly studies on various phases of the Iconography of Indian Historical Portraits, many of which are not known to our Indian scholars, having been published in various French and German journals. I am sure the distinguished curator of this Museum has put together a large number of portraits which should be of great use to our historical scholars and open out a new approach, a new vista to the many-faced temples and the shining shrines of Indian Art. I congratulate Rai Krishnadas for adopting the clever tricks of priest-craft, of offering tempting baits of historical data to the unwilling worshippers to persuade them to come and worship in his temple of Beauty. Even if they enter the temple of Indian Art through the back-door of historical approaches, they are sure to be converted into ardent devotees of the aesthetic merits of Indian Art, the finest revelations of Indian culture.

I have conscientious objection to make speeches in the immediate vicinity of pictures which have more valuable messages to deliver to us in their silent language of line and colour and which we frequently dishonour by our talkative habits, which prevent us from listening to the priceless messages, which I humbly claim, can never be gleaned, from the written or printed words of our books and cyclopaedias or the doubtful records of our inscriptions over which our scholars love to quarrel with their contradictory readings and interpretations. The clear and graphic records of our pictorial art are transparent in their meanings and intentions which offer unambiguous evidence and which are certainly above all manner of quarrel or of controversy.

I verily believe that it is much more interesting to look at pictures than to listen to such uninteresting talks about them. I have great pleasure in declaring this Exhibition open. May it lead to many brilliant moral, intellectual and spiritual consequences. *Asamambhah Subhaya bhabatu.*

THE SUN RISES AGAIN IN JAPAN

By P. K. BANERJEE, N.E.I. (Sweden)

It is thrilling, to walk round Tokyo's business centre Ginza. Not so much for its heavy traffic, its attractive shop-windows and show-cases exhibiting jewels, brocades, chinawares and teak-furniture having a cheap price, but rather for the unending stream of teeming shopping men and women. Ginza's come-back is something symbolical of the spirit of the Land of the Rising Sun. It demonstrates how in Showa's 20th year Japan has once again been able to stand on her own legs. The stream of pedestrians is just like that of any other big million-city, among whom may be seen Japanese women in wooden sandals, sauntering along making a rhythmic sound with their sandals striking against the pavement of the streets. Even the menfolk in Japan move about in short but quick paces. Everybody seems to be in a hurry. Everybody has got the feeling that it is but a question of racing with time, but still one can afford to wait a little for giving a courteous reply or for rendering help in some other way. Above everything else a Japanese must be very courteous in his or her behaviour. Discipline in the life of a Japanese is very rigorous, since he or she must learn how to show proper respect for elderly people, for relatives and for parents. Early in life a Japanese is inculcated with the very spirit of a severe discipline. Discipline is inherent in his or her nature.

At the street-corner the police is found to do his duty with dignified gestures of hand and with sharp and shrill blasts of his whistle. Now they no longer carry any sword with them. Instead they carry either pistols or short wooden batons. On a Western mind it makes rather curious impression to see their assumed air of dignity. But a Japanese may not notice it himself, because he is afraid of the police and has good reasons for being so. The police is the protector of all that remains of the Imperial military tradition. The police has been called to form the nucleus of a new army which is springing up mushroomlike, thanks to American backing. Scarcely five years after Japan took a solemn vow not to carry arms again a new army is now in the making.

As regards the bustling street-scenes in present-day Tokyo it may be said that big green tram cars heavily pressing forward through the traffic create a very interesting impression in a foreigner's mind. Until recently units of the occupational forces were allowed to travel free in these tram cars. Now however it is a very common sight to find them handing over 10-yen notes as fare to the conductors. Even in the olive-green army buses which go a long way in supplementing Tokyo's inadequate conveyance net one has got to pay something as fare. The occupation job is an unwellcome affair today.

Men and women are now covering their mouths with bandage-like pieces of cloth as a hygienic protection against infection. In a big city like Tokyo one cannot help breathing in bacilli. Hygiene is taught to boys and girls in schools. Almost everybody wears specs in Japan and the cause of their being myopic rather early in life is attributed to learning difficult Japanese characters in school-days. The written characters which like so many other things are a Chinese heritage have been the cause of a lot of trouble for the education-minded Japanese people. Compositors employed in a big newspaper press in Japan have to deal with some 6 to 8 thousand characters. An average educated person, however, tries to confine his knowledge within 1000 characters. The majority of the readers of newspapers cannot understand all the characters. The average reader can, therefore, understand only a fraction of what is actually printed in the paper and this has proved to be a national handicap. Even newspaper reporters cannot quite clearly describe that which he was told in an interview for the same reason. But when it comes to the question of understanding a subtle hint, the Japanese are more quick than Westerners.

Japanese women are also found to wear specs, but they are very few and that is because they were not required to learn so much as their men-folk. They do not learn more than just a few hundred characters. They are, however, found to use artificial teeth as their teeth decay rather early due to their frequently using the tooth-brush and a strong tooth-paste which is apt to damage the enamel of the teeth. It is also a common sight to see a Japanese gentleman growing a moustache. Perhaps the Japanese are the only Asiatic people having a good growth of beard. Sometimes they may be found to have long whiskers. School-boys in their teens wearing uniforms clip their hairs short like the Americans and the Germans.

In street-corners coloured advertisement-kiosks with the help of loud-speaker blare forth American slogans, in between reading out advertisement text: "All Right Louis Drop That Gun" is the dominant slogan of the day.

American soldiers drive up to Ginza in brand new models of petrol-driven "Foreigners Cab" having English-speaking chauffeurs. The Japanese, however, must remain contented with driving in ramshackle gas-driven taxi-cabs which are but a symbolic relic of the past. According to the latest report released by the occupation-authorities, the Japanese have now got the necessary permission for buying cars for personal use only. Till recently the sale of such cars was reserved only for foreigners. But the Japanese knew how to

circumvent these regulations, as a result of which both business men and the military posed as buyers of cars on behalf of their friends. It is now hoped that the Japanese will be the masters of their own house shortly and so will be in a position to pay back any good turn like that. The underground passages to the tube railways that were bombed during the war have now been reconstructed. The tube is a modern and rapid means of communication with shops and service-facilities of different types located underground. From scores of side quarters one can find one's way to the Ginza with the help of small arrow-marked road indicators. Ginza is the very throbbing heart of the town, to which everybody would like to find a way. In old Tokyo it was difficult even for the Japanese to find out the thing wanted. The new city-guide after the English pattern, introduced by the occupation-authorities was, therefore, hailed with enthusiasm even by the natives. It was, however, not possible to introduce the traffic co-ordination system prevailing in American towns in Tokyo itself, exactly in the same way as it could be done in Kyoto for obvious reasons, as the former city was built thousands of years ago in square patterns. But still as much as was possible had been done. The Royal Palace is situated apart in the centre of Tokyo as a shady island surrounded as it is by a moat and a high wall.

From this central point radiate A-B-C avenues in all directions as the spokes of a wheel. The gap between these avenues is filled up by streets bearing the numbers 1-2-3 as the finest threads of a communication cob-web. According to the ancient Japanese system, every quarter had its own number and every apartment within was numbered also according to its age. Just like in American towns telephone wires have been posted above the ground in Japanese towns. Between telegraph posts they look like fishing-net hung up for drying. Had the Japanese peasants continued with their revolt ever since the beginning of the 18th century against the introduction of all forms of Western technical inventions in their own country, telephone wires would have to be laid underground. The peasants' revolt of the 18th century originated in the superstitious belief that the telegraph could operate only when the wires were besmeared with a virgin's blood. The Japanese were so hideously hide-bound just about a century ago that in the countryside it was even found difficult to make any statistical record of the population. The country people had a firm belief, having a deep root in the queer idea that the authorities were out for mischief by kidnapping their maidens. This led to the tragic consequence that houses in Japan were numbered to mark the turn for the execution of the maidens of the different houses with a view to saving them from falling into dishonour at the hands of the government officials. Streets originating from or near the Ginza are flanked

on both sides with wooden huts having swing doors, made of parchment-like paper and illuminated by red paper lamps having black signs. The wooden huts serve either as tea or coffee houses, bathing establishments, restaurants or small Geisha hotels. Between them are, however, located cabarets and night-clubs of different types of elegance. These buildings originally belonged to those who were the first to recover from the effects of bombing. They used to cater for the pleasures of the soldiers, occupation-authorities and showed great cleverness in this art. They were shrewd enough to play the role of caterers before the occupation-authorities for looking after the needs of the soldiers. They, therefore, got top priority in obtaining all the necessary materials for effecting quick repairs to damaged buildings and they lost no time in going full ahead with their job. And so as if out of nothing sprang forth mushroomlike bars, night-clubs and similar other houses of entertainment galore, from the traditional Japanese Kabuki-theatre down to the simple camouflaged Geisha hotel. There was then even a question of reconstructing the famous Yoshimura, "the city without night," where two thousand girls used to live with the so-called "mamas" who used to hold big shares in this business with artists, suppliers and procurers and all types of other go-betweens. It was, as it were, a strictly isolated world having an atmosphere of eternal pleasure. It was a world which had its own language, its own morals, manners and its own hierarchy. But the plans for the construction of this paradise of pleasure have not yet been put in operation, in spite of the big Japanese financiers' tempting description of the possibilities for recreation and pleasure that the hard-pressed occupational bosses might get in that paradise. The gradual introduction of a new life of entertainment brought in its wake a sharp rise in the importation of young girls from all parts of the country and this, in spite of the fact, that the activity of the go-betweens, who were formerly allowed to look after the interest of this business, has been officially banned. These girls were bought very cheap from poor parents and were supplied as bar-tenders, dance-partners, society girls and sometimes even as pure prostitutes and attendants in bathing establishments. Filthy lucre was at the bottom of all this mischief. The right of franchise for the Japanese woman was introduced for the first time on the 10th of April, 1946, but it made little difference in her social status. A solitary exception is however formed by those groups of women who found employment either in the offices of the big cities or found some professional work elsewhere.

A woman in Japan is meant only to serve her man and to satisfy his whims and caprices. She must serve the opposite sex either in restaurants or in some other establishment and must ever help him to eat

and drink, if she is required to do so. If she works in a factory she will be in duty bound not to leave that factory within the period of contract signed by her parents with the management of the factory. During this period she must remain contented with the food served in the factory for factory hands and must sleep in the lodging supplied by the management. In almost every Japanese restaurant a guest is received by a girl, who fulfills all the duties of a hotel steward by taking out shoes from her master's feet and by helping him to take off his dress. She may even help him to don the Kimono and wear a pair of slippers. Then she will lay a bed for him on the floor, which is covered with mattresses. When serving food she does not neglect to supply her master with the *sake* and a dish of raw fish. After that she must check up whether the electric heater has been properly placed on the floor and is functioning properly or not. When the time for retiring comes, she prepares a hot-bath for her master and fills in the hot water bottles. In short, she must do everything for the comfort of her master.

The chimneys of factories in Japan are belching forth smoke again. It may sound incredible but it is nevertheless true that the boom in production reached in the course of the second-half of last year exceeded even that reached by the Japanese industry in the year 1940, when for an eventual attack on China and

the U.S.A. the Japanese authorities geared up production to the utmost capacity of all the factories of Japan, which numbered several thousands. It is, therefore, not at all to be wondered at that Ginzan's shopping housewives and the business people must stop now and then to express their heartfelt thanks to gods and to their good-natured and amiable emperor Hirohito, who has been responsible for all this prosperity of present-day Japan. Though in a way they should rather be thankful to events in the East, notably the Korean war for their being freed from American bondage. It would have been more apt, if instead of thanking Hirohito they turned their faces towards the East in sending their thanks to the North Korean capital Pyongyang, Peking and the Kremlin for their present happy position. But for the events of historic importance taking place in the Far East and for which both Peking and the Kremlin are responsible, Japan would have still remained a vassal of the U.S.A.

Now she is emerging forth as an ally of the U.S.A. and is being aided by the latter in rearming to ensure peace in the Far East as the bulwark of defence against the rising tide of communist menace from the Asiatic mainland. The present phase in her emancipation from foreign domination illustrates vividly that virtue can not but have her own reward.

—:O:—

FUTURE OF PART 'C' STATES (Contributed)

At the beginning of September last, Parliament passed the Part C States Bill adopting a policy which would allow the largest practicable measure of autonomy and responsible government for the areas specified in Part C of the First Schedule of the Constitution of India. The Part C States are Centrally administered areas and include Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura, and Vindhya Pradesh, together comprising an area of 77,000 sq. miles and a population of 8 millions.

BRIEF HISTORY OF PART C STATES

When the integration of the 562 states in the country took place, after the transfer of power by the British, the part C States were formed into separate entities and owing to certain administrative or strategic consideration or some other special reasons, the Centre assumed direct responsibility for the administration of these territories. Ajmer, Coorg and

Delhi were already Centrally administered areas when the Indian Constitution became operative.

Ajmer—then including Merwara—was formed into a Chief Commissioner's Province in 1871 under the Forest Department of the Government of India, the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana becoming the Chief Commissioner. In 1881, the Resident in Mysore was appointed the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. Before October 1912, Delhi province was a part of the Punjab, when it was erected as a separate province under a Chief Commissioner. The Delhi Chief Commissionership was enriched in 1915 by the addition of a tract of land in the United Provinces comprising 65 villages. Under the Constitution of India, Ajmer, Coorg and Delhi have continued to remain as Chief Commissioners' Provinces due to the fact that in Ajmer and Coorg there has been no unanimous wish among the people for their merger with the contiguous territories and in the case

of Delhi, it is the federal capital and the Centre has always felt the necessity of reserving in their hands full power regarding vital matters of its administration.

The remaining seven Part C States—*Bhopal, Bilaspur, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh* were created by the late Sardar Patel for certain special reasons.

The United State of *Vindhya Pradesh* consisting of 35 states known as Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand states is by far the largest in area and population of the Centrally administered areas. Of the total area of the state, forest forms about half and the revenue from it to the state exchequer amounted to Rs. 70 lakhs, which means about a third of the total receipts in 1950-51. Even so, the state of affairs in the forest administration was, not in the distant past, far from satisfactory and the forests were in a deplorable condition. *Vindhya Pradesh* is normally a surplus area, in spite of the fact that one-fourth of the culturable area is lying waste. Rich in unexploited mineral resources, the state remains one of the most backward regions in Central India. It is not well-served by railways and communication is mostly by road. Metalled roads are few and far between and during the monsoon, parts of the state are sometimes cut off from the rest. Much headway has to be made in the development of the state as well as in raising the tone of its administration. The state was, at the outset, a Part B State. Continued dissensions and mutual recriminations amongst public men were the order of the day and the ministers failed to inspire confidence amongst the people. The situation reached such a stage that the Centre was forced to bring its administration under its direct control with effect from the 1st January, 1950.

With an area of about 7,000 sq. miles and a population of 8 lakhs, *Bhopal* was one of the major Princely States brought under the administration of the Centre on June 1, 1949. There has been popular demand for the merger of the state with the adjoining territories. However, the Merger Agreement with *Bhopal* specifically states that "the administration of the State of *Bhopal* shall be taken over and carried on by the Government of India and that for a period of five years next after the date of transfer, the State will be administered as a Chief Commissioner's Province."

Bilaspur, a tiny state in the East Punjab Hill States with an area of 453 sq. miles and a population of a lakh was taken over by the Government of India in October 1948 in view of the location of the head-works of the Bhakra Dam in the state. The Project which is of an all-India importance will substantially affect the state, a major portion of which will be under water.

Himachal Pradesh comprises 21 Punjab Hill States covering an area of about 11,000 sq. miles. The forest

area constitutes more than a third of the state whose most important source of income is from the forests. Introduction of agrarian reforms in *Himachal Pradesh* is the crying need of the day. The state has no well-developed roadways and is as economically backward as any other Part C States.

The three border states—*Tripura, Manipur and Kutch*—have been formed into Chief Commissionerships because of their strategic importance and their security has been given top priority. Further, in the case of *Kutch*, the problem of agrarian reforms and the development of road communication call for immediate attention and the Centre's active assistance is imperative to clear the arrears in its development.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

During the early days of the British rule in India, the Centrally administered areas were called Non-regulation Districts, since they were originally treated as outside the scope of the Regulations enacted by the Governments of the Presidencies. The Scheduled Districts Act of 1874 stated that no general enactments would by themselves apply to these areas except in so far as any provision of any enactment was declared by a notification of the local Government to be applicable to them; otherwise the regulations previously enacted for them would remain effective. Several of the areas under this Act were, by the passage of time, taken out of the operation of the Act, one of them being Assam (excluding tribal areas) which became a Governor's Province. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Chief Commissioners' Provinces comprised, among others, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg and Delhi. When the new Centrally merged States were created after the transfer of power, the Extra-Provincial Jurisdiction Act, 1947 was applied to them, enabling the Centre to exercise powers of administration and legislation over these units. The States' Merger (Chief Commissioners' Provinces) Orders, 1949 and 1950 raised the administration of the new Centrally merged areas to the level of Chief Commissioners' Provinces. All enactments including notifications issued under the Extra-Provincial Jurisdiction Act, which were in operation at the commencement of the Acts continued to remain in force till amended or repealed. In December, 1949, Parliament applied the more important Central enactments to the newly created Chief Commissioners' Provinces.

The Indian Constitution enumerates ten Chief Commissioners' Provinces and the Government of Part C States Act, 1951, as passed by the Parliament in September, 1951, is a mile-stone in the progress of democracy in these areas. Though the Act does not usher in an era of full-fledged Self-Government in Part C States, it makes, no doubt, an honest beginning in the democratisation of these units by associating non-officials in their executive set-up. While the Act

excludes altogether *Bilaspur* from the scope of its provisions, it provides for the three border States a Council of Advisers to assist the Chief Commissioner in the discharge of his functions. For the remaining each of the six Part C States, the Act makes provision for a legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers.

The Legislative Assembly in each of the six States is empowered to enact laws for the whole or any part of the State with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the State List or in the Concurrent List. So far as Delhi is concerned, certain vital subjects with respect, among other things, to public order, powers of municipal corporations and certain public utility authorities are beyond the pale of the law-making powers of local Assembly. Any bill passed by the Assembly is presented to the Chief Commissioner who reserves it for the President's assent. The President may give his assent to the bill or return it for reconsideration either *in toto* or in part.

As regards the administration of Part C States, Article 239(1) of the Constitution of India states:

"A State specified in Part C of the First Schedule shall be administered by the President acting, to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant-Governor to be appointed by him or through the Government of a neighbouring State."

The Chief Commissioner is the representative of the President in the Centrally administered areas. His powers are wide and multifarious. So long these areas remain a separate entity in the Constitution and so long as the ultimate responsibility for their good administration lies with the Centre, the Chief Commissioner or the Lieutenant-Governor is expected to take more active part in the administration than a Governor or a Raj-Pramukh. The Chief Commissioner is in the Cabinet, presides at the Cabinet meetings and plays his part not merely as the head of the State but also as a responsible minister. He summons, prorogues and dissolves the Assembly. He may address or send messages to the Assembly. He takes part in the proceedings of the House. In respect of each financial year, he presents to the House a statement showing the estimated receipts and expenditure of the State for that year. He is aided and assisted by a Council of Ministers except where he has to discharge a judicial or quasi-judicial function. In the case of difference of opinion between the Chief Commissioner and his Council of Ministers, the matter is referred to the President whose decision is final. In the State of Delhi, every decision taken by the Council of Ministers in respect of New Delhi will be subject to the Chief Commissioner's concurrence. The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

FUTURE

The Part C States differ greatly from one another both in size and population. They present different

stages of progress in their economic development and some have special problems to face. Generally they are backward. The people of these areas cannot be denied their share in the administration merely because the states are small and backward and the expenditure involved in the association of the people in the execution set-up is much more than they can bear. Speaking in Parliament in the course of the debate on Part C States Bill, the Minister for States said that if the revenue and expenditure of the ten Part C States, in regard to matters on the States List were isolated, then together these ten States had at present a deficit of Rs. 5 crores. By bringing into being Legislatures, he estimated, this would be increased by Rs. 50 lakhs. However, if democratic institutions are to be developed and if people of the Centrally administered areas are to play their part in the administration of their states, such items of expenditure are inevitable. So long they exist as separate entities in the Constitution, these areas, should, by evolution, have the type of responsible government as is prevalent in Part A and Part B States and the solution of the recurring financial liability is correlated to the tackling of the problems of the Part C States from the long-range point of view.

As soon as the administration of these areas became the responsibility of the Government of India, the Centre had to deal with five-fold problems in the Part C States, viz., maintenance of law and order, reorganisation of administration, introduction of an independent judiciary, economic development and development of democratic institutions. Accordingly, the administration of Government departments was completely overhauled. Courts of Judicial Commissioners have been set up and brought to the standard laid down in the Constitution for the Part C States. Schemes for bringing under cultivation waste and kankar-infested lands in *Bhopal*, transformation of the minor port of Kandla in *Kutch* into a major port, building of bridges on existing roads and construction of new roads and railways in the states of *Vindhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Kutch*, making provision for medical and educational facilities in all the backward units have been taken up and are progressing satisfactorily. In short, the Centre has been doing much in uplifting the Part C States to the level of Part A and Part B States.

The ultimate and practical solution of their problems lies, however, not in their separate existence, since, from the financial and economic standpoints as well as from the wider interests of the country, responsible government for small units will encourage in them separatism and breed a sense of insularity, but in their integration with the adjoining areas with which they have geographical and other affinities. In respect of Delhi, however, merger cannot be resorted to since the Centre would like to have exclusive powers over the administration of the Capital and would not like

to share power with any other subordinate authority. So far as merger or alteration of territories in respect of other Part C States, Article 3 of the Constitution lays down that

"No Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless, where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the boundaries of any state or states specified in Part A or Part B of the First Schedule or the name or names of

any such state or states, the views of the Legislature of the State or as the case may be, of each of the states, both with respect to the proposal to introduce the Bill and with respect to the provisions thereof have been ascertained by the President."

The sentiments and wishes of the people of Part C States can be ascertained only after the elections when the Legislatures on the basis of adult franchise will come into existence.

—:O:—

THE ASIATIC ELEMENT IN EUROPEAN THOUGHT AND CULTURE

By BUDDHA PRAKASHI, M.A., LL.B.

THIS is a commonplace of history that modern European civilization is directly derived from and inspired by Greece. "We Europeans are the children of Hellas," writes Fisher at the beginning of his survey of the history of Europe. The main trends of modern thought, empiricism as developed by Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, etc., and rationalism as expounded by Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel and others are vitally connected with Greek thinkers. The sack of Byzantium by the Turks, the consequent migration of Graeco-Christian scholars to Italy and their teachings in Padua were, no doubt, the chief causes of the Aristotelian renaissance in European thinking. Especially, the 4th of November 1497 is a notable landmark in the development of modern thought, since on that date Prof. Leonius taught the philosophy of Aristotle in the lecture-hall of the Padua University in the same language in which Aristotle himself taught it 17 centuries back in Athens. But Greek thought and philosophy had seeped in European mind through the study of Arab thinkers long before the lectures of Leonius, Gaza and George Scholarius. In Padua itself, an illustrious band of professors, steeped in Arabic philosophy, taught and translated the works of Muslim thinkers, especially Ibn Rushd (Averroes). Paul de Venis (died 1429 A.D.) and others of his times were the most shining stars of this brilliant galaxy that illuminated the West with the light of Islamic thought. In France, the University of Paris became the seat of Arabic learning and produced Siger Brabante (1284 A.D.), the best known exponent of Rushd. Frederick II (1240 A.D.) learnt Arabic, espoused Arabic culture, established a library in Sicily and a University in Pimples for the teaching and study of Arabic philosophy, engaged Arabic scholars like Michael Scott and those belonging to the Taibun family to translate Arabic works into Latin and thus became the great protagonist of the new thought in Europe. Almost at the same time, the school of the Franciscans, started in 1219 A.D., which became very popular because of the simple living and high ideals of

its followers, was vigorously preaching the tenets of its doctrine that was derived from Muslim writers. Roger Bacon (1214-92 A.D.), the father of modern science and Don Scotts, a great exponent of Rushd, were the most brilliant products of this sect. Many other scholastic thinkers were similarly influenced through voluminous Hebrew translations of Arabic works by the new fashions of thought set by Arabic philosophers.

These sweeping movements radiating from Sicily and Spain were shaped by historians like Ibnul Qutiya (d. 977 A.D.) and Ibn Hayyan (d. 1076 A.D.), geographers like Al-Bakri (d. 1094 A.D.) and Al-Idrisi (d. 1154 A.D.), biographers, like Ibn-Bashkuwal (d. 1183 A.D.) and Aba-Jaffar-al-Dabbi (d. 1203 A.D.), poets like Ibn Zaydun (d. 1071 A.D.), Al-Mutamid (d. 1091 A.D.), scholar-scientists like Ibn Hazm (d. 1064 A.D.) and philosophers like Ibn Tufail (d. 1125 A.D.), Ibn Baa'ja (d. 1138 A.D.), Yusuf-Ibn-Yahya (d. 1191 A.D.), Ibn Maimun (1135-1208 A.D.) and greatest of all Ibn Rushd (1126-98 A.D.) and his followers. Most of these thinkers were migrating to Provence, Barcelona, Saragosa, Marseilles and other places in Spain, France and Italy after the sack of Cordova in the last crusade. These thinkers and, specially Rushd reinterpreted Aristotle in the light of earlier Islamic thought as formulated by Razi (926 A.D.), Kindi (870 A.D.), Farabi (870-950 A.D.), Sena (980-1037 A.D.), Al-Beruni (973-1048 A.D.) and others. Rushd's treatment of Nautic Nous (*nafs-e-natiqa*), the primeval ocean of consciousness, and his insistence on its precedence in the scheme of being, par takes more of the nature of Eastern idealism than the materialism of Aristotle. In fact, his predecessors upon which he drew, were born and bred in an atmosphere of Irano-Arabic cultural synthesis that was deeply instilled in their thought and perspectives. Razi belonged to Re in Western Iran, Kindi lived in Baghdad a name which is probably a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Bhagvaddatta (God-given), Farabi flourished in Vasiya near River Amu and Bu-Ali-Sena studied a

Bokhara, a name which appears to have been given to this place because of the situation of the famous "Navavihara" of the Buddhists. This region was full of philosophies and its whole environment was instinct with a deep speculative spirit. Hundreds of great Buddhist universities, crowded with thousands of learned Buddhist scholars, were flourishing in every corner of this land as evidenced by the itinerary of Hiuen-Tsang and the discovery of the remains of countless shrines, tope, images, paintings and Pothis in the ruins of Kucha, Miran and the Tarim Basin and other places. (See Sir Aurel Stein in *Revealing India's Past*, published by the India Society, London, 1940). It was also there that the boundaries of Islamic and Tibetan Kingdoms met and marched together and their mutual relations and policies were shaped. A treaty was patched up between the two and thereby the Buddhist and Mohammadan cultures embraced each other. Earlier, Chinese, Iranic, Hellenic, Indian and even barbaric elements co-mingled there in that vast religious amalgam which we call Mahayana Buddhism. In the 8th and 9th centuries this great synthetic and syncretising sect was breathing a spirit of free thinking in Islam and inspiring a new philosophy of life in it. The asceticism and tenets of the followers of Mahayana penetrated into the schools of the Sufis and the Akhwan-us-safa and produced the philosophers mentioned above. In particular, their leader, Farabi hailed from a family which was recently converted to Islam from Buddhism, hence he lived like monks and clothed himself like a Bhikkhu. His life was a model of simplicity and high-thinking. His disciples Abu Aadi, Abu Sulaiman and Mohammad Sajistani became the forerunners of a new sect in Baghdad, which denounced all distinctions of caste and creed and preached a message of pious and peaceful living which was in keeping with the spirit of Buddhism.

This atmosphere of thought was so tense that even the orthodox-minded Al-Gazali (1059-1111 A.D.) was shaken by doubts, which prompted him to wander like a Sufi in rags and blankets from place to place. This spirit evoked also some fine poetry in Persian and worked a wonderful development in all humanities. The animating force of this environment was, as said above, Mahayana Buddhism as moulded by the great Indian masters Ashvaghosa (cir 78 A.D.), Asanga (cir 350 A.D.), Vasubandhu (cir 400 A.D.), Dignaga (cir 425 A.D.) and Dharmakirti (cir 600 A.D.). The Vijnanavada of these thinkers, which influenced the Muslim philosophers, Farabi and Rushd, and through them, the Franciscans of Europe, was an adaptation of pristine Buddhist empiricism with the idealism of Brahmanic thinkers. While it accepted the principle of flux and change (*Kshanika-vada*), the theory of the chain of causation (*Pratityasamutpada*), the doctrine of experiment and scrutiny (*Samyakdrastivada*) and the principle of negation of anything permanent or immanent over what is fleeting and progressing (*Anityavada*), preached by the Buddha, it blended them with the concepts of Over-Self, (Parmatman),

Eternal Noumenalism (Brahman) and transcendental universalism of the Upanishads and other schools of Brahmanic philosophy. Thus, it effected a synthesis between two rival schools of thought; and this synthesis was the prototype of the synthesis that Farabi attempted of the thoughts of Aristotle and Plato and other thinkers of Islamic, Indian and Hellenic philosophies. In this way, Hindu thought, filtering through Islamic thought and mingling with Hellenic and Christian thought, shaped modern scientific thought. It leads to a symbiosis of ideal and real attitudes and of a sense of ultimate values and a pursuit of mundane objectives, which lies at the root of the progress of civilization in our age.

As in the realm of thought, so also in that of inspiration Asia gave an effective lead to Europe. In recent times, Father Joseph, the preceptor of Cardinal Richelieu, was inspired for his noble mission by a little-known book, *Barlaam and Josaphet*, which some wandering monks left at Le Trembley. This book was the Greek version of some Arabic translation of an Indian work relating to the life of Gautama Buddha. Describing the effect of this book on Father Joseph, his biographer Aldous Huxley writes: "It was as though the voice of God was speaking from its pages confirming him in his resolution and for his consolation expatiating upon the peace and happiness of spiritual life."—*Grey Eminence*, p. 26.

Earlier, Aristoxenus and Eusebius refer to the presence in Athens as early as the 4th century B.C. of Indians who discussed philosophy with Socrates. There was also some belief sometime that, Christ came to Taxila and studied in the Buddhist Vihara there. This may be wrong, but the fact that Christianity was influenced by Buddhism which left its mark "on the heretical gnostic sects of some of the more orthodox forms of Christian teaching" is well-established. (V. A. Smith: *The Oxford History of India*, p. 188). Buddhist influence on Christianity was so pronounced that Christian missionaries were known as Baudddhas. In a recently discovered Malayalam manuscript, two Christian missionaries who came from Baghdad and converted the Chera King of Cranganore to Christianity are described as Baudddhas. This shows that in popular estimation, there was very little difference between Buddhism and Christianity and when the Indian King embraced the latter he was fully sure that he was doing nothing against his national culture and religion.—(See T. K. Joseph: "An Indian Christian, date A.D. 317," *Journal of Indian History*, April 1948).

The sect of the Essenes, a small Jewish community on the shores of the Dead Sea, and the Therapeutae (I think Therapantia), a similar order existing near Alexandria, which were the precursors of Christianity and its church, were modelled after the Buddhist doctrine and establishment.—*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. V, p. 401; Vol. XII, 318-19).

Besides being an important element in European thought and religion, Asia contributed a great deal to the growth and development of modern European culture.

The present culture of science, democracy and industrialism has, in all appearances, emanated from Europe. In the period of Renaissance which ranges from the 12th to the 15th centuries, A.D. there was a spirit of enquiry and discovery in Europe, that led to the opening of the New World and the cultivation of positive science. But a culture does not grow in vacuum or emerge suddenly as Minerva from the head of Zeus. It has a particular chrysalis within which it matures before it comes out in the world of objects and realities. To study, therefore, the culture of the Renaissance it is necessary to examine the matrix within which it grew. Glancing at Europe of that age we find a patchwork of squabbling states, derelict economies, effete religions and broken institutions, which crumbled to pieces as invasions occurred. All over the continent the darkness of medievalism was deeply brooding. As seen above, she was shaken into awakening by the impact of Arabic thought, and through it, of Greek and Indian learning, and in consequence she embarked upon an age of intellectual activity. But mere flights of thought cannot carry any Columbus to the golden lands of the new world. An apparatus of sailing, a mariner's compass and a tradition of great voyages is required for that purpose. Likewise, the printed book and the written paper are required for the dissipation of medieval gloom from the minds of men through the spread of knowledge. These things and many others of their kind came to Europe through a band of Eastern invaders, the Mongols.

These Mongols, who battered into Europe up to Kiev (1240 A.D.) and Lower Silesia (1241 A.D.) and overran Russia, Poland and Germany were impelled by a cataclysmic upheaval in the plains of Central Asia. In the 11th and 12th centuries, Asia was shaken by a great commotion. Mighty movements of masses of men, convulsive contacts between nomadic and settled ways of life and giant upsurges of expansive forces of culture characterized this vast cradle of civilization. The Mongols, moving north and south with the swinging pastures of the Steppes were organized by Changiz Khan into a disciplined bellicose people, who swept over the vast plains from one end to the other, and spread the Chinese and with it the Indian culture which they had imbibed, far and wide. The real nature of these Mongols is, in fact, hidden in the dust and blood of wars to such an extent that in popular estimation they are scourges and terrors of civilization. But they had a nobler aspect. They were a rational people *par excellence* and had a receptive and inquisitive bent of mind. They were steeped in the tolerant traditions of China and Ser-India. Hiuen-Tsang relates how a Tartar Khan listened to his

discourses with eagerness and adopted the religion that he preached. The land, in which the Mongols lived and moved, was full of Indian colonies teeming with numberless followers of Buddhism. Chokkuka in the region of modern Yarkand, Shailadesha in the region of Kashgar, Godana in the region of Khotan, Chalmadan in the region of Cher-chen, Bharuka in the region of Uch-Turfan, Kuchirajya in the region of Kuchar and Agni-desha in the region of Karashaher were the chief centres of Buddhist culture and learning. Volumes of old texts of dramas, medical treatises, astronomical and mathematical works, parables, stories and scriptures have been unearthed from the sand dunes of these regions by modern scholars. The Mongols moving in these regions had thoroughly assimilated this culture. Hence their dealings with the world were characterized by broad tolerance, which was a novelty in those days of stiff-necked fanaticism. Their capital at Karakoram was full of representatives of every nation and religion. Christian envoys, Buddhist priests, Mohammadan divines, Parisian Italian and Chinese artisans, Byzantine and Armenian merchants and Arab and Indian astronomers were present there. They were open to all religions and cultures. In 1269 A.D. Kublai Khan sent a mission to the Pope with the intention of finding some common mode of action with Western Christendom. He was also greatly influenced by the teachings of the Tibetan Buddhist scholar Saka Pandit and hence got the entire Buddhist canon translated into Tuharien language. The Mongols regarded the Dalai Lama as their guru and gave him the land of Tibet as gift. Mangu Khan also had numerous Nestorian Christians at his court and respected all religions alike. Under these rulers, the Mongols developed a great regard for Chinese manners and had adopted the military techniques, the use of gun-powder and fire-arms, the fashion of printing books on paper, the use of the compass, the science of heating with coal and gas and the knowledge of enamel and lacquer from China. Wherever they went they diffused a knowledge of these things and Europe especially owed them these basic requisites of scientific research. The travels of Marco Polo (1298 A.D.) presented new perspectives to European minds and his glowing description of the golden lands of the East lured Columbus and others toward distant Eldorados. Thus, the facile story of Europe's geographical and scientific discoveries is only an epilogue to the tale of the culture of Sino-Indic East. Without the latter the first cannot at all be understood or explained. *

* This article is a part of the first chapter of my book, *Toynbee's Philosophy of History*, to be shortly published.

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

GANDHI AND MARX: By Kishorlal G. Mashruwala. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1951. Pp. viii + 112. Price Re. 1-8.

Shri K. G. Mashruwala, who is a renowned exponent of Gandhian philosophy, has tried to present in this booklet his views regarding the outstanding differences between the philosophies of Gandhi and Marx. He has come to the conclusion that, ultimately, the latter spring from the reliance of one on non-violence and of the other on violence for the achievement of their ends.

The reader will, however, be prone to feel that Marxism has been presented in an unjustifiably static character, while one or two very significant aspects of Gandhiji's political or economic ideas have been similarly left out. Thus, for example, the discussion on trusteeship should have included Gandhiji's ideas on the inheritance of property, without which the exhortation to become a trustee reduces itself to no more than a mere moral exhortation, without having much of an effect upon the existing structure and concept of private property.

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM: By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1951. Pp. xi + 165. Price Rs. 2.

The present collection should form one of the most important additions to Gandhian literature. It contains Gandhiji's thoughts on such questions as the Distribution of Wealth, Capital and Labour, Strikes, the Zemindary system, Communism and so on. Where whole articles were not available, the Editor has chosen to give extracts from his writings, speeches or reports of interviews when they bear upon the question at issue.

On the whole, the selections have been well made, and succeed in giving a consistent picture of Gandhiji's socialistic ideals as they shaped themselves under the demands of non-violence.

INDIA OF MY DREAMS: By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, 1947. Pp. vii + 129.

Shri R. K. Prabhu has brought together in this booklet Gandhiji's writings on a large number of topics. Gandhiji wanted to build up a new society and a new life through his experiments in India. His thoughts on this subject have been arranged in a series of chapters for the general reader.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

GLIMPSES OF DAKKAN HISTORY: By M. Rama Rao. Orient Longmans Ltd. Pp. 159. Price Rs. 5.

This is a short popular sketch of the political history of the Deccan region (in its stricter sense of trans-Vindhyan India excluding the extreme south) under its successive dynasties from the earliest to modern times. Though originality is not to be looked for in such a work, it has on the whole the qualities of lucid exposition and accuracy to its credit. This last statement however is subject to some exceptions. Thus the treatment of the Satavahana dynasty (Ch. IV) requires a thorough revision, as the author sticks to the old and discredited theory of its duration and chronology, its original home and so forth: it suffers likewise from inaccuracies such as the reference to the conquests of Satkarni II, not to speak of the omission of king Krishna from the dynastic list. The author's repeated reference to the *Traikutas* (pp. 26, 28) is unfortunate, while his account of Samudragupta's defeat of the Bharasivas (p. 29) appears to rest on no surer basis than the similarity of names. There are a few misprints such as Suvarnagin (p. 18), subha and Tapati (p. 142) and Asaf Jha (pp. 134, 151). The work stops abruptly and unaccountably with the middle of the 19th century. The complete want of diacritical marks is regrettable.

The paper, print and general get-up of the book are good. It contains, besides, three maps, a select bibliography and a good index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

PARTNERS: UNITED NATIONS AND YOUTH: By Eleanor Roosevelt and Helen Ferris. Sole Distributors: The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta 12. Price Rs. 2.

No world ideal can be built up with success unless the spirit of the ideal is imbibed by the rising generation, the youths in their teens. The hopes and dreams for the United Nations that is to be, the way the people of the world work together in their international organisation should be understood correctly and clearly by the youth of the world if strengthening the foundation of the U.N. is really desired. It is gratifying to find that Mrs. Roosevelt has taken upon her frail shoulders this arduous task and produced a book, with Helen Ferris as joint editor, which, to say the least, is magnificent. It gives a clear impression of the various activities of the U.N. in a charming way which must be attractive to our youths in their teens. Graphic accounts of the activities of the U.N. in its various departments in the development of food, health and education find place in the book. We

believe the book will command the widest possible circulation. The responsibility for distribution has been placed in worthy hands.

D. B.

TWO NEW PALA RECORDS: By Manoranjan Gupta, B.Sc. Published from 209-C Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. 19 + 2.

The present brochure under review contains the Sanskrit texts of the Belwa copper-plates inscriptions of Mahipaladeva and Vighrahaladeva with an introduction in which the author sets forth the circumstances of the discovery of the epigraphs, their find-place and focusses attention on certain problems such as (a) what was the "original place" of the *Kaivartas*, (b) where lay *Sahasanga*, the Jayaskandhavara of Mahipaladeva and *Panchanagari*? (c) wherefrom did the Brahmins like the donee Jivadhara Sarman come here? (d) how was the service in the Ganesh temple kept up?

The writer is not a professional teacher of history. It is therefore all the more creditable that he has attempted to light up an obscure corner by steeping himself in the epigraphic lore of ancient Bengal. One may not agree with his brief for the identification of *Panchanagar* with modern *Pachbibi*, of *Sahasanga* with *Godagari* or the identity of *Paundra* with *Pundarka*, yet the wealth of topographical detail supplied by him about Belwa—its situation within an inner ring of twenty-two fortalices (*gadi*), hemmed by watery barrier almost on all sides—points to the place as having been the headquarters of the *Kaivarta* power. *Sannakavartabritti* warrants the better meaning of "in the neighbourhood of *Kaivarta settlement*," not jagir or property as Mr. Gupta would have us believe. If it is so, credit goes to him for having spotted out the seat of the *Kaivarta* power lying amidst water-logged marshes and jungle-clad mounds of earth. We feel confident that this brochure, enriched with diagrams, maps and plates, will be welcome to all lovers of Bengal history. Opinions printed in the back cover should be deleted in the next edition and the name and specific issue of the journals in which the epigraphs were first published be added at least in the footnote.

N. B. Roy

HINDUSTAN HAMARA OR OUR INDIA: By Anthony Elenjimmittam. Orient Book Company, Calcutta 12. Aug., 1949. Price Rs. 5.

The author of this delightful book presents here the third of a series written in a vein of poetical rhapsody, carried occasionally in verse and dramatic form which breaks out in a spontaneous manner. It brooks no restriction in spite of division into chapters, but glides off from subject to subject, harping on the right sort of patriotism, inclusive by its very nature, not exclusive. The varied and miscellaneous reading which the writer has at his command is used in a number of pointed references, and all this heightens the effect. Very rarely is there a picture or sentiment that may be taken exception to, like that on p. 106, and the reviewer feels tempted to say Amen when the writer says: "Now is come the time for all Indians, worthy of their royal citizenship of this Aryavarta, of this ancient Bharat, this *Hindustan Hamara*, to shed all fears and sense of helplessness and despondency, all covetousness and mean grabbing instinct, of disruptive lusts after power and pleasures, and to help themselves and their immortal land to reach the heights that are her due."

P. R. Sen

DAWN OF RENASCENT INDIA: By Dr. Kalkinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Nagpur University. Pp. 11 + 127 + vi. Price not mentioned.

The book contains five chapters, a Bibliography as well as an Index. These chapters formed the subject-matter of the Mahadeo Hari Watheodkar Memorial Lectures of the Nagpur University which the author delivered in February and March, 1950.

The author has traced in the book our social history of the first century (1757-1857) of the British rule. The latter half of this century was a glorious period for Bengal. And in any account of Indian renaissance, she necessarily comes in prominent colours. The non-Bengali writers are often found to ignore or overlook the pioneer attempts of the Bengalis in the spheres of education, culture, social reform, literature and politics. This is no less due to their ignorance. We, therefore, congratulate the author for this brochure, which has brought out the activities of our immediate forbears in great relief. He has, however, not forgotten to give an estimate of the endeavours of other provinces, particularly Bombay and Madras in this direction in course of the narrative.

Of the subjects dealt with in this book, some deserve our special commendation. In 'Background and Genesis,' the author has given a masterly survey of the social and political condition of Bengal at the time of the transference of power from the Moslem to the British hands. "Out of evil cometh good." The troubles and sufferings of the late eighteenth century gave birth to an age which was enviable for any country or people. This led to the re-discovery of our Indian self. The Sanskrit studies of the nineteenth century at home and abroad not only unfolded the glorious past of the Hindus, but the treasures of knowledge, brought to light in consequence of these studies, opened out new channels of thought and enquiry for the world savants. In 'Discovery of the Past,' Dr. Datta has thrashed out these things fairly and a bit elaborately, too. Other three chapters deal with the 'new education' and the various activities consequent on the cultural impact of the West. In one of these the author has tried to give a running account of the literary and scientific organisations, and new trends: literature, and in another, of social reform. These three chapters constitute the vital portion of the book and require particular scrutiny.

In an attempt of the social history of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India, especially Bengal, results of the new school of research during the last two decades may be largely drawn upon with profit. A synthetic account of this period has now been rendered possible. If the author could have rest satisfied to pen down a synthetic account, he would have been able to do sufficient justice to the subject. But trying to do it otherwise, the formidable bibliography, running up to seven pages, and the bewildering array of footnotes have been of little service to him for presenting things correctly and accurately. Wrong dates, wrong names of places, newspapers, institutions and persons, exploded theories and untenable notions abound in this small brochure. Let us mention only a few. Raja Rammohun Roy's school could not have been founded in '1816' (p. 18). The Academic Association was in a moribund state even in 1839, and nobody heard of it since. The birth-place of Surya Kumar (Goodive) Chakrabarty was not Comilla (p. 38) but Dacca. The Vernacular Literature Society had not one Secretary in E. B. Cowell at its inception in 1851 (p. 45), but two secretaries in H.

RESULTS SPEAK

HINDUSTHAN'S 1950 Valuation

for the four years ended 31st. Dec. 1950 discloses a **SURPLUS** of over **Rs. 1 Cr. 25 Lks.** as a result of which **BONUS** has been declared in respect of all with profit policies (per Rs. 1,000/- sum assured per annum) on

Endowment Assurance }
Whole Life Assurance } **Rs. 8**

The results have been obtained after strengthening the reserves by reducing the interest basis by $\frac{1}{2}\%$ and providing for depreciation and all contingencies.

In spite of having to work under several adverse factors such as low interest earning, high costs and depreciation the results prove once again Hindusthan's economical management, unimpeachable security and strong financial position in all respects.

- Policies in force... Over Rs. 73 Crs. 16 Lakhs
- Life Fund..... " Rs. 15 " 97 "
- Premium income... " Rs. 3 " 40 "
- Claims paid..... " Rs. 7 " 20 "

HINDUSTHAN
CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE
SOCIETY, LIMITED

1, CHITAPANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA

PRABUDDHA BHARATA OR AWAKENED INDIA

The *Prabuddha Bharata*, an English Monthly Journal conducted by the Monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, enters the fifty-seventh year of its publication from January, 1952. We are glad to inform our readers that the January number is a special illustrated issue. It contains many beautiful illustrations. A choice collection of learned articles by distinguished writers forms a special feature of this issue.

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1952

The Divine Awakener—by Starson Gosse
Kali the Mother—by Swami Vivekananda
The Way to Spiritual Stability—by Swami Turiyananda
India and the New World Order—by The Editor
What Vedanta Means to Me—by Gerald Heard
Who are the Peacemakers?—by Swami Tejasananda
Death and Deathlessness—by Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan
Can We Discard Religion?—by Dr. S. C. Chatterjee
"Thy Name is Silence"—by C. T. K. Chari
From the Old World to the New—by A Wanderer

Science and Modern Education—by P. S. Naidu
Saint Namadeva—by Swami Lokeshwarananda
The Great Illusion—by Manu Subedar
Orthobiosis—by Swami Vimalananda
The Spiritual Quest—by Anirvan
The Control of the Sub-Conscious Mind
—by Swami Yatiswarananda
Gita & Yoga-Vasishtha—by Akshaya Kumar Banerjee
A Saint and a Sinner—by Swami Gambhirananda
Ramakrishna Monastery in America—by Sister Amiya

Notes and Comments, etc., etc.

Beautifully printed and excellently got-up. Single Copy : Price As. 12

Annual Subscription : Inland—Rupees Five ; Burma—Rupees Six ; Foreign—Fourteen Shillings ;
U. S.—Four Dollars.

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE

CALCUTTA-13.

The outstanding LIVER REMEDY

QUMARESH, in addition to its being a dependable remedy for Liver and Stomach troubles, strengthens and helps the Liver in its day to day work—which covers a very wide range of activity from reproduction of red blood cells to protection of the body against attacks of diseases.

Qumaresh
ENSURES A HEALTHY LIVER



THE O. R. C. L. LTD.
SALKIA—HOWRAH

BOOK REVIEWS

153

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDA-SAMHITA, Vol. V, Indices: By N. S. Sontakke, B.A. (Tilak), C. G. Kashikar, M.A. (Tilak). Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala, Poona. Price Rs. 50.

This is the concluding volume of the critical edition of the Rigveda with the commentary of Sayana which completes the work in about 5500 beautifully printed pages of Royal octavo size. It contains as many as nine valuable indices, e.g., Pada-suchi, Uttarapada-suchi, Khilanada-suchi, Mantra-suchi, Khilamantra-suchi, Risi-suchi, Devata-suchi, Chhandah-suchi and Sarvanukrama. The last in the list gives seriatim, in a tabular form, references to the hymns both according to the Mandala and Astaka enumerations, the pratikas thereof, the number of verses in each hymn, its *rsi*, *devata* and *chhandah* as well as page references to the present edition. It will thus be immensely helpful in tracing all valuable details of information about the Rigveda. The volume will therefore be useful not only to students of the Veda but it will—far more than its predecessors all noticed in these pages (August 1935, June 1940, July 1940 and September 1948)—be of great use to every scholar interested in the hoary past of India. Unfortunately the price is almost prohibitive for the proverbially poor scholars of our country. It is more than four times the price of the first volume and just double that of the fourth published respectively about twenty and five years back.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SISHIR KUMAR GHOSE—Sahitya-sadhaka-charitamala series: By Brajendranath Banerji. Bananiya Sahitya Parishad, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta 6. Price Re. 1.

Sishir Kumar Ghose (1840—1911) was not only a great journalist and patriot but he was a wonderful man. His life-story is inextricably interwoven with that of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. As Lokamanya Tilak says: "The *Patrika* is the manifestation of the spirit of which he was full—nobody may talk of the *Patrika* without being reminded of Sishir Kumar Ghose." A short life-sketch of the great man is given in this book, but special stress has been laid on his writings in Bengali. His contribution to Bengali literature should not be passed over. That it is no mean contribution is evident from the very rare file of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the early years which the author discovered sometime ago, from *Sri Amiya Nimai Charita* in six parts, from *Naisa Rupeya* a farce, and from other Bengali books. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was at first published in 1868 as a Bengali weekly from Jessore, then for a few years as a bi-lingual paper from Calcutta. It was converted into a full-fledged English weekly in 1878, and in 1891 it appeared as an English daily. Sishir Kumar made it what it is today. There is no dearth of biographies, in English and Bengali alike, of Sishir Kumar Ghose. Brajendranath Banerji has tried to make the life-sketch replete with up-to-date information. Before the publication of the *Patrika* Sishir Kumar used to contribute to *The Hindu Patriot*. He was its "Jessore Correspondent" and used to sign as M.L.L. A letter from the Jessore correspondent dated August 22, 1860, reporting cases of oppression of the royts by Indigo Planters has been published in the Appendix. The book is well-written. Anyone going through the short biography will meet with some new information about the great man.

SURESH CHANDRA DUTTA

SATLENDRAKRISHNA LAW

Pratt and M. Townsend. The first Hindi newspaper, *Udant Martand* was started not at Kanpur (p. 47) but in Calcutta. *Sri Sikshavidhayaka* was first published not in 1824 (p. 77) but in 1822. Miss Cooke has been spelt as Miss Coke four times on pp. 77 and 78. Rev. Carey (p. 79) should be Archdeacon Corrie. *Sambad Kaumudi* was first published not in July 1819 (p. 100) but in December, 1821. 'The British India Society' on p. 118 should be the Bengal British India Society. In 1832, there was no Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

The omission of even the mention of the 'Tattva-bodhini Sabha,' no less a cultural than a religious body, in the book is to say the least deplorable. If the subject-matter is recast in the light of up-to-date research, the book will be very much appreciated by the reading public.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (Centennial Issue—1850-1950): Published by Harper Brothers, Editorial Office, 19 East 33rd Street, New York 6, U.S.A.

The courtesy of the United States enabled us to go through this sumptuous volume of 288 pages celebrating the centenary of this Magazine. The editors, contributing editors and writers have all cooperated to make it a symbol of the affluence that in course of less than two hundred years has made the United States of America the dictator of conduct in mid-20th century.

No activity that has contributed to this greatness has been left untouched—the USA's abounding natural wealth, the qualities of her men and women, theordes from Europe that have sought and found opportunities for reaching the flowering of their personalities within the frame-work of a pioneering civilization which has yet to demonstrate the validity of the claim that the 20th century is in a special sense "the American Century."

The great republic is in its leadership basically Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. But this dominance has not stood in the way of her being the great "melting pot" into which the Celt, the Teuton, the Slav have been able to coalesce and during the process make good and develop into good Americans without a synphen. This achievement has been related in the volume, the writers undertaking to give us the light and shade of the story. The "disciplining" of industrialism and its various abominations has a lesson for us specially when our own industrialists have shown in their conduct the worst of its features.

Today when the world is resounding with fears and cries of a Third World War, it is good to turn to Thomas Mann's assessment of this detailed delusion arrived at in a spirit of detachment in his article entitled "The Years of My Life." This German thought-leader mediates between the American and the Soviet ways of life when he says: "There is much that is curiously akin between the Russian and the American people—an innate affability and openness, an absence of reserve in human intercourse, qualities that are sharply distinct from the aloof individualism of the French or English character"—qualities that will enable them, we hope, to avoid the crisis which politicians in both States have been spoiling to precipitate.

This praise is modified by the feeling that the story, as told in this volume, would have gained in dignity if non-Europeans had been invited to appraise and given opportunity to show the Americans as others see" them.

JAINA-DHARMA: By Dr. Amulya Chandra Sen. Published by Visva-Bharati. Price eight annas.

Earlier than Buddhism and no less rich in the profundity of its spiritual and ethical appeal, Jainism by a strange historical irony is probably the most neglected branch of Indology. Dependable and readable books on the subject are so few that we warmly congratulate the Visva-Bharati Publishing Department for presenting to the public Dr. A. C. Sen's *Jaina Dharma*. He has discussed in lucid Bengali the historical context of Jainism up to the time of Parsvanatha and Mahavira and analysing the special contributions of these two last Tirthankaras, the learned author has given a very convincing statement with regard to the schism of the Digambara and Svetambara Orders, their conflicting ideologies and highly complicated—often confusing—scriptural traditions. Here Dr. Sen has rendered a real service to the general public who are eager to know something about Jainism and yet are ever frustrated by conflicting dogmas and traditions. The author apparently suffered from severe limitation of space, for while he barely touched the topic of literary and cultural contribution of Jainism, he could not develop it satisfactorily. We shall be glad if a companion volume be published, discussing in detail the folk-element, *Kathasakitya*, in Jaina literature and its relationship with the Epic and Pauranic Brahmanical literature. The book is a model of clarity and condensation and readers will appreciate how simply he has given within ten pages an exposition of the basic elements of Jaina philosophy.

KALIDAS NAG

BHARAT RASTRATANTRA: By Sri Charu Chandra Chaudhuri. Published by Esha Publishing Co., 190-C, Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta 29. Pages 136. Price Rs. 2-8.

The Constitution of India in English—a volume of 250 pages containing about 400 sections and eight schedules is fairly big for ordinary readers. Besides being couched in legal technicalities it is not an attractive reading to persons other than lawyers and teachers of political science. But every citizen of India should be acquainted with the main provisions of this important document. Sri Chaudhuri's book on Indian Constitution in Bengali will remove a long-felt want from which the Bengali-knowing public were suffering. The author in a short compass not only gives in a consolidated form the entire matter of the original, it being besides a commentary and explanation of the important provisions, but also quotes subsequent decisions and observations of the Federal Court and High Courts and other authorities on the subject. The author points out in several places, after a comparative presentation of the U.S.A. and other constitutions, the pitfalls of the Indian Constitution, which is very illuminative. Thus the book is a pleasant reading for the common man with average education, and for the students it has additional attraction, it being written in a fascinating and chaste language with English-Bengali and Bengali-English vocabulary added at the end. The author's approach and presentation is so clear and vivid that we venture to think that a translation of this volume into Hindi and other Indian languages will meet with immediate success and benefit a large section of our countrymen ignorant of English. We would recommend this book to every Bengali interested in the Constitution of his country and every public library should keep a volume of this publication for the benefit of its readers.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

DARSHAN-DIGDARSHAN: By Rahul San-krityana. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. 847. Price Rs. 12.

An encyclopaedia of the world's principal philosophical systems, covered rung after rung in the halcyon days of their highwater mark of mental flights to the heights of truth. Greek, European, Indian and Islamic thoughts on the eternal verities of life have been surveyed with scholarly sympathy and scientific detachment. As one reads through the pages of this voluminous work, one is greatly struck by the breadth and depth of human endeavour to unveil the Reality. A monumental work, indeed, and of vital importance to students of philosophy as well as laymen.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **MADHUPARK:** Thick Cardboard. 1947. Pp. 190. Price Rs. 5-8.

(2) **BIJAL:** Thick Cardboard. 1948. Pp. 146. Price Rs. 3.

Both written by Prof. Premshankar H. Bhatt of Siddharth College, Bombay, and published by C. Shantilal and Company, Bombay 2.

Prof. Bhatt combines in him the roles of a poet and a critic, and the collection of 12 articles reprinted from his contributions to various magazines between 1937 and 1946 on old and modern writers in verse and prose, like Akho and Sawal, Narmud and Navalram, as well as promising young writers like the inspired composer of *Ilakavyo* and *Jyoti Rekha*, have been noticed with the ability of a practised critic and therefore deserve more than a passing comment. The work is really good. Not content with what he has done in these two directions, he has essayed fiction. *Bijal* is a story of Kathiawad life, where in indigenous Kathiawad's dialect are set out various combinations of the phases of life, lived there, and vindication of natural justice. As a first attempt, it is not a failure but such as the reader makes up his mind to finish at one sitting.

NEW LIGHT ON THE GATHAS OF HOLY ZARTHROSHTRA: By Ardeshtir F. Khabardar. Printed at the Sanj Vartman Printing Press, Bombay. 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 848. Price Rs. 20.

This monumental and remarkable work, the result of strenuous research work for more than a decade, is unique in throwing light on this somewhat recondite and controversial subject. His effort has been to show that what is found in the Hindu Vedas is found in the Parsi Gathas. The words and ideology are identical. He has transliterated the corrected original text in English, Gujarati, and Devnagari script of all the stanzas of the seven yasnas of the Ahurvaite Gatha, and translated them into English and Gujarati prose and also Gujarati verse together with their transformation in the pre-Vedic written language, with all their accents. Full notes and explanations, Astrological and Phonetical references have added to the value of the work. Mr. Khabardar till now has to his credit many works in poetry and prose, but this particular phase of his instinct for research has come out for the first time. We are sure that both Indian and European scholars would welcome the work and also profit by it.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Political Institutions in Ancient India

In the course of his address as President of the Ancient Indian History section of the fourteenth session (1951) of the Indian History Congress held at Jaipur Dr. U. N. Ghoshal says:

The subject of political institutions in Ancient India has engaged the serious attention of a large number of our scholars for some time past. To them we owe an inestimable debt for the care with which they have unearthed the numerous and valuable data from the most varied sources of our ancient history, as well as for their interpretations which, though not always convincing, have invariably been suggestive and stimulating. And yet I can not but feel that the time has come for a more critical approach to the study of this valuable aspect of our ancient civilisation. This task I have set before myself in my *History of Hindu Public Life*, of which the first part dealing with the period of the Vedic *Samhitas* and the *Brahmanas* was published in 1945, and the second and third parts relating to subsequent times down to the end of the Gupta period is in an advanced stage of preparation. On the present occasion I crave your indulgence for using a small extract from the unpublished portion of this work to illustrate my views on the subject. In brief, my discourse will deal mainly with some aspects of our ancient political institutions during the five or six centuries intervening between the end of the epoch of the Vedic *Samhitas* and the *Brahmanas* and the rise of the Maurya empire, or to put it briefly, the pre-Maurya period.

At the outset I have to notice the extraordinary paucity of truly historical documents relevant to our study. Indeed, within the chronological limits defined above, such documents are practically confined to a relatively small tract of country at a fixed date. I am referring, of course, to the writings of the Greek and Roman authors relating to the monarchies and republics of the Indus valley at the time of Alexander's invasion. These writings, as is well-known, are based upon the reports of Alexander's officers who were highly trained observers with almost unique opportunities of watching contemporary events in the land. In their accounts of social and religious conditions of the Indians, they could sometimes be misled by wrong information or by hasty generalisations. But with their experience of States and governments, they could be trusted to draw a true picture of Indian political institutions in their time. It must, however, be admitted that the great value of these observations is to a large extent discounted by their fragmentary character.

For the rest, the most important authorities for our present purpose consist of historical traditions relating to well-known kingdoms and republics that are preserved in the Buddhist and Jaina canonical works. Fragmentary as they are, these traditions deserve high credit. For not only do they go back to a

relatively high antiquity—the Pali canon being generally assigned to the first century after Buddha's death, and the Svetambara Jaina canon to the period following c. 300 B.C.—but they refer to characters and incidents that were allegedly associated with the careers of founders of the two faiths. Even where, as in the case of prefaces to the Vinaya regulations, the stories might be suspected to be apocryphal, their account of political institutions and principles may safely be taken to be based upon genuine tradition. Of the later traditions and legends like those that have clustered around the figure of king Udayana of Kausambi from Bhasa's time onwards, it is only necessary to say that their value for obvious reasons is almost negligible.

The historical traditions to which we have referred above are relatively scanty. A more copious, though less authentic, source consists of the general notices of monarchical and other governments that are found in three distinct classes of works, viz., the *Dharmasutras*, the *Arthashastra* and the *Jatakas*. To these have to be added the similar references in the Buddhist and Jaina canon supplementing their more or less genuine historical traditions noticed above, as well as the data of Panini and his fellow grammarians. To utilise this mass of material, it is necessary in the first place to assess the relative worth of the different sources. Now the *Dharmasutras*, as is well-known, deal with the type of society and State which is featured in the older Vedic literature. But while the ideas of the older authors about the working of the social units are embedded in a mass of hymns and prayers or charms and incantations (as in the *Rigveda* and the *Atharvaveda*), or else are inter-twined with dogmatic exposition of the sacrificial ritual (as in the *Yajus-Samhitas* and the *Brahmanas*), it was left to the *Dharmasutras* to give a systematic account of the same. What is more, the conception of the king as a distinct unit of the social system made it possible for the *Dharmasutras* to deal independently with this institution for the first time. The account of the *Dharmasutras*, however, is subject to two important drawbacks. In the first place, by taking the king to be an indispensable element of the social scheme, they were led almost completely to ignore the non-monarchical type of polity (*samgha* or *gana*) which, as we know from other sources, played no mean part in contemporary public life. Secondly, the *Dharmasutras* deal with the king's function not in its objective aspect, but in the background of his *dharma* which has its distinctive place in the comprehensive *dharma* of the *varnas* and the *asramas*. It is evident that this attitude could not but lead to an imperfect consideration of aspects of the king's government which were not strictly relevant from the point of view of his *dharma*. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the king's *dharma* in the *Dharmasutras* is not a mere abstract principle, but it is institutionalised in the shape of concrete rules and principles governing his relations with his people. It follows from the above that in the history of Vedic

literature the *Dharmasutras* give us the first systematic, though far from complete, account of the institutions of government. Again, because of the high authority belonging to these works as a branch of the Vedic literature, the standard laid down by them for the king's guidance as regards general principles as well as concrete details of administration could not but leave its stamp in an undefined measure upon later political development.

Unlike the *Dharmasutras* which are dominated by the Vedic theological tradition, the works of the *Arthashastra* schools and teachers (of which unfortunately we have only one complete specimen in the undoubtedly late treatise of Kautilya) grew up independently of this influence. In this difference of their outlook we have to seek the key to their distinctive treatment of political institutions. The type of society and State treated in the *Dharmasutras* and the *Arthashastra* works is essentially the same, as it consists of the standard list of four *varnas* and four *asramas* with a king ruling the same. But while the *Dharmasutras*, as stated above, look at the institutions of government from the standpoint of the king's *dharma*, the *Arthashastra* by contrast deals with the same (in fact, if not in theory) in the light of his temporal interests and sometimes even of those of the individual *amatya* or other official. In contrast with the *Dharmasutras*, again, the *Arthashastra*, true to its meaning, treats the art of government in the widest sense of the term, so as to comprise the whole body of the king's administration, not excluding inter-State relations and the art of war. Thus the *Arthashastra* gives us what is wanting in the *Dharmasutras*—a realistic (we might almost say, a scientific) treatment of political institutions which, for reasons that it is not possible to explain in the present place, we would assign to the pre-Maurya times. To the *Arthashastra* we owe our oldest known account of a strong centralised administration controlled by the king and a highly trained and organised bureaucracy, a complete code of laws, an elaborate system of inter-State relations and a highly developed scheme of internal and foreign policy. In these respects the *Arthashastra* masters doubtless drew upon their experience of historical administrations. At the same time because of the thoroughness of their treatment they could not but influence, for good or for evil, the lines of subsequent development. We may sum up by saying that the *Arthashastra* has preserved for us a more complete picture of pre-Maurya public life in all its branches than any other source, while at the same time it has helped to shape its future growth on realistic lines.

Unlike the canonical *Dharmasutras* and the technical *Arthashastra*, the *Jatakas* (or to give them their full title, the *Jatakavannana*) constitute a body of folklore which for its size is unrivalled in the literature of the world. The stories (nearly 500 in number) consist, as is well known, of five parts, viz., (a) 'the story of the present' giving the occasion on which the story is told by the Buddha (*paccuppannavatthu*), (b) 'the story of the past' in which the Buddha tells the story of his previous birth (*atitavatthu*), (c) 'the verses' constituting the core of the story (*gatha*), (d) 'the word-for-word commentary' on the *gathas* (*veyyakarana*), and (e) 'the connection' identifying the characters of the present times with those of the past (*samodhana*). Of these parts, the second and the third have long been recognised to be a mine of precious information for the social, economic, religious and political conditions of the people of Northern

India in the early centuries of Buddhism. In so far as the material bearing on the public life of the times is concerned, the stories often give us vivid pictures of the activities of kings, queens, princes, ministers and other officials down to the meanest subjects, in the context of their normal, almost day-to-day, life. In particular, while they illustrate the high and even noble ideals inspiring the best rulers, they throw at the same time a lurid light upon the ugly spots of the administration which are apt to be ignored in the more or less formal statements of the canonists and the political thinkers. The authors of the *Jatakas*, again, were evidently men of worldly experience and shrewd wisdom. Their accounts are evidently based on keen observation of contemporary institutions while their piquant comments put into the mouths of human as well as non-human actors in the scenes often reflect intelligent criticism of the same. It must however, be admitted that a great gulf separates these naive tales of fictitious kings and their subjects from genuine historical tradition. Not only do we miss in them important details, but the institutions themselves are apt to be simplified from the point of view of the story-teller. Sometimes, again, the influence of the elevated ethics and the stern monastic discipline of Buddhism has combined to warp the authors' description as well as judgment of the ancient institutions. With all these faults it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the picture of pre-Maurya public life in the *Jatakas* is more true to life than that found in the other sources.

Of the minor sources bearing upon our present problem it is unnecessary to speak at great length. A for the general references in the Buddhist and Jain canon to the working of the ancient monarchical and republican administrations, they are evidently of high value. They belong to the same circle of ideas as the genuine historical traditions and share in the characteristics of the same. To this we have to add that the casual and matter-of-fact fashion in which their data are always given is a guarantee of their being true to life. Turning to the last-named source, I have to observe that the data of the grammarians are the scantiest in amount. But what they lack in quantity is compensated by their quality. This follows as a natural consequence of the strictly impersonal and objective character of the rules laid down by the authors.—*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

50 TABLETS Rs.3 100 RS.5-8
At All leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
Himco Laboratories Ltd.
251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

Characteristics of Child Art

The following is an excerpt from the address delivered by D. P. Roy Chowdhury, as published in *Swatantra*, at the opening of the Lawrence School Art Exhibition on December 10, 1951:

The principal characteristics of child art are sincerity, directness and simplicity, but it would not be possible to define its place unless we had made a comparative study of other forms of art practised by matured artists, particularly by those who delight in breaking away from discipline, to win freedom of expression at any cost.

Patience and ceaseless study are essential assets of an artist who means to communicate his message without effort or dragging the sympathetic observer to difficulties. This expectation is nothing short of a moral obligation. When such a motive is associated with representational art that records human emotions, it should be fit for a ready appeal at least to those who have prepared themselves to receive the message in earnest, no matter how the pattern, the technique or the medium dominates in the pictorial arrangement. Therefore, the first impression must be made to last till the purpose of the work is absorbed by the observer. Any deviation in this respect is likely to jeopardise the very cause art stands for. Therefore, when a reciprocation is in urgent need, the interpreter cannot afford to rely on a thing which is not true to what he has experienced in his physical environment, nor can he indulge in creating patterns of puzzles. The pursuit in the latter case has an unholy name, called abstract theme. Some feel that such a thing does not exist in art forms when an identity is sought or projected through a concrete and vivid form.

Since every visible form executed either in the round or in flat is too obvious to be transformed at will, it cannot be made to fit in with a quality which has no connection whatsoever with the surface appearance. In the circumstances, whatever the range of imagination one is allowed to discover a quality which is non-existent, it will end in a fruitless result, the cause being eclipsed by abstruse explanation. Therefore, a conscientious test of a good work of art will be what appeals at once to those who are ready to receive the message a thing of beauty can transmit. The reaction is identical with that of tuned cords which respond to each other's call, one vibrating even after the other has stopped. So does the reaction of a contact with the beautiful. It grows.

Further analysis of the non-existent quality in the abstract theme will reveal that every imaginative function in this regard is motivated by an interest which is strictly personal and based on temperamental qualities. The possibility of wishful thinking of a quality cannot be altogether dismissed if the observer is bent upon satisfying his inclinations. Such an attitude leads to conscious self-deception, which I consider should not be the mission of an artist who is not only a seeker after truth but a straightforward interpreter as well.

The moral aspect unfortunately does not appeal to the senses of those who are apparently crazy to be original by repeating borrowed patterns. The source does not matter so long as the effect can give some shocks to healthy nerves. They want to disturb you somehow or other. They want things to move from inertia. The formidable weapons used for the drive are screaming colours, violent and unsteady

lines, one challenging the other for self-assertion. The victims of the battle-field are the dwellers of the rooms where the pictures bearing such qualities are hung. The poor dwellers must take precaution to save their nerves or they succumb to the pain caused by the modern artistic trend. The social status of the suffering individual demands it; therefore, there is no escape either. We have doubts whether such a method of psychological torture was ever in force in the medieval period of history.

There may, however, be a difference of opinion with regard to the ideal of beauty. But making all due allowances to the difference of character, standard and objective of art forms, one fails to understand how the fundamentals of truth associated with a thing of beauty can be lost sight of. A true form of beauty, in whatever manner it is presented, echoes in the heart and lives within, to grow for a better understanding. The result is a joy that gives relief to the mind. It is constructive, it grows and initiates one into a higher existence.

But the revolutionaries have a different approach to their subject and ideals. They refuse to accept the progress made by man through ages. They disown the legitimate heritage and rely on discord and destruction to lay the foundation of their dream castles forgetting entirely the fact that the materials necessary for the reconstruction will have to be collected from the debris of the destruction they have themselves caused. The consequence is a going back to nowhere and starting afresh without an ideal or standard as a guidance. I may add here that standard is not made in a day. It is the result of great contributions through ages.

DIAPEPSIN
+
Helps
COMPLETE
DIGESTION
OF FOOD-
STARCH &
PROTEIN



UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

One may well question what is the root cause of all these reckless activities? The probable reason is frustration as a result of successful failures to approach within a measurable distance of the masters of the past. That is one aspect. The other is encroachment on the unsophisticated expression of a child by ignoring the discipline that should govern the adult's behaviour.

Folk art has somehow got linked up with child art under pressure of sudden awakening of culture. In consequence of which, a drive has been manoeuvred to go back to the village. The mission of the fanatic enthusiasm is to liberate people from the clutches of bad taste. The only course to make the mission effective is to teach the greatness of folk art and make people appreciate the same without any reservation. The purpose being reinforced by Swadeshi sentimentalism, the success unfortunately appears to be considerable. It is reported that quite a number of persons have really submitted to the call to serve the purpose.

The victims of this cultural domination have gone to the extent of covering up smart distempered walls of their city houses with coats of pure cowdung. The purpose behind the adherence to the new faith is to create a false rustic atmosphere and extend a fitting reception to the ultra-modern folk art known as *patachitras*. The consequence of the appreciation is queer. Stream-lined modern architecture is amazingly transformed overnight into palatial huts.

Now, let us see how much of the child's innocence and sincerity has been absorbed in this enterprise and how far the new exponents have succeeded in getting rid of the spirit of the genuine indigenous folk art. For this, we have to examine the factors which obviate complications for an undisturbed expression. To meet this end, it is necessary to collect the essential assets of folk art. The most vital point is the composition of the picture, which means confidence being filling up of the space, which means confidence in every bit of addition to the composition of a picture. Second comes knowledge of form which helps to build a pattern to suit a specific pictorial theme, and the third is adjustments of colours which have to settle down in harmony. A little clash among the neighbours is likely to blow up the whole of the arrangement. It is something like bringing an exposed flame in contact with a highly explosive object.

Folk art could not afford to pay attention to such vital points deemed acceptable to a scientific demand on account of their patterns being subjected to a rigid traditional hall-mark. The patterns of folk art were a gift handed over from one generation to another. Hence there was no market for sale in the absence of the traditional motives. It was due to the fact that the buyers were generally local people, who felt quite satisfied if they could get what was familiar to them. Therefore, the current patterns were free from experiments and confined to a limited few, such as portraits of gods and goddesses, studies of birds or animals or certain scenes depicting village life. The presentation hardly faced troubles, the patterns being formalised, hence the lines that defined the forms were decisive. In the circumstances, it will be seen that the skill behind the presentation of folk art was the result of repetition that was being carried on for hundreds of years. It is no wonder, therefore, that a special character had formed in the execution, the most interesting feature being delicacy and strength in lines as well as simplicity in arrangement. The simplicity was an inevitable coincidence resulting

from handicaps and not achieved by calculation because highly developed science had no influence in this sphere. These, in short, are the merits and demerits of the indigenous folk art, which had developed the main through mechanical processes and not necessarily through an urge for an individual's self-expression. But its modern version is carrying on a devastating campaign to establish its cunning appearance as simple. This is manipulated behind the shield of highly developed Western science.

The effect thus brought into existence reminds one of the antics of a clown in a circus. In the circus, the clown tries to demonstrate childish achievements hoping the cultivated crude display of the expert will be taken as simple. It is no doubt an ambitious disguise, but any one who does not want to betray himself will discover the clash between the refined and the crude. Modern folk art is playing the part of a clown to register an impossible affinity between the advanced science of the West and the profound ignorance of the rustics. Such a combination can never work together for a clear expression. In the circumstances, a prejudiced approach directed by Swadeshi sentimentalism or foreign appreciation charged with dictatorial qualities is nothing else but an unwarranted intrusion into a pleasant ignorance which the village artists were contented with. Hence we can safely say that everything that is crude is no necessarily a work of art which can claim such a high standard as simple even if strong sentiment demand the verdict. Simplicity is not the result of the choice of the subject, but its intrinsic value is recorded in the manner it is presented. This is where comes the



For Sensing, Feeling and Seeing
the Pleasure—

DWARKIN & SON LTD.
11, Esplanade East, CALCUTTA

task of one who sits in judgment, since the question is the question of relative values which make the total effect.

A child's domain of art is a dreamland, it is clean and free from the burden of the adult world. Why not we take shelter therefore for a moment to be relieved of the ordeal of cold intellectual disciplines. Every child is a born dreamer and the dreamer is the maker of the artist. The artist in his workshop loves to live in excitement, always curious and ever alert to give vent to his expression to the limit of his capacity, often challenging the scope of his medium. He is fearless in this regard, because his presentation of facts is always dictated by a conviction which is derived from imagination and the conviction is final. He is privileged this way, since no relative help is permitted from outside, nor has he time to devote to reasoning or calculation as the experienced man would do. Intellectual consideration therefore is a trespass into the domain where the emotional aspect rules and protects the ramparts of unshakable conviction.

Graphic or plastic art, the child's imagination tries to fit in with the object he creates, not unlike the work of a matured artist who permits the imagination of the observer to grow on the pattern of the picture. The latter is a vision projected through experience, whereas the former is experience born of imagination. Therefore, we have to associate ourselves with the pictures just as the child did at the time of his vision by the help of a pictorial language. In short, we have to rejuvenate ourselves down to the level of the child to understand his expressions. There is no other course unless you know the temperament of the artist. It is difficult to follow the reflections of his thoughts on graphic forms.

Basic Education

It is evident that basic education has come to stay. Dr. W. M. Ryburn writes in *The National Christian Council Review*:

Basic education provides a system of education which is far more related to life than has been the system to which we have been accustomed. The centre of all work in school is practical activity, which is life activity. The truth of this depends, to be sure, on what the central activity is. But since there seem to be clear signs that agriculture is going to be the activity generally taken up, there can be no doubt about the link with life in the case of the greater majority of the inhabitants of this country. Under basic education it is possible to centre the work of the school round something which is, in a real sense, life for most of the pupils attending. Work in school will therefore, take on a new meaning, the purpose of which is to be self-evident, and school will be a place where there is some other reason besides that of passing an examination. Basic education ensures a balanced development of the child. Many years ago Mr. Meyhew said that basic education was far too narrowly vocational in its scope. Basic education means a long-overdue change which will ensure that this narrowness is done away with, and that the bias towards the academic

is done away with. Every child will get the chance to develop all his powers, and the great majority, who have no bent towards the academic, will be adequately catered for.

Basic education centres round activity. The basic school is an activity school. There is no need to point out how this brings it into line with modern educational thought. One has only to see the change in children's attitude and interest when basic education is introduced, to realize how it enables us to carry out our aims and to make our schools centres of activity.

Basic education will help to establish the idea of the dignity of labour, and to get rid of the stigma which is attached to work with the hands.

The strong emphasis on social development and social training which we find in basic education is another point in its favour. Because of this emphasis the system will be of the greatest help in developing the social conscience, in defeating exaggerated individualism, in developing the spirit of co-operation, and in giving real training in the art of living together.

Basic education is a democratic system. It caters for all, no matter what their talents may be. In this it is in strong contrast to the system we have had, which caters for only about ten per cent of the population.

In basic education we have something which promises to be a truly national system. It has its faults. No system is perfect. But as faults and defects reveal themselves, they can be dealt with. For example, the first idea of providing the teacher's salary out of sale of products is gradually being dropped in the light of experience. But it gives us a system with possibilities.

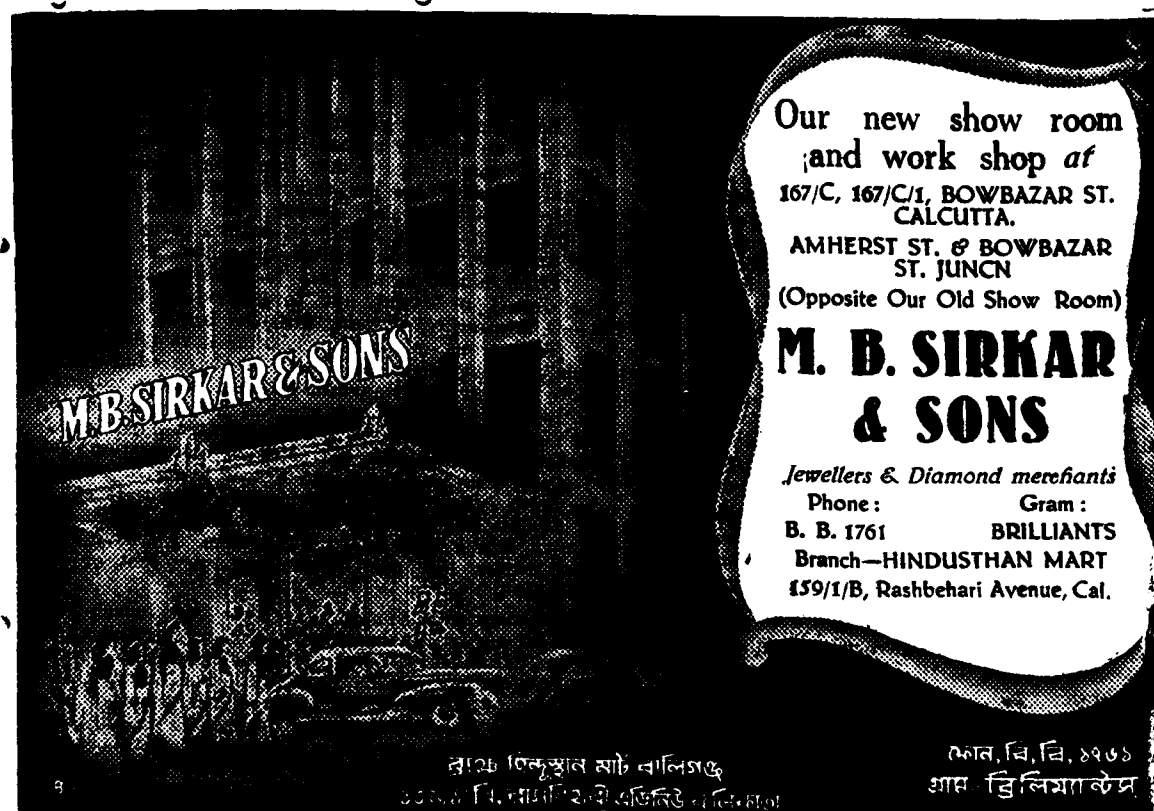
So far basic education has been tried out in primary and middle schools. Those who are pushing the movement consider that they are now beyond the stage of experiment in such schools, and that they have proved the worth of what they advocate and have been putting into practice. The next move is to extend basic education to high schools and even to the university level. We cannot escape from the fact that in the movement for basic education we have an enthusiasm that is not commonly found.

This enthusiasm and consecration was one of the things which impressed me at the All-India Conference on Basic Education held at Sevagram in March last. I have rarely been in a conference of teachers where there was such enthusiasm for action, and quick action.

One had hoped that with independence the country would be freed from the hold of English which has so bedevilled education. One's hopes have not been realized. But basic education means education in the language of the people and not in a foreign language.

Administration should be a co-operative endeavour between teachers, pupils and parents. Pupils should be associated with the staff in planning and execution of activities. The crafts to be taken up should take into account the needs of the locality in which the school is working. The period of training of teachers should not be less than two years, and even three years was suggested for those of lower academic qualifications. The profits earned from craft work should be used for the recurring expenses of the school. Pupils should be paid according to the work they put in.

Here we have a 'live' movement which merits our support. There may be features of basic education which do not appeal to us, but my position is that on the whole it will be a blessing to the country.



Our new show room
and work shop at
167/C, 167/C/1, BOWBAZAR ST.
CALCUTTA.
AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR
ST. JUNCN
(Opposite Our Old Show Room)
**M. B. SIRKAR
& SONS**
Jewellers & Diamond merchants
Phone: Gram:
B. B. 1761 BRILLIANTS
Branch—HINDUSTHAN MART
159/1/B, Rashbehari Avenue, Cal.

সার্বজনীন সৌন্দর্য্য
আম-ব্রিলিয়ান্ট



CALCHEMICO'S
Quality Toiletries

MARGO SOAP HIGHCLASS NEEP
TOILET SOAP
CASTOROL PERFUMED
CASTOR OIL
LABONNY SNOW & CREAM
RENUKA TOILET POWDER

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL - CALCUTTA

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Russian Language

Professor P. Kusnetsov, Doctor of Philological Science, writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union* :

Russian is the language used by the Russian nation, the largest of the nations comprising the U.S.S.R. and the one with the highest and most advanced culture and richest literature. Though the bulk of the Russian-speaking population is concentrated in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (the R.S.F.S.R.), there are sizeable Russian settlements in other parts of the U.S.S.R. as well. Besides, the Russian language is a means of intercourse for the many different nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

In the Russian language there are a large number of local dialects which differ somewhat as regards phonetics, grammatical structure (morphology and syntax) and word stock but which are so close to one another that people speaking different dialects can understand each other with no difficulty. Those dialects fall into two main categories: the North Russian, embracing chiefly the North and East of the European part of the R.S.F.S.R. and the major part of Siberia; and the South Russian, embracing chiefly the Southern part of the R.S.F.S.R., part of the North Caucasus, and part of Siberia. Between these two, in a narrow strip running from the North-west to the South-East, are found the transitional Central Russian dialects. To the Central Russian group of dialects belongs the Russian language as spoken in Moscow, the capital of U.S.S.R., which is situated in this strip.

As regards grammatical structure, Russian as a whole exhibits the same features as the main ancient Indo-European languages (Latin, Greek, Sanskrit), namely, three genders—masculine, feminine and neuter—and a developed system of declensions, that is, the inflection of the word according to grammatical cases, indicating its relation to other words in the sentence. In the Russian language, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, participles and numerals are inflected according to case. The case system is well developed, there being six different cases. Nouns are not all declined the same way, there being three main declensions, (not counting the survivals of several ancient types that have now disappeared).

Adjectives are declined differently from nouns. In the plural all nouns have the same forms in the majority of the grammatical cases (certain differences are to be found only in the nominative and genitive cases). Adjectives do not have gender distinctions in the plural. Impersonal pronouns are declined like adjectives.

Adjectives in the Russian language have full forms and short forms; the short forms are now used only as predicates and are not declined, although changing

according to gender and number. The full forms are used both as predicates and attributes.

The personal pronouns are characterized by their irregular declensions: the nominative case and the oblique cases are formed from different roots. For example, the nominative case is 'Ya' (I) and the genitive case is 'mnya' (me).

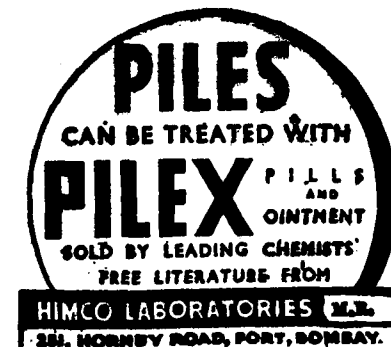
The verb has three tenses, the present, past and future. In the present tense the verb changes according to person and there are two types of conjugations, with different endings for the various persons. In the past tense the verb does not change according to person but does according to gender and number, depending upon the gender of the noun that governs it. An essential peculiarity of the Russian verb is a grammatical category known as aspect, in which verbs differ in form depending on whether they express completed or incomplete action (irrespective of whether this action takes place in the past or the future). Verbs of the imperfective aspect have the three tenses indicated above, while verbs of the perfect aspect have only two, the past and the future.

Syntactically the Russian language is characterized by free word order.

The relations between words in a sentence are expressed not only by cases but also by a combination of cases and pre-positions—auxiliary words which stand before the word to which they immediately refer.

The Russian language has an extremely rich word stock, as a result of which the most varied concepts, both the most abstract and the most concrete, can be expressed in a concise and exact form. The wealth of synonyms permits the most subtle shades of meaning to be conveyed.

The chief dialects of the Russian language differ somewhat phonetically, mainly in the pronunciation of unstressed vowels, which in the Southern dialect and in the transitional dialects undergo a strong change. The differences in the grammatical system amount chiefly to certain peculiarities in the case and person endings, but the main grammatical categories are the same in all the dialects.



PILES
CAN BE TREATED WITH
PILEX PILLS
AND OINTMENT
SOLD BY LEADING CHEMISTS
FREE LITERATURE FROM
HIMCO LABORATORIES LTD.
221, HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

system are in all essentials what they were in Pushkin's time, and "the modern Russian language differs very little in structure from the language of Pushkin." (J. Stalin: *Concerning Marxism in Linguistics*).

With the formation of a Russian national language (in the main, beginning with the 17th century) the local dialects merged into a single national language, with one of the dialects (the Kursk-Orel—see above) forming the foundation of this language and the other dialects losing their individuality, merging with this language and disappearing in it. Since language develops very slowly this did not happen at once, and many logical dialectical features have not been fully lost up to the present time. But with the spread of universal literacy and schooling, especially in the past few years, the loss of local peculiarities and the general diffusion of the literary standards is proceeding at an extremely rapid rate.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Russian language acquired importance in the U.S.S.R. as the language of the most socially and culturally advanced people. It became the source from which the numerous languages of the U.S.S.R. took social, political, scientific and technical terminology. At the same time the Russian language assumed world importance: words expressing new social and political concepts (like 'Bolshevik,' 'Soviet') have passed from the Russian language into all the languages of the world.

Beginning with the oldest known monuments, the Russian language has used the Slavic Cyrillic alphabet, or Kirillitsa, named after the supposed inventor of this alphabet, Konstantin, whose name as a monk was Cyril. Much less often used in ancient Russia was another Slavic alphabet, the Glagolitic alphabet or Glagolitsa. (Some scholars believe that at one time this alphabet was more widespread). Under Peter I, in the era when the new literary language was taking shape (at the beginning of the 18th century) the alphabet was modified—the shape of the letters simplified and extra letters eliminated—as a result of which the so-called lay Cyrillic alphabet which Russians use today came into being. This same alphabet, modified to a certain degree, is used by the majority of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and by several Slavic peoples abroad (the Bulgarians, Macedonians, Serbs). A reform of the Russian spelling was carried through in 1917 in order to simplify it, and another few extra letters were eliminated.—*Tass News Agency of the U.S.S.R.*

The Institute of Public Administration

The Institute of Public Administration was founded in 1922. Its first president was Lord Haldane, who was the following year to become Lord Chancellor and had in 1918 been chairman of the committee on the machinery of government which recommended far-reaching administrative reforms. Developments in

the machinery of government and techniques of administration were at that time attracting the interest of public men and officials, for the period following the 1914-18 war saw the beginning of vast changes and increases in corporate administrative organisation.

The Institute was founded to advance the study of public administration and to promote the exchange of information and ideas on all aspects of the subject. It is a non-political body, membership of which is open to civil servants, local government officers, members of universities making a special study of public administration, and those who have become eminent in public service. In 1948, membership was extended to public boards and other corporate bodies.

At first the Institute provided opportunities in London and elsewhere for exchange of views on a wide range of subjects relating to central and local administration and for the intensive study of particular problems. Later, regional groups were formed in Australia, and close contact between the Australian branches and those in Britain has always been a feature of the Institute. Similar institutes were formed in Canada, New Zealand and the United States. In 1948, the Institute of Public Administration was chosen to be the British national section of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences. Through the exchange of literature with kindred bodies the Institute becomes aware of developments in the practice and science of administration in other parts of the world.

From its early years the Institute encouraged the universities to introduce courses and examinations in public administration and the introduction by universities of diplomas in this subject was one of the results of that policy.

The Institute sponsors the publication of serious studies in public administration either as books or pamphlets, publishes a quarterly journal *Public Administration*, organises conferences and arranges lectures centrally or regionally, runs a library and information service at its headquarters, and undertakes surveys of administrative questions.

It also promotes research in various ways, in particular bringing together on specific projects those who hold responsible posts in the public services and members of university departments who are experienced research workers so that the experience of practical persons and the knowledge and thought of scholars are united for the solution of the problems under consideration. Facilities for training courses are available at the Institute's offices and such courses can be arranged to meet the requirements of corporate members. The Haldane Essay competition, first held in 1924, was instituted to stimulate administrators to constructive thought about their work: it is open to all members of the public services.—*The Economic Review of Affairs in the United Kingdom*, September-October, 1951.



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 70

Estd-1893



What's your trouble mister?
...
HYPERNATIA, EPILEPSY, Hysteria,
NEURASTHENIA, BLOOD-PRESSURE,
AND ALL MENTAL DISORDERS—
DON'T WASTE ANY TIME.
LUNEGON
IS YOUR BEST BET!
For all mental & nervous disorders. A
high-grade efficient product with an open
formula which contains no dangerous drugs. Quick to
act, easy to use. Price 5/- 10/- 20/- 4/-
Available at all chemists.
Ask for our free medical booklet
HERING & KENT
P.O. Box 117, Opp. Lloyd Park, High Wycombe, Bucks.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.B.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness. Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji!

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.
Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity in life, honour and fame. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha :—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with life-long effects Rs. 184-4.
Mohini Kavacha :—Enables one foe to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with extraordinary life-long & speedy effects Rs. 387-14.
Nrisingha Kavacha :—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9.
Saraswati Kavacha :—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9.

Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English
"MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"

by Jyotish Shamrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

H. O. :—105 (M.), Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta. 5. Consultation Hours 8-30—10-30 A.M. Phone: B.B. 3686.
Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065.
LONDON OFFICE :—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

The South Russian and the North Russian dialects also differ lexically to a certain degree, the differences being found in part in words that belong to the basic word stock, that is, those words which express the most widespread, vitally necessary concepts. The South and the North have different words for horse, cock and a number of actions connected with cultivating the soil. But on the whole the word stock of all the Russian dialects represents an amazing unity, the differences on the whole being small.

The Russian language together with the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian comprise the East Slavic subgroup of Slavic languages, forming one of the branches of the Indo-European family of languages.

The oldest monuments of the Russian language date back to the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. But there are grounds for believing that a written language existed in Russia earlier than that.

The East Slavic tribal dialects, which formed the basis of the modern East Slavic languages, detached themselves from the common Slavic language as a result of the migration of the Slavic tribes over the territory of Eastern Europe, at the same time preserving a very great intimacy with the rest of the Slavic languages.

These East Slavic dialects became the basis of Old Russian, that is, the language of the ancient Russian nationality, which took shape on the territory of the Russian state with its centre at Kiev at a time which has not been established exactly but which was undoubtedly before the 9th century. Old Russian, whose dialects differed one from another to a very slight degree, was the source of all three of the modern East Slavic languages. The Kiev state remained a more or less solidly united body until approximately the end of the 11th century. The feudal era that followed, during which the individual principalities grew stronger and more isolated, was marked by growing differences between the Old Russian dialects. The isolation was still further intensified by the Mongol invasion of the 13th century, which led to the desolation (although not complete desolation) of the Southern area of Russia and to the disruption of connections between the South-Western lands and the territories of the North and East.

Beginning from the 14th century a centralized Russian state began to take shape in the North-Eastern part of Russia, with its centre at Moscow whose establishment is linked up with the formation of the modern Russian language. This language, the

language of the Russian nationality, later the Russian nation, was based on the Old Russian dialects spoken on the territory of the Russian state. These dialects, the dialects of a single centralized state with a single economic, political and cultural centre, began to lead a common life and drew together, at the same time moving away from the Old Russian dialects spoken outside the Russian state. The Old Russian dialects that remained outside the Russian state, on the territory of Byelorussia and the Ukraine, originally coming within the Lithuanian principality and part of Poland, formed the basis of the modern Byelorussian and Ukrainian languages. Only later did the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples become re-united with the fraternal Russian people (a part of the territory in the 17th and 18th centuries and the rest only after the Second World War).

Inasmuch as the leading role in political and economic relations in the newly-formed Russian state was played by the South, the dialect of the South, the Kursk-Orel dialect (the dialect of the modern Kursk and Orel regions), became the basis of the Russian national language. People from various parts of the Russian state streamed into Moscow, the great number coming from the South. Moscow is situated on the very border between the North Russian and South Russian dialects. Moscow monuments of the 14th century have, in the majority of cases, Northern features. A study of these monuments shows how, in the course of the following centuries, the Moscow speech whose standards later became the standards of the literary language, was more and more influenced by the Southern dialect.

A study of the monuments shows that by the 13th century the living spoken Russian language was very close to the modern Russian language as regards grammatical structure and especially morphology.

The development of the grammatical system of the Russian language, in particular the unification of various types of declensions, the loss of the dual number and the expression of any number of objects by only the plural number, and the reduction in the number of tense forms reflect the process of abstraction performed by the human thought over a long period of time.

The literary language of ancient Russia arose on the basis of the Old Russian living language, apparently long before the era of the oldest monuments that have come down to us. In the oldest monuments this language is strikingly reflected in several types

of manuscripts, primarily in legal documents (deeds) and the Russian *Pravda*, the most ancient poetic monument of Kiev Russia, the *Lay of Igor's Host*, (12th century).

With the introduction of Christianity in the 10th century what is known as the Old Slavic language became widespread in Russia. The Old Slavic is based on one of the South Slavic dialects (the Southern Slavs adopted Christianity earlier than the Russians). This language was used in the church service and religious writings, as well as in certain other literary forms, such as parts of annals, treatises and, later, in narrative literature. Inasmuch as all the Slavic languages, which are now very closely related, were still more closely related in the 10th and 11th centuries, this language was comprehensible to the Russians and met with no difficulties whatsoever in its diffusion. In the course of the following centuries both forms of the literary language—the one based on the living old Russian and the one based on the Old Slavic—developed in close co-operation. On the one hand, many elements of the Old Slavic language penetrated into the spoken language itself. As a result, even at the present time the Russian language has a large number of words of Old Slavic origin, some of which have entered the spoken language and some being used in formal or poetic speech. The role of words of Slavic origin in the Russian language is approximately the same as the role of Sanskrit elements in the Indo-Aryan languages. On the other hand, the Old Slavic language in Russia has been definitely influenced by the living Russian language. The Russianized form of Old Slavic has come to be called Church-Slavonic, and is used to the present time in the Orthodox Church.

Despite the existence of common standard for the literary language, one single standard did not exist in Kiev Russia, and the local dialectal peculiarities, primarily the phonetical, were reflected in the written language. In the era of feudal dispersion the influence of the dialects on the written language became somewhat more pronounced.

Two forms of the literary language (the Church-Slavonic and the one close to the living tongue) were also characteristic of the era during which a centralized Russian state was taking shape with its centre at Moscow (the 16th and 17th centuries). But in this era new tendencies were noticeable in the development of the literary language: in the first place, single standards gradually spread over the entire territory of the Russian state, and in the second place there was a steady increase in the number of monuments close to the new language. The final transition to a literary language based on the living national language, one that was employed in all literary forms, was made on the border between the 17th and 18th centuries (the period of Peter the First). From that time on the Church-Slavonic language came to be used only by the church.

During the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th century intensive work was carried on to elaborate standards for the new literary language. The leading scholars and writers of the time took an active part in this work. Most prominent of them was M. V. Lomonosov (middle of the 18th century) and A. S. Pushkin (beginning of the 19th century). Lomonosov was the first to write a complete Russian grammar, and produced brilliant examples of the new literary language both in poetry and prose. Lomonosov is noted for his theory of the three styles—the lofty, the middle and the low (the vernacular)—based on different proportions of Church-Slavonic and spoken Russian elements. This theory determined the style in which works in different literary genres should be written. For its time the theory was progressive inasmuch as it took its main point of departure from the living language. Even in the lofty style, in which more church-Slavonic words and expressions were used, archaic or incomprehensible church-Slavonisms were not permitted. The subsequent development of the literary language led to a violation of the borders between the styles indicated above. At the same time the living folk language was penetrating into the literary language on an ever wider scale and in all genres. The real founder of the new Russian literary language was Pushkin, Russia's greatest poet, who wrote in the living language of the people while at the same time recognizing the necessity of using for definite stylistic purposes (first and foremost, in poetry) Slavonisms as elements that were an organic part of the Russian language.

Since Pushkin's time the Russian language has hardly changed at all structurally. Naturally, the word stock of the Russian language is constantly developing, constantly acquiring new words that arise from changes in the social structure (especially after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917), the development of production, culture, science and so on. A number of obsolete words have dropped out. But the foundations of the language, its grammatical system and basic stock of words and its phonetic

Just Published

Planning for a Shortage Economy: The Indian Experiment

By C. N. Vakil & P. R. Brahmananda

A critical appraisal of the First Five Year Plan with a detailed analysis of the basic economic problems of the country with appropriate constructive suggestions for overcoming the difficulties. Or. pp. 320. Rs. 5-8, Cloth Bound Rs. 7

Industrial Peace in India:

By Dr. S. D. Puneekar

Rs. 1-8

An authoritative yet simple exposition of the problem of industrial relations with constructive suggestions.

Gandhian Economic Thought:

By J. C. Kumarappa

Rs. 1-4

A lucid presentation of the economic ideas of Gandhiji by his own economic expert.

Economic Consequences of Divided India:

By C. N. Vakil

Rs. 16

Group Prejudices in India:

Ed. by C. N. Vakil and Nanavati

Rs. 12

A symposium by 31 contributors on India's group tension.

VORA & CO. PUBLISHERS LTD.

3, Round Building, BOMBAY-2

DHOLE & CO.

RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT

GUTA-TONE
for CUTS - PAINS - BURNS ETC.

NEEM OINTMENT
for ITCHES & SORES

BARNAPORE - CALCUTTA

Pilot Plan on Fundamental Education Sponsored in Delhi by Unesco

New Delhi, Sept. 4, 1951—A pilot-model project aimed at greater literacy and the fundamental education of the literate is now functioning under the joint sponsorship of the Government of India and the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (Unesco).

The project was conceived at the Unesco Asian Seminar on Rural Adult Education held at Mysore in 1949, and on the basis of plans made at the seminar, the programme was launched last year with a literacy campaign. This campaign consists of holding classes to teach the reading and writing of Hindi symbols for beginners, and the production and distribution of proper literature for new literates.

The scope of the project was enlarged early this year to take in social, economic, health and cultural education. Dr. Emily Hatch, wife of the internationally famous pioneer in rural fundamental education, Dr. Duane Spencer Hatch, is the Unesco Adviser, and her daughter, Miss Nancy Hatch, her voluntary, unpaid assistant.

Mrs. Hatch has centered her efforts around the small Janta College at Alipur, in the State of Delhi. There the staff seeks first to focus the basic needs of the villagers through careful, house to house surveys. Subjects outlined so far cover cottage industries, agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, games and recreation, co-operative societies, principles of rural social organization, civics and citizenship—spraying the economic, cultural and social targets the Government has set up.

To stir interest in literacy among villagers, the Delhi State Education Department uses three Caravan Melas, each consisting of three motor truck vans—one carrying a library, the second motion-picture equipment with foot-lighted stage trailer, and the third exhibition and demonstration facilities.

The vans light up nearly half an acre. Films are shown during day and night and the trained staff organizes sports programmes, dramas, exhibitions and illustrated lectures. When the caravans leave after three days, squads of 15 to 20 men and women teachers remain behind to conduct literary classes. They live in the villagers' homes from four to six weeks, seeking to establish permanent adult education clubs and to train leaders to continue the work.

Dr. Spencer Hatch and his wife have devoted the greater part of their lives to pioneering rural reconstruction in India, beginning with the YMCA. They started with an experiment in Martandam in Travancore, devising improved methods of agriculture, animal husbandry and handicrafts for the villagers, at the same time continuing their own education in direct terms of the needs of such work.

Hatch's 18 years' experiences and studies were crystallized into one of the first comprehensive reports on a definition of, and techniques for, fundamental education. Revealed in films he produced and in three books, *Up From Poverty, Further Upwards*, and *Toward Freedom From Want*, the study now is used as a pattern the world over.—USIS.

Inter-American Women Consolidate Federation

Heloise Brainerd writes in the *Worldover Press*, November 16, 1951:

Mexico City: Under the presidency of Senora Tina Vasconcelos de Berges, the well-known literary figure, the Inter-American Congress of Women has held its second gathering, with delegates from 16 nations of the Americas. Five women were present

from the United States, one from Canada, delegations of a dozen or so from several Central American republics, with fewer from other Latin American countries and of course a large number of women from Mexico. Attendance ran into several hundred.

Topics covered by the conference included questions of special interest to women, and the definitive organization of the Federation of Women of the Americas, which was created at the First Congress four years ago.

In the plenary sessions there was lively discussion, even though the seven committees had prepared the ground well. Some delegates felt obliged to air political grievances which would compromise the position of others, but in the end the Congress adopted such conclusions as would be expected from a group of liberal-minded women. If Communists sought to gain control, they did not succeed.

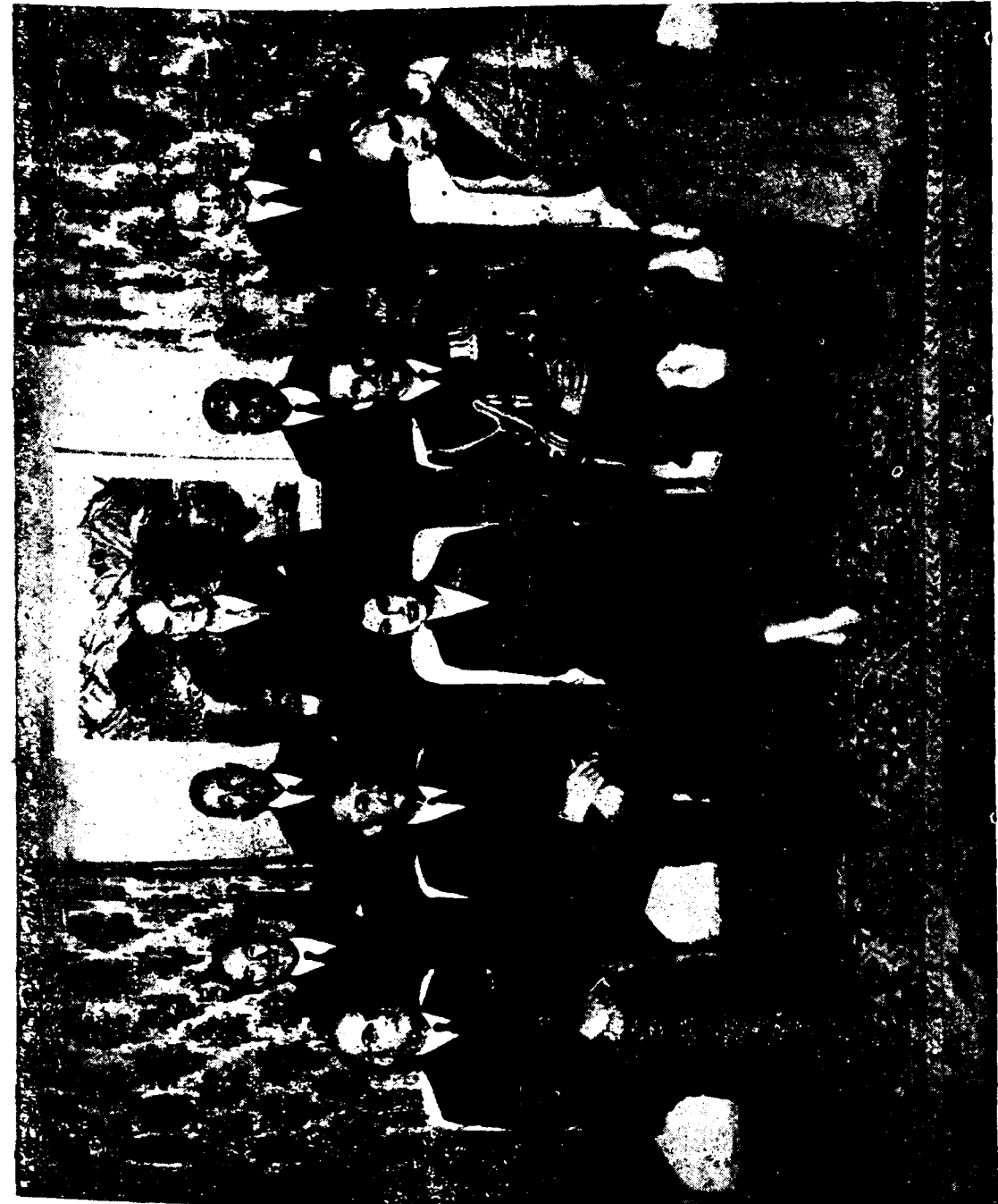
Much enthusiasm was manifested for carrying on and strengthening the Federation, which represents associations of women, not individuals. Its by-laws were therefore revised to make it more effective. It is anticipated that in two years another Congress, the Third, will be held in some American country.

Meanwhile Mexico City will be the seat of the Federation for this period, with an able Executive Committee composed of citizens of Venezuela, the United States and Mexico.

The earnest women who went to Mexico at great personal sacrifice may not move the world quickly, but their demand for peace and better living conditions will surely influence the slow course of events.

DIABETES CURED IN SEVEN DAYS

No matter how severe or long standing, Diabetes can be completely cured by VENUS CHARM, the latest scientific Discovery. Some of the main symptoms of this disease are Abnormal thirst and hunger, excess sugar in urine and itching, etc. In its serious form, it causes Carbuncles, Boils, Cataract and other complications. Thousands have escaped from the gallows of death by using "VENUS CHARM". The very next day it eradicates sugar and normalises specific gravity. Within two or three days you will feel more than half cured. No dietary restrictions. Ask for Free literature. Price per phial of 50 tablets Rs. 6-12-0. Postage free. Available from VENUS RESEARCH LABORATORY (M.R.), Post Box 587, CALCUTTA.



Princess Elizabeth (now Queen Elizabeth II) and her consort, Duke of Edinburgh, received the Ambassadors of the British Commonwealth nations at the Canadian Embassy in Washington during their recent visit to the United States.



THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



1952

Vol. LXXXI, No. 3

Whole No. 543

NOTES

The Verdict of the People

The elections are virtually over, excepting a few results in the North and in Uttar Pradesh. Of course, the elections to the Upper Houses and the Council of State is yet to come. But the issues are clear.

In general it may be said that with the exception of Bombay, the victory of the Congress has been in the reverse order of the literacy index, so far as the elections to the State Assemblies are concerned. In the South and markedly so in Madras and Travancore-Cochin the literacy index is the highest, and it is there that the Congress has fared its worst. Hyderabad has not got such a high degree of literacy it is true, but there also the literate sections of the communities were campaigning hard against the Congress in most areas.

In West Bengal had the parties in opposition put up a better selection of candidates, or had they backed suitable independents as was done in Madras and Orissa, the Congress would have fared far worse. As matters stand all the choicest nominees of the Congress—together with a good few of the worst type—have been defeated, with the sole exception of Dr. Roy, the Chief Minister. The educated sections of the people, the *bhadralok* class—the menfolk more particularly—practically abstained from voting as they did not want to vote Congress and they did not like the type of candidates the opposition groups had put up. This is fully proved by the returns from the urban areas where the percentage of voting was as low as 16 per cent, inclusive of false votes by impersonation, and even here female voters were in the majority.

The electoral rolls were defective in the extreme, and the defects seem to have been left in with a purpose. Very large numbers of persons, resident in Calcutta for last decade or more, were not in the rolls though their servants, ex-servants and dead relatives were included. Indeed people who died two years or more back, were all there, if the Calcutta North-East Constituency rolls are a fair sample. This allowed mass scale impersonation with impunity, more so since the question of a "challenge" was not only made expensive—Rs. 10 per challenge—but also uncertain due to the whims of the presiding officers. As a result, in urban areas at least 25 per cent of the votes cast were false. The marking by ink of the voter was a farce and, now it transpires, the fate of the ballot papers in the boxes was at the mercy of the guardians of peace. Where they inclined towards the left, the ballot papers took flight from the boxes of the others, and vice versa if they were "loyal," the major sufferers being the non-party independents in either case. In Calcutta, the enormous hiatus between the polling and counting gave ample opportunities to the nefarious election fabricators, with most curious results, which are too numerous to relate in these columns. The Congress has been openly accused for these malpractices. We are in a position to state that in certain parts of Calcutta the "extreme left" out-classed all and sundry in such matters.

Party schisms within the Congress helped the opposition everywhere, with marked results where the electorate were politically conscious to any appreciable degree. Popular discontent and a sense of frustration amongst the saner sections also aggravated the people's mind. Thus we find the *Hindu* of Madras,

which cannot by any stretch of imagination be called anti-Congress, commenting, in its February 3 issue, on the Madras elections as follows:

"The verdict of the electorate amounts to a decisive repudiation of the Ministry, that has been in power. Practically all the important Ministers have been thrown out. While an element of personal feud undoubtedly contributed to the overthrow of one or two of them, the cumulative effect of the Ministerial reverses cannot be explained away. The fact that the defeated Ministers themselves have confessed to total surprise at these developments merely shows how little they were aware of what was happening in the State. They indeed seemed to set little store by public opinion. . . ."

"The verdict of the electorate must be regarded as no less decisive against the Congress organisation and direction in this State. Unlike in such 'problem' States as East Punjab and Bengal, the Party here has not been distracted by differences of opinion between the Ministry on the one hand and the local Congress party on the other. On the contrary, the Ministry has been only too amenable to control and suggestion from the latter."

"At the time of the resignation of the Omandur Ministry we pointed out that it was essential that the new Ministry should reflect political realities by giving adequate representation to the different sections of opinion that had emerged within the Congress. If this had been done the open breaches that have since come about and precipitated the disruption of the Congress particularly in Andhra, might not have occurred. But those who were in charge of the machine were in no mood to heed such advice. It was perhaps too late, by the time the elections approached, for the Madras Congress to have made a determined effort to stop the rot; the internecine quarrel had reached the all-India level. But a little more anxiety to accommodate honest differences and to conform in the letter and the spirit to the Congress President's exhortation to set up men of integrity and independence as candidates might have gone some way towards healing the breach. Considerations of expediency, however, seem to have outweighed with those who were entrusted with the task, in far too many cases; with the result that tried Congressmen of many years' standing were provoked to contest as Independents or even to join other parties, especially those like the K.M.P. The fact that a larger proportion of successful Congressmen have been returned by a smaller percentage of the total votes polled in their respective constituencies than almost any other of the successful groups, while a multiplicity of candidates was a feature in almost every constituency, should make two things clear. The Congress did not lose more than others by the splitting of votes; on the other hand, its candidates had less pull with the

electorate by and large than the others. That does not show much discrimination in the choice of candidates.

"The emergence of the Communists as a powerful group has been regarded as the most significant feature of the new political landscape. While we are certainly not inclined to underrate this portent we think it may be an even more unwise thing to overrate its importance. It is necessary to discriminate, for instance, between the success of the Communists in the Andhra districts adjoining Telengana and their sporadic successes elsewhere. Outside Andhra their most notable success was in Malabar where they got 25 per cent of the seats. Here, as in the Coastal districts of Andhra, Communism has been actively at work for some years and has capitalised the widespread discontent due to chronic want. In the north it has exercised coercion and intimidation also on a large scale; the anarchy prevailing in Telengana materially helped it. In the Tamil Nad, Communists have won only 14 out of 185 seats, six of them being from Tanjore."

With certain modifications the picture is the same in the "problem province" of West Bengal. The picture is somewhat different in Travancore-Cochin if we are to consider the opinion of the *Hindu*, as reflected in its editorial of 11th January, as correct. Therein appear the following comments:

"The growth of the influence of the extreme Left in the State, though it will take nobody by surprise, has a number of lessons for other parties by which they may yet profit. The Communists have concentrated on a comparatively small area but they have intensively cultivated it. They have established close contacts with the rural poor and been largely successful in exciting their hopes. Lavish promise of securing for them free all the land they wish to possess is one of the chief baits. Organisationally speaking, the Communists have not frittered away their energies by setting up candidates where they had no reasonable chance of success. And they seem to have fared better than other parties in the matter of persuading their supporters to go to the polls and record their votes. In a State where, thanks to the high percentage of literacy, the polling has been very high relatively speaking, the areas in which Communists have been active have generally shown an even higher rate of polling than the average. And the Communists have shown, too, something of the wisdom of the serpent in deciding, where they assessed their chances as slender, to support Independents or occasionally even men of other organised parties, no doubt hoping to be able to benefit by this policy in the long run.

"The Congress, on the other hand, committed a tactical blunder in adopting an uncompromising attitude in these respects. It might have usefully agreed to set up in places, where it had no high hopes Independents, men of integrity and local influence, even if these would not agree to merge themselves in the Congress. From the analysis published elsewhere it

will be seen that, though the Independents gained only 11 seats, they secured a very high poll in more than a score of the other seats, in many of which the Congress fared pretty badly. Again, the rather belated discovery that there is little ideological difference between the Congress and the Travancore T.N.C. might have been advantageously made earlier. True, these dissidents are insistent that the Tamil areas of Travancore should be separated and added on to Tamil Nad. But if the request was *per se* reasonable was it proper to turn it down summarily on *a priori* grounds such as that the request smacks of linguism?"

Our own information is that the Travancore-Cochin elections were further complicated by the bad selection of candidates by the Congress. Herein the picture tallies with what we have ourselves observed in West Bengal. In West Bengal, the Congress selections were bad in most cases, vile in some cases and positively notorious in a few instances. As we have already remarked Congress escaped defeat in West Bengal simply because the opposition camps chose equally noxious nominees in most instances.

CONGRESS "VICTORY" IN WEST BENGAL

Dr. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, who has been leading an "ivory tower" existence these last four years, draws some very erroneous conclusions, as quoted *infra*, which bodes very ill for the future of the Congress in West Bengal, from the Congress victory, which is Pyrrhic in our opinion.

Dr. Roy who was speaking at a reception held at Indian Association Hall analysed the results of the elections and said that the Muslims in West Bengal everywhere had helped the Congress in the elections and the Congress could take pride in it. The Non-Bengalees in West Bengal who had close ties with the State had also helped the Congress and had contributed largely to its victory. All thanks were due to them, Dr. Roy said.

But merely voting the Congress to power would not do, Dr. Roy said. The supporters of the Congress should now come forward to co-operate with the organisation and should point out the mistakes that the Congress might commit in future. Mistakes if pointed out in a friendly way, could always become helpful. If all those who had helped the Congress to power could not work unitedly in the coming five years, those who were in opposition to the Congress would not miss the opportunity. They would take advantage of their disunity and would try to make the Congress unpopular.

Speaking of his victory Dr. Roy reiterated that it was not a personal victory but a victory of the organisation to which he belonged. Whatever success had come to him in his life, Dr. Roy said, had come due to his association with the Congress and all thanks should go to the large number of people who had helped the Congress to power in West Bengal.

Seven ministers defeated, including the three—Bhupati Majumdar, Prafulla Sen and Harendra Roy Chowdhury—who only, besides himself, had the attributes and qualities of ministership amongst all his colleagues, and Dr. Roy talks about co-operation and victory! But perhaps Dr. Roy was speaking in a jocular vein. Dr. Roy's conclusions regarding the Muslim electorate in West Bengal is equally faulty in our opinion and the W.B.P.C.C. president, Sri Atulya Ghosh, whom we quote *infra* is correct to the best of our information:

"Referring to the comments recently made by Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy that the Muslims and the non-Bengalees had helped the Congress in West Bengal to win, Sri Atulya Ghosh, in reply to a question said that he did not agree entirely with the observation. If that was true, Congress would not have lost the seats in Baranagore, Howrah Town and Assasol.

In reply to another question, Sri Ghosh said that it was up to the Congress Central Parliamentary Board to decide if some of the defeated Congress candidates were to be brought back through the Upper House. The Provincial Board would be guided by the decisions of the Central Parliamentary Board in this respect. But he felt that when the Congress was in power it would not be unfair if such a method was adopted, Sri Ghosh added.

Asked whether the defeated Ministers would be brought back through re-election, Sri Ghosh said that there was no such thing as 'defeated Ministers'. To them, all were Congress candidates. Wherever there had been defeats, the Congress candidates and the Congress as such had been defeated. There was no such thing as 'personal defeat'."

We are in agreement with Sri Ghosh regarding Upper House selection. We can quite imagine what the opposition of the "extreme left" would have done if they had come to power.

We would conclude about the West Bengal elections by quoting the following summary from the *Hindustan Standard* of February 14:

"Analysis of the trend of polling in different constituencies during the general elections in West Bengal reveals a surprisingly low percentage of voters turning up at the polls in Calcutta and some of the urban areas, as compared to the percentage in other areas.

In Calcutta, the nerve-centre of political activities, the lowest percentage of voters turned up at the polling centres. Of the total number of about 14,14,300 voters in the city, not more than 35 per cent exercised their franchise.

Hooghly district recorded the highest percentage of votes polled in the State's 15 districts. In the district, of a total electorate of about 6,80,300, more than 81 per cent cast their votes. Besides Calcutta, low percentage of polling was also recorded in some of the districts. In Nadia, where there had been a large influx of refugees during the last five years, approxi-

mately, 34.2 per cent of the voters went to the polls. In Malda, the percentage of polling was about 40, while in Darjeeling it was 45. In all the other districts, the percentage was more than 50.

One very interesting feature of polling was that while middle-class people seemed to be rather reluctant to turn up at the booths, the labour electorate was very much enthusiastic about exercising their franchise. But strangely enough, the majority of the labour electorate cast their votes in favour of Congress, as against the Communist or other parties known to be working in the labour sphere. In the labour belt in and around Calcutta in 24 Parganas and Howrah, Congress candidates secured collectively 120,717, as against C.P.I. nominees securing 64,160 and Forward Bloc, Marxist and Ruiker, 19,452. It was also equally evident that major reverses in Congress rank were due to the failure of the Congress to inspire the support of middle-class electorate.

In Calcutta, the Congress captured 17 out of a total of 26 seats, and polled collectively 40 per cent of the total votes cast. The C. P. I. candidates, secured 15 per cent of the total votes polled, and captured 4 of the city seats. Forward Bloc (Marxist) captured 3 seats and polled 3.5 per cent of the total votes polled. U.S.O. had 14.5 per cent of the votes polled to their credit but were able to return only 2 candidates.

In 24 Parganas where there is a large labour belt, Congress captured 23 of the 40 seats. Communists 8, K. M. P. P. 4, S. R. P. 1, Forward Bloc (Subhasist) 1, Jana Sangha 1 and Independents 2. In the district, approximately 66.6 per cent of the total electorate cast their votes.

In Midnapore district, of the 35 seats, 12 went to Congress, 9 to Jana Sangha, 7 to Communist, 6 to K. M. P. P. and 1 to Independent. In the district, approximately 67 per cent of the electorate exercised their franchise.

Of the 20 seats in Burdwan, 13 seats were captured by Congress, 2 by Communists, 2 by K. M. P. P., 1 by Hindu Mahasabha, 1 by Forward Bloc (Subhasist) and 1 Independent. Of the electorate, 63.5 per cent cast their votes.

Of the 11 seats in Birbhum, 8 went to Congress, 2 to Forward Bloc (Marxist) and 1 to K. M. P. P. The percentage of polling was about 60.

In Bankura district, Congress captured 11 of the 14 seats, while the rest were captured by Hindu Mahasabha. Of the electorate, nearly 65.5 per cent exercised their franchise.

In Nadia where 34.2 per cent (approximately) of the electorate exercised their franchise, Congress captured 14 out of a total number of 16 seats in the district, and the remaining two seats went to U. P. B. and Independent.

In Maldah district, Congress captured 6 of the total of 9 seats, while of the rest, Communists captured

1 and Independents 2. Forty per cent of the electorate cast their votes.

In Darjeeling district, where 45 per cent of the total votes were polled, Gorkha League captured 3 of the total 5 seats, Communists 1 and Congress 1. In Cooch Behar, all the 6 seats were captured by Congress, the percentage of polling being approximately 69. All the 16 seats in Jalpaiguri and West Dinajpur went to Congress nominees. In Jalpaiguri district, 50 per cent of the electorate exercised their franchise, while in West Dinajpur, approximately 62.5 per cent of the electorate cast their votes.

It will be seen that the Congress success was most marked in the backward rural areas, with the exception of Midnapur, where the Congress selection was particularly bad, thanks to the crass obstinacy of a particularly inept minister, who lost deservedly. We have not given all the district summaries for lack of space, but they would have borne out our point if given.

Here also, in West Bengal, as in the rest of India, the electorate were less interested in the House of People elections as the following table, also from the *Hindustan Standard*, would show:

	Seats contested	Seats won	Votes polled
Congress	34	24	32,06,162
Communists	9	5	7,20,304
Jana Sangha	7	2	4,57,148
Hindu Mahasabha	6	1	3,24,870
R. S. P.	3	1	1,08,881
Other Parties	10	1 (U.S.O.)	2,67,398
F. B. (Marxist)	6	nil	3,44,225
K.M.P.P.	10	nil	6,79,146
Socialists	7	nil	1,52,289
R.C.P.I.	1	nil	26,233
F. B. (Subhasist)	2	nil	86,738
Ram Rajya Parishad	2	nil	13,110
Independents	28	nil	11,83,352

LEFTIST VICTORIES

Coming now to the "Leftist victories," we would say, now that the din and the dust has subsided, that the victory does not seem to be so fruitful to the winners as it seemed. Indeed if the outlook is dismal for the Congress in Orissa, Madras, Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin, it is no less unsatisfactory to the Communists despite all their planning and meeting with others. Their "victory" in Madras has already proved abortive, where it seems the "Consolidated Right" won more seats in opposition to the Congress than the "United Left." There are talks proceeding elsewhere as the following extract from the *Hindustan Standard* of February 22 shows, but it does not seem to lead anywhere:

"The central leadership of the Communist Party of India is also currently discussing threadbare among themselves the political implications of the election results.

One of the most important issues before all the Left parties is the question of Left Alliance or Left Unity. In a general way, the question boils down to: With whom to unite and on what programme and where?

Unity talks have already taken place between the leaders of the Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party at Lucknow and then at Banaras recently where the spokesmen of both the parties are stated to have exchanged their fundamental viewpoints in the post-election period and sought to explore the common grounds, if any, between them. Their discussions were not conclusive.

One of the major points in which the two above-said parties differ is in regard to the C.P.I. While the R.S.P. leaders are reported to be for the inclusion of the Communists if possible, in any scheme of Left Unity, the S.P. leadership is suspicious about the Communists though the former is stated to have lost some of its rigidity about the latter. Non-Communist Left Parties are, however, suspicious about a probable swing of the C.P.I. either to the extreme Right or the extreme Left.

The nebulous developments on an All-India plane, are, however, being reflected in the activities of the political parties in West Bengal specially in the Trade Union organisations under their control."

In the House of People elections, which are almost complete, the Communist dominated groups have scored just over 5 per cent of the wins. This goes to show that on an All-India basis their influence is far less marked than in local politics where parochial considerations, local factions, personal jealousies and internecine feuds predominated.

As matters stand it seems to us that the Congress would have scored a resounding victory all over the Union and would have received the sanction of its nationals in unambiguous mandatory terms, if Pandit Nehru's speeches regarding reforming the rank and file of the Congress and about selecting men of "unimpeachable integrity and moral fibre" for the elections had been proved to be sincere. The Communist party's dreams have ended in moonshine in the elections taken as a whole but that does not end all danger in our political theatre. On the contrary. This election may not content the electorate for five years, and the disruptionists may be better organised and supported in the next. The trend of the actual polling show some very disturbing facts, the most disturbing being the signs of political dementia praecox of the electorate, for which incongruous utterances of Pandit Nehru, such as what he said at his press interview on February 28, are greatly responsible. We quote some passages:

"Sri Nehru referring to Communists' activities said that their tactics in India had been 'utterly disruptionist' and most injurious to the very ideal they put forward.

"One of the most distressing features of the situation here," said Sri Nehru, "is when people who know nothing about Communism talk and shout about it. When I say that—I sympathise a great deal with Communist theories and Communist objectives—I mean that there is no essential, basic difference between Socialism and Communism and matters of this kind."

"I am interested in certain economic interpretation of history which Marx gave out but I am not interested in many things which Marx had stated. I think Marx is out of date today. To talk about Marxism today, if I may say so, is reaction. I think Communists with all their fire and fury are in some ways utterly reactionary, in outlook. They differed in different parts of the world in their outlooks."

"Undoubtedly, said Sri Nehru, Communism had certain fine sentiments and idealism. That was why it drew very fine young men and young women."

King George VI

On February 6 last died King George VI of Great Britain, head and symbol of that "Commonwealth of Nations" which was but only the other day the British "Empire."

The cause of his death at 56 years is the dreaded disease coronary thrombosis following a thickening of arteries.

The announcement of the King's death—at Sandringham, Norfolk—came at 10.4 G.M.T.

It said that he returned to rest at night in his usual health and passed peacefully away in his sleep.

King George stood bareheaded in a bitter wind when he said good-bye to his daughter at London airport. That was the King's last public appearance.

A "Reuter" reporter who was there said he looked unusually sad. "It was as if he sensed he would never see his daughter again," he wrote.

"He surprised the crowds by standing bareheaded in the icy wind though his hands were blue with cold.

"Princess Margaret was drawn with cold and the teeth of the spectators were chattering but the King stood up well."

News of the death of the monarch who had called himself "a very ordinary person" came with stunning force to a people who had believed he was recovering from an operation on September 23 when a surgeon cut away a part of his lung.

Born on December 14, 1895, second son of King George Fifth and Queen Mary, who survives him at the age of 84, the late King succeeded to the throne on December 11, 1936, after the abdication of his eldest brother, King Edward the Eighth.

On receipt of the news Princess Elizabeth immediately broke off her world tour to fly home to the throne of England.

She wept when the news was brought to her more than 4,000 miles away in an African jungle at the Royal Lodge, Nyeri, Kenya.

Prime Minister Nehru conveying the news of the death of the King to Parliament said: "I have to convey a sad news to the House. It is with deep regret that I have to inform the House that a short while ago occurred the death of His Majesty King George the Sixth of the United Kingdom."

"As you know," Shri Nehru continued, "he was unwell for a considerable time but he had recently recovered and was recuperating and, in fact, he was thinking of undertaking a voyage to recuperate still further. So the news that came a few minutes ago was in the nature of a surprise and shock and I am sure that this House will deeply sympathise with Her Majesty the Queen and the Princesses and the people of England with whom the King was so popular."

"Whatever the views of persons may be, here or elsewhere, on the question of royalty or republicanism, each country decides for itself. We decided in favour of a republic and we are the Republic of India. But it is a significant thing in this world of republics now the British Royal House has stood firm, firm not in law merely but firm in the affection of the people of the United Kingdom. All of us know, those who have had any opportunity of visiting England or other parts of the United Kingdom, how extraordinary were the feelings of affection felt by the people for King George. Therefore, I have no doubt that his death will come as a sorrow and a shock to them."

The Prime Minister requested the Speaker to "convey to Her Majesty the Queen the sense of our deep sorrow at this event." He also suggested that Parliament should not meet tomorrow in view of this happening.

There has been a lot of rabid talk—even public meetings—condemning the official orders for mourning. We would have deemed all that worthy of consideration if we had come across a single instance, in the length and breadth of India, where the so-called leftist workers, in offices and factories, had refused to stop work and take a half-holiday. In the absence of any such instance, we can only term that as empty verbiage, exceedingly contrary to our national traditions which condemn all unseemly demonstrations against the memory of the dead.

The Sterling Agreement

The Indo-British Sterling Agreement, which has been in operation since August 1947, has been extended for a further period of six years ending on June 30, 1957.

The agreement, now operative, will include the proposals agreed between the two Governments tentatively in December 1950, providing for an annual release of up to £35 m. for six years from July 1951.

Letters confirming agreement on these proposals were exchanged between Mr. Butler, British Chancellor of Exchequer, and Sir C. D. Deshmukh, India's Finance Minister, during latter's visit to London last week. Copies of these letters were laid on the table in Parliament by the Finance Minister on 12th February 1952.

The six-years agreement will also incorporate the proposals announced last October providing for the transfer of £310 m. from the blocked account (No. 2) to the Current Account (No. 1). This will normally be held by the Reserve Bank of India as a current reserve and has to be drawn "in an emergency" with previous consultation with the British Government.

The sterling balances of India on August 14, 1947 stood at £1,137 m. of this £222 m. was paid to the British Government in payment of sterling pensions and for the surplus stores and equipment left in India by Britain after World War II. A further sum of £156 m. was paid to Pakistan as her share after the separation of the Pakistan currency from that of India, bringing the total disbursed under these to £378 m. Deducting these from the total amount, the sterling balances stood at £570 million on February 8, 1952, the date of exchange of the formal letters. Thus India has consumed £189 m. during the last five years or so to meet her current balance of payment deficit mainly attributable to heavy food imports. A total of £210 m. at the rate of £35 m. per year, will be withdrawn during the six years from July, 1951. This with £310 m. transferred to the current account, will leave on the expiry of the present agreement £50 m. only in the blocked account and this will automatically be transferred to the current account on June 30, 1957.

The two Governments have now agreed to consult together, if in any of the years covered by the present agreement, India finds it necessary to exceed the release of £35 m. and to draw upon the releases for subsequent periods by more than £5 m.

The lobby circles are of opinion that this agreement will "finally dispose of a vexed problem" and set at rest any lingering fears arising out of the attitude of the leaders of Britain's Conservative Government on the question of India's sterling balances.

The present agreement will, however, relieve Great Britain from the grave financial crisis through which she has been passing since the Korean war. The existence of sterling balances, intensified the severity of the issue. The present decision on the part of India as not to embarrass Britain in her crisis, is however appreciated. Such co-operation and mutual help are essential for the growth of congenial relationship between the two Governments.

But we cannot agree with the decision of the Finance Minister on two points, one of which, we apprehend, will encounter financial encumbrance to the country.

The agreement has been made for the fairly long period of six years. Any prolonged commitment is not comprehensible under the varying world conditions of today. It would have been better if the agreement were for a shorter period with provisions for timely modifications. The world situation may change in any moment bringing a total upset in the whole economic situation of the world. Anything and everything may happen within the next six years which may require more than the proviso of £5 m. in excess of £35 m. annually. Any rigid restriction on the meagre financial resources of India, leaves open the possibility of undermining economic development. Besides, the agreement has been extended beyond the life tenure of the present government and as such encroaches upon the future government. Thus the present government is intruding into the powers and authority of the future government. The Finance Minister might have mentioned that to the British Chancellor when negotiating the agreement and have limited the extension of the agreement till the next election.

The thing which is most striking and perhaps humiliating to national prestige is the suspicion entertained by Britain on India's future behaviour with her. Britain could not trust Independent India regarding payment to British officials as pensions and annuities. On August 14, 1947, she capitalised the dues at £310 millions, and deducted it from India's sterling balances and took the responsibility of payment to her own account. Under such circumstances, it is curious as to how and why India, with bitter experience of the past, should be asked to have confidence in the behaviour of Britain and block her sterling balances instead of utilising them at a time like the present, when she is in dire necessity of essential commodities like food, machines and tools for her industry!

Kashmir and Anglo-America

Americans, Democrat and Republican, may rail at Jawaharlal for his supposedly unneutral policy that tempts and encourages the Communist Bloc. British papers like the *Truth*, a weekly made famous by Labouchere during the last decade of the 19th century, as an upholder of Liberal principles, have under other auspices so far degenerated as to characterize Jawaharlal's reference to Gracey, the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief, as "Babu mentality." This the paper did in course of a review of Gracey's article. Under the caption "General Gracey Replies" the article proceeded:

"The truth of the matter, of course, is that the feeling of inferiority aroused in the breasts of the Indian politicians when they compare themselves with the grand fighting men of Pakistan is increased by the knowledge that British officers do tend to bestow upon their old comrades-in-arms a respect which the hysterical little Pandits of New Delhi can never enjoy. That is why they suspect intrigues where no

intrigues exist. British Army Officers are not politicians."

The following is an extract from an editorial entitled "Indian Congressional Fissure," published in the *Truth*:

"What, more than anything, has maintained Mr. Nehru's influence, has been the shouting match in which he is engaged against Pakistan. The strange admixture of bellicosity and a distinctly suspect pacifism, which is his chief stock-in-trade, seems to go down very well with his followers, who cannot fail to be aware that he seems to be succeeding in his plan to keep the Muslim State of Kashmir indefinitely shackled to the new Indian Empire."

"Mr. Nehru himself declares that posterity will applaud his Kashmir policy. It is, from his point of view, certainly safer for that policy to be left to the remote future than to the free vote of the Kashmiri people."

This is an example of the depths to which the Anglo-American papers and public men sink. But this is not the end of the chapter. The Communist Bloc are also dissatisfied with India for Nehru agreeing to stay within the "British" Commonwealth. Winston Churchill has since September last started again on his mischief-making. The death of King George VI and the enthronement of Elizabeth II, has given him the opportunity as Prime Minister of Britain to add the word "British" as a prefix to "Commonwealth." Eire has very properly protested against the use of this word. The Irish State is bound in "external relations" with Britain, and this relation does not open out the chances of a come-back of Dublin Castle rule, or more properly, misrule. This chapter should be closed now. Allen Johnson, has given us a picture of the labours of his hero Lord Mountbatten. But he does less than justice to Lady Mountbatten who has latterly developed a habit of flying to India as Red Cross Society's Chief in the Women's Section. And it so happens that whenever the Kashmir problem gets hot, she is here. This interest in India is liable to misinterpretation.

But these external influences we can neglect or ignore. Kashmir represents to India her fight against the "two-nation" theory. The Australian jurist Sir Owen Dixon and the U.S.A. jurist, Doctor Frank Graham, have failed and deserved to fail. Dixon gave one interpretation to Nehru and another to Liaquat Ali; so has Graham. Their military advisers are no better. The Belgian General Devoile, Dixon's military adviser for a while, carried in his own plane valuables to oblige a Pakistani lady friend. And when found out later raised the same cry as Gracey does. And Graham's military adviser, the Canadian General Jacob Devers presented a plan of demilitarization and withdrawal of troops by the two States which said different things to them.

Here is the text of this precious plan:

Preamble: To accomplish the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir within the shortest possible period and a pre-requisite for a free and impartial plebiscite to be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan subscribe to the following agreements:

(a) **Principal Agreements:** The Governments of India and Pakistan:

1. Reaffirm their determination not to resort to force and to adhere to peaceful procedures and specifically pledge themselves that they will not commit aggression or make war with regard to the question of Jammu and Kashmir.

2. Agree that each Government, on its part, will instruct its official spokesmen and will urge all its citizens, organisations, publication and radio stations not to make warlike statements or statements calculated to incite the people of either nation to make war against the other with regard to the question of Jammu and Kashmir;

3. Reaffirm their will to observe the cease-fire effective from January 1, 1949 and the Karachi Agreement of July 27, 1949;

4. Reaffirm the acceptance of the principle that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations;

5. Agree that subject to the provisions of paragraph eleven below, demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir contemplated in the Kashmir Commission's resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, shall be effected in a single continuous process;

6. Agree that this process of demilitarisation shall be completed on July 15, 1952, unless another date is decided upon by the representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments referred to in paragraph nine;

7. Agree that the demilitarisation shall be carried out in such a way that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph six above the situation will be:

A. On the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line:

(1) The tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who had entered the State for the purpose of fighting will have been withdrawn;

(2) The Pakistan troops will have been withdrawn from the State; and

(3) Large-scale disbandment and disarmament of the 'Azad' Kashmir forces will have taken place.

B. On the Indian side of the cease-fire line:

(1) The bulk of the Indian forces in the State will have been withdrawn;

(2) Further withdrawals or reductions as the case may be of the Indian and State armed forces remain-

ing in the State after the completion of the operation referred to in B(1) above, will have been carried out. So that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph 6 above there will remain on the present Pakistan side of the cease-fire line a force of four 'Azad' Kashmir regular infantry battalions of 900 men each, a force of 4,000 civil armed forces, 1,500 Northern and Gilgit Scouts and 1,000 line of communication troops, and on the Indian side of the cease-fire line a force of seven regular infantry battalions of 900 men each, a force of 5,000 civil armed forces (militia) and 2,500 line of communication troops.

8. Agree that the demilitarisation shall be carried out in such a way as to involve no threat to the cease-fire agreement either during or after the period referred to in paragraph six;

9. Agree that representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments assisted by their military advisers will meet under the auspices of the United Nations to draw up a programme of demilitarisation in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs five, six, seven and eight above;

10. Agree that the Government of India shall cause the Plebiscite Administrator to be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period referred to in paragraph six above;

11. Agree that the completion of the programme of demilitarisation referred to in paragraph nine above will be without prejudice to the functions and responsibilities of the United Nations Representative and the Plebiscite Administrator with regard to the final disposal of forces as set forth in paragraph four (A) and (B) of the January 5, 1949 Resolution;

12. Agree that any differences retarding the programme of demilitarisation contemplated in paragraph nine above will be referred to the military adviser of the United Nations representative and if disagreement continues to the United Nations representative whose decision shall be final.

1. D-day to be 30 days after the principal agreements have been signed by representatives of the two Governments in India and Pakistan.

2. D. plus 31 to D. plus 90.

(A) The United Nations observers' force to be greatly increased and equipped with necessary jeeps, helicopters and communication equipment to assure that there is no violation of the cease-fire agreements and to assist in demobilisation of forces and give stability and backing to local Governments in maintaining order.

(B) Pakistan to close the western border of the Azad Kashmir sector against unauthorised ingress from the west. This is to be done by selected regular troops (3,500 northern and Gilgit Scouts provided).

(C) All regular Pakistan forces to be withdrawn to Pakistan except three battalions.

(D) The Azad Kashmir armed forces to be reduced

to four battalions and 3,500 Northern and Gilgit Scouts and 2,000 line of communication troops.

(E) A civil armed force of 4,000 civilians to be created in the 'Azad' territory of Kashmir.

(F) The regular Indian forces including the line of communication troops to be reduced approximately by one-half.

(G) The 6,000 militia in the Jammu-Kashmir territory of the Indian side of the cease-fire line to be reorganised into a civil force of 5,000 civilians.

(3) D. plus 91 to or about July 14, 1952:

(A) The three regular Pakistan infantry battalions to be withdrawn to Pakistan.

(B) The regular Indian forces to be reduced to 28,000 men including line of communication troops.

(4) July 15, 1952:

(A) The Plebiscite Administrator arrives in Srinagar and is inducted into office.

(B) The 3,500 Northern and Gilgit Scouts are reduced to 1,500 by disarming and disbanding.

(C) The 'Azad' Kashmir line of communication troops are reduced to 1,000.

(D) The regular Indian forces including any State armed forces are reduced to seven battalions of infantry of 900 men each and 2,500 line of communication troops.

(E) Above reductions will allow the Plebiscite Administrator to adjust the proportion on each side of the cease-fire line in accordance with the recommendations in number seven of the twelve points and with the procedure established to paragraphs four (A) and (B) of the resolution of the UN CIP of January 5, 1949.

Note: (1) The plan can only be accepted as a whole. Dates, times and strength can be altered on agreement between the two Governments. (2) No Indian or Jammu and Kashmir national, Pakistani or 'Azad' Kashmir national to cross the cease-fire line.

In his letter of request to Dr. Graham, dated January 16, Mr. Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, stated that on December 11, 1951, General Devers put forward a comprehensive plan of demilitarisation preparatory to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir. It is believed that these proposals were also communicated to the Indian military advisers.

These are the only proposals which can be at all described as "General Devers" demilitarisation plans.

The letter added, "Having regard to the formal character of the conversations and in accordance with normal diplomatic practice I refrained from referring to them in my letter of December 11, 1951."

Now, we turn to the most significant development in the U.N.O. Security Council's last session. This is the intervention of the Soviet delegate, Jacob Malik, who in a speech delivered on the 17th last, covering about 6 sheets of typed matter, traversed the whole Anglo-American position, wrangled against their

imperialism as they do against him. These do not interest us, and we summarise it as a record of facts:

"M. Malik opined that there was no justification for refusal on the part of U.S.A. and Britain to recognise the Constituent Assembly recently set up in Kashmir for determining the wishes of the people of Kashmir on vital issues affecting their interests."

The Soviet delegate suggested that Kashmir be allowed to settle its own future without any outside intervention. M. Malik accused the "Anglo-American Bloc" of interfering in the internal affairs of Kashmir and said that they had consistently prevented a just solution of the problem for the following reasons:

- (1) They adopted an "imperialistic" attitude towards the region;
- (2) They wanted to turn it into a "trust territory" under Anglo-American control; and
- (3) They intend to use it as an armed base and to station forces in the region.

Tax-Evaders

The special representative of the *Delhi Express*, belonging to the chain of newspapers controlled by Sri Ramnath Goenka, in its issue of February 9 gave a summary of the 1951 report of the Income-tax Investigation Commission. The facts are startling though nothing startles us today, used as we have become to jobbery and corruption. We reproduce this summary:

"Nearly Rs. 30 crores of concealed income, the Report says, was discovered up to the end of 1951 from the beginning of the Commission's work.

"Out of a total of 1,540 cases referred to it by the Government of India, the number disposed of comes to 661. The Commission concentrated on the big cases involving large amounts of concealed income during the year and disposed of 324 cases involving Rs. 18,12,26,975 of concealed income.

"A hunt for the small fry leaving breathing time to the big game to adjust themselves and to obliterate the available evidence would not have been fair to the revenue or to the general public," the Commission observes.

"After referring to some of the methods of evasion the Commission refers to the introduction of the 'white ants' which had 'exercised a wonderful selectivity so as to attack only particular pages which contained vital information' for the determination of the issues before the Commission.

"In many other cases of importance, the investigation is 'in an advanced stage,' and hearings are expected to take place during the current year.

"All the four years of the Commission's existence were not devoted to investigation alone. During the first year (1948) the Commission was almost entirely engaged in examining the income-tax law and made recommendations on its revision which largely formed the basis of the Income-tax Amendment Bill presented to Parliament last year.

"The 'average yield' per case during 1951 was

Rs. 5.95 lakhs, and Rs. 94,000 during the three preceding years—1950, 1949, 1948. This result, the Commission observed, was on account of its decision to take up and dispose of, as early as possible, the heaviest of the cases instead of the smaller ones which may be numerically larger, but which would not yield concealments of any magnitude.

The Commission has recommended to the Government that investigation into tax evasion should be undertaken as a regular work by the Income-tax Department.

It has suggested that there should be a wing in the office of the Central Board of Revenue on the lines of the inquiry branch in the U.K., with experts to tackle all difficult and intricate cases of tax-dodging.

It is only when the board's detective squad is both adequate in number and well-trained and equipped in technical skill that they can hope to match the skilled tax-dodger, who has the best brains in the country, keenly watching for any weakness in the law of its machinery, to escape taxation, the Commission's report said.

The current year began with 879 pending cases, out of the 1,540 referred to the Commission by the Government of India during the last four years. The outstanding cases need not cause any undue alarm, the report said, as once the bigger cases were disposed of it would be a much easier process to deal with the smaller ones.

Of the 661 cases so far completed by the Commission, the large majority came under the category 'settlement cases' in which the amount of tax due was settled in agreement with the party.

Thus, of the total amount of concealed income of Rs. 29.15 crores discovered during the last four years, as much as Rs. 25.40 crores covered cases settled by agreement.

The other category of cases is 'reported cases,' those in which the assessee's refusal to admit till the last moment, and the Commission makes a report to the Government about the amount of concealed income involved on the basis of evidence derived through investigations.

Describing the dilatory tactics and obstruction adopted by the assessee, the Commission said it was an uphill task to gather evidence relating to a period of eight years from 1939-40 to 1947-48, with which it was charged. The methods of evasion have been as intricate and wide as human ingenuity is capable of.

One typical instance related to 'a leading businessman and capitalist of influence and distinction,' who 'cultivated tax evasion as a fine art.'

By a clever scheme of formation of a chain of limited companies, several of which had their head offices in the then Indian States and in Burma, he so managed the affairs as to attract the least tax on foreign profits remitted to such companies.

But attempts at evasion starting at first as legal

avoidance, actually amounted to fraudulent evasion later. The assessee's accounts showed amounts as belonging to persons who did not really own them. Profits which escaped assessment were later on admitted, as also large amounts earned and kept outside the books in the assessee's regular business in other trade.

In another instance what was most noteworthy was not so much the mass of fabricated evidence put in by the assessee, nor even the persistent opposition he put up till the end, but the fact that some respectable persons came forward to support the assessee's false statements, both by written as well as oral evidence—statements which the assessee himself finally admitted as false before the Commission.

The Commission said: 'It was admitted by him (the assessee) that he had procured the assistance of these high-placed supporters by paying them sums of money which were not very considerable. What sad commentary on the credibility of witnesses by reason of their status of wealth or position in society.'

One of the conditions of the Commission's existence, namely, the existence of a time-limit which encouraged the assessee to adopt dilatory tactics was removed during the year by a legislative enactment the Taxation on Income Investigation Commission Amendment Act of 1951, which extended the Commission's term up to the end of December next.

Two members of the Commission, Mr. Justice P. B. Chakravarti, and Mr. V. D. Mazumdar, left the Commission during the year and in their place Mr. A. V. Visvanatha Sastri, a retired judge of the Madras High Court and Mr. K. Govindan Nair, a retired member of the Central Board of Revenue were appointed as members.

On the same day a Press Trust of India new features the "sickness" phenomena:

There was a high incidence of 'sickness' among India's war-rich tax-evading community during the last four years, the Income-tax Investigation Commission has discovered.

In its report for the last year, the Commission observed that adjournments sought by the chief personages concerned in tax-evasion cases were so frequent that 'it has been a matter of some wonder for the Commission to notice how much sickness exists among the richest class of Indian businessmen.'

The Commission also noticed 'deliberate obstruction' being adopted to 'postpone the evil day of a hearing before the Commission.'

Rural Extension Service in India

U.S.A.'s capitalism has been justifying its existence by transforming part of its riches into "service to people, far and near. The Carnegie Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation are some

of the media. These help with financial and specialist aid various schemes of uplift all over the world.

Since 1947 we have had in India many an agreement signed to extend to our rural areas the amenities of modern science. A New Delhi message dated, January 23 reports the signature of such an agreement with Ford Foundation:

An agreement has been signed recently between the Government of India and the Ford Foundation by which financial assistance will be made available to India by the Ford Foundation for a programme of rural extension service in India.

The agreement, signed by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister, on behalf of the Government of India, and Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, Director of the Ford Foundation on behalf of the latter, will come into effect immediately.

The initial programme for which the Foundation will provide assistance under this agreement forms a part of the intensive rural development programme laid down in the Five-Year Plan. Initially the Government's programme is to have a minimum of five extension training centres in the States where the key personnel required to initiate and supervise extension service will be trained. A minimum of 15 intensive development areas will also be established in the States. It is expected that over the next five years the number of intensive development areas manned by persons trained at the five extension training centres will cover at least 15,000 villages.

Under the agreement the Ford Foundation will assist in financing, partly, the first five extension training centres and fifteen intensive development areas which are to be set up. In general, the financing of the intensive development areas will be done by the Government of India and the States.

Dr. Douglas Ensminger, a representative of the Ford Foundation, is shortly expected in India in this connection.

Princely States in India

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel departed from this world more than a year ago, and it is meet and proper that his great work for India's consolidation should be acknowledged over and over again for guidance. This we are enabled to do by an article published in the press sometime ago over the name of Bombay's Minister, Mr. Jivraj Mehta. There is nothing new in it, but the facts have their own story to tell in human dignity and happiness of about 9 crores of men and women:

Thus the map of India is being steadily reconstructed. As already pointed out in the early part of this talk, there was hardly any State on August 15, 1947, having real responsible government worth its name. During the last 18 months the internal administrative machinery has been completely overhauled and democratised in the major States. The States people have been represented on the Constituent

Assembly of India and thus the differences existing between the States people and other Indians have been obliterated. Accession of States to the Indian Dominion was comparatively an easy and speedy process, although its significance is very great. The really important stage of the States Ministry's vigorous policy of integration began with the process of merger and the formation of unions of States.

A total of 535 States, large and small, having an area of 265,290 sq. miles, a population of 406 lakhs and a revenue of Rs. 43.20 crores have been integrated and there now exist only about half a dozen States like Mysore, Travancore and Cochin about whose closer associations with neighbouring areas I will shortly refer to and Hyderabad, Kashmir and Bhopal besides three or four very small States whose merger with the neighbouring provinces is imminent.

I firmly believe that even the said large States should integrate themselves with neighbouring territories if the security of the country as a whole is to be ensured. Mysore can easily form with the neighbouring Karnatak areas a strong and homogeneous Karnatak Union with or without Coorg. Travancore and Cochin can also be absorbed in the proposed Kerala province or may merge into the adjoining province of Madras. There is thus the possibility of establishment of two important Unions in the South . . .

But the remnants of these States have not been able to wholly reconcile them to this change. The elections have shown this. Their desire to take a part in the country's administration is wholly natural, and we condemn the way in which they are being brow-beaten for daring to challenge the Congress in fair election fight.

"Displaced Persons From East Bengal"

Down below is summarized a report sent us by the Information Ministry of the India Government:

"Displaced persons from East Pakistan, pouring in their thousands into Indian area, specially into West Bengal, constituted a difficult problem for politicians and administrators, are now engaging the serious attention of scientists also. A scientific study of the refugees with a view to finding out the effect of altered conditions of life and new environments on the deeper trends of the personality of the individual is being carried out by the Anthropological Department of the Government of India. An appreciation of the tension or aggressiveness which is created by a sense of insecurity and frustration in their life and reflected in their critical and often hostile attitude towards the local inhabitants, has created mutual fear.

In 1950, the Department gained experience from a basic study on similar lines made in the rural and industrial area in south Bengal; it was asked by the Government of India, on the suggestion of Unesco, to undertake the present investigation.

"Survey in 'Refugee' Colonies: Two refugee settlements, one at Zirat in Hooghly district and the other at the Asadgarh Colony in Jadavpur, were chosen for this purpose. The investigation not only covered various aspects of life of the displaced persons, e.g., health, nutrition, economic and social structure, ethical and religious ideas, inter-group relations, but was also extended to the study of the underlying and 'repressed' trends in the personality. In order to make well-ried projected methods of the West, such as Rorschach, the Thematic Apperception and the Horn-Hellesburg tests, etc., suitable for application on people living in social background different from that of Europe and America, Indian adaptations of these tests had been planned in the Department. Random samples of the refugees in these two colonies were intensively examined and attempts were made to integrate the findings of social and economic surveys with facts obtained from their life-histories.

"Tension Greater Amongst Women: Tentative conclusions derived from this research show that the tension arising from a strong ethno-centric feeling against the community responsible for their uprooting from the soil of their origin is very deep-seated. In their new environments this tension has greatly been repressed, though not resolved, and has transformed itself into a feeling of hostility against the local population and not unoften also the Government from which, they feel, sufficient sympathies have not been forthcoming. The intensity of the tension was found to be greater among women than among men.

"Research in Andamans: A similar research in regard to some aboriginal tribes living in the Andamans is also contemplated. A sub-station of the Department has already been opened at Port Blair for that purpose. The aboriginal Negrite tribes living in Andaman Islands have long been notorious for implacable hostility to strangers. The Onges of the little Andamans, the Sentinelese of the Sentinel Islands and the Jarawas of the South Western part of the Great Andaman still continue as inimical as ever. The Government of Port Blair have to maintain a Bush Police Force to prevent raids on forest camps and attacks on Government officials on duty by these tribals. A batch of trained anthropologists working in this branch office of the Department at Port Blair will contact these hostile people by friendly means, will learn their language and habits and gradually try to establish the genuine sympathy of the Government for them. On the success of the scheme, which will be put into effect this winter, will largely depend the initiation of the Government's measures for the progress and upliftment of these tribal peoples."

This unhealthy phase is, we do hope, temporary. In history, exploiters of grievances, real and imaginary, have always been active. In the present case also, high hopes were raised and even responsible persons have been found nursing grievances; they

knew that there would be suffering from partition, that "displaced" persons would have to accommodate themselves to new arrangements; that West Bengal cannot be transformed into East Bengal overnight as a land of flowing rivers and bumper corn and jute fields; and if this stupendous task is to be done, "displaced" persons must do it. We feel that they have not done what was possible. This work will require years, and we must all have patience. India, we are sure, will not fail them.

Andhra Province

We have been un-repentant supporters of the Linguistic Provinces idea since the Swadeshi days. We have been witnesses to a similar awakening in Andhra, Orissa, Karnataka, Assam, all drawing inspiration from their respective culture and language that expresses it. This experience has gained strength as a result of Gandhiji's proposal for the formation of Linguistic Provinces. Thus it happened that in Congress geography there were more than 20 Linguistic Provinces.

India's present Prime Minister has been since 1917 a party to this plan. But for reasons which we regard as unsatisfactory he appears to have gone back on it. However that be, as Andhra represents the idea, we make no apology for giving a summary of their case. The real difficulty is with regard to the city of Madras. The Andhras, one-third of its population, claim it as their capital, temporary though it be. The Tamilians resent it and their objections explain the whole position.

✓ The reply of the Tamilnad Congress Committee to the questionnaire of the Linguistic Provinces Commission makes the following three important points:

1. "Tamil Province should not be formed as a residuary after the formation of other linguistic provinces: All linguistic provinces should be carved out at the same time.

2. "Tamilnad should include the Madras City and the borders of Chenglepet district on the side of Chittoor district should be refixed by inclusion of a major portion of Tirutani taluk in which 250 of 389 villages are Tamilian villages and also villages in Puttur and Chandragiri taluqs which have a majority of Tamil population. Part of South Travancore, wholly Tamil, should be transferred to the Tamil province.

3. "Andhra claim to Madras City as well as parts of Salem and North Arcot districts is untenable, as also the Karnatak claim for parts of Coimbatore and Nilgiris districts. Further 'the dog in the manger' proposal of constituting Madras City into a separate province cannot be supported."

The following is the text of the reply detailing "some points regarding formation of linguistic provinces":

(1) The reference to Linguistic Provinces in the

questionnaire wrongly omits Tamil Nad. Tamil Province should not be formed as a residuary after the formation of other linguistic provinces. And the problem of linguistic provinces should be taken up as a whole and fully solved.

"The Madras Province consists of two major linguistic areas, Tamil Nad and Andhra as well as Malabar which is Kerala and the District of South Kanara and parts of the Bellary District which should go to the Karnataka Province. If Andhra alone is to be carved out of Madras, the Tamil area will not automatically have a province of its own unless the Kerala and Karnataka Provinces are also to be formed.

"It is therefore, urged that all the linguistic areas should be carved out at the same time.

"(2) In the drawing of the boundary of Tamil Nad, the Madras City and the existing districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madurai, Ramnad, Pudukottai State recently merged in Madras, Tirunelveli, Coimbatore and Nilgiris should be in the Tamil Province, and borders of Chingleput District, on the side of the Chittoor District should be refixed by the inclusion of a major portion of the Tirutani Taluk in the Chittoor District, in which taluk 250 villages out of 389 have a majority of Tamil population and also villages in the Puttur and Chandragiri taluks which have a majority of Tamil population. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Chittoor was formerly part of the North Arcot District and Tirupathi has been marked as the northern boundary of Tamil Nad in the ancient Tamil works which are more than 2,000 years old. The details may be gone into by a boundary commission.

"Besides, there is a part of the Travancore State, particularly in South Travancore, which is wholly Tamil and in any division of Provinces into linguistic units, these entirely Tamil-speaking areas should also come into the new Tamil Province, but this is a matter which is for the Boundary Commission to decide and is being mentioned as part of creation of such Provinces so that the problem may be viewed, as a whole.

"Regarding the claim of Andhras to the City of Madras, it is absolutely untenable.

"The population of the City analysed linguistically would show that the City is essentially a Tamil area. It is only under the 1931 census, the population according to languages is furnished and this may be accepted as the basis for determining the linguistic character of the areas concerned. If population has grown since, the ratio is anyhow maintained and therefore the 1931 basis will serve our purpose. Under the 1931 census, the Tamil population of the Madras City was 4,11,823, whereas the Telugu population in the City was 1,24,649 which figure includes the Telugu-speaking people like Reddiars and Naidus who inhabit

every Tamil District in the Province. The City of Madras has since been expanded and the new areas like the Saidapet Municipality and Sembiam Panchayat which are totally Tamil, and thus there is now a larger percentage of Tamil population in the City than in 1931.

"Madras City has been originally part of the Chingleput District, and for some time it was administered by one Collector jointly with Chingleput. The City has grown out of the villages of the Chingleput District which were entirely populated by Tamils. Telugu have come for trade and other professions, the City having been the headquarters of the Province, as others like Madras and Chingleput areas form part of an ancient division of Tamil Nad called Tondaimandalam. But the Andhras, in order to support their claim to the city, seek to establish the contiguity of the Andhra area with the City, put forth the fantastic plea that the taluks of Saidapet, Sriperumbudur, Trivellore and Ponneri of the Chingleput District are largely inhabited by Telugu-speaking people. This is grossly incorrect as the census figures of 1931 will show.

"In the Saidapet Taluk out of 182 villages, there are 175 villages which are wholly Tamil-speaking or where there is a large majority of Tamil-speaking population.

"In the Sriperumbudur Taluk, out of 246 villages, there are as many as 228 such Tamil-speaking villages.

"Again, in the Ponneri Taluk, in the four revenue firkas of Sholavaram, Minjur, Medur and Gummidipundi, contiguous to the City, in 222 out of a total of 255 villages there is a large majority of Tamil-speaking population. There are Telugu-speaking villages only in the Sathiavedu Firka bordering the Chittoor and Nellore Districts, as there are Tamil-speaking villages within the present borders of those Districts. And this detail can only be gone into by a Boundary Commission. Again, in the Trivellore Taluk, out of a total of 281 villages there are 241 villages where there is a large Tamil majority.

"The claims again by the Andhra Mahasabha and the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to parts of Salem and North Arcot Districts is wholly untenable as the geographical position and the census figures would show. It is the claim of Karnatak to parts of the Coimbatore District and the Nilgiris. Apart from the question of population, there is no contiguity of any of these areas to the Karnatak Province. The Badagas who form part of the population of the Nilgiris cannot be termed Karnatak since their language is not Kanarese. But even including them under Karnatak, their population in the whole of Nilgiris under 1931 census was 29,967, whereas the Tamil population was estimated at 54,311. Nilgiris is essentially a Tamil area, by history, tradition and geographical position.

"It may also be pointed out that there is a large

Tamil population in the Kolar area of Mysore contiguous to the North Arcot District and the South Travancore area contiguous to the Tirunelveli District is wholly a Tamil area. This may also be borne in mind in determining the boundary of the future Tamil Province. But for the present purpose, Tamil Nad should comprise besides the present Tamil districts and the Madras City, parts of the present Nellore and Chittoor Districts.

"(3) The Capital of Tamil Nad should be Madras City where the headquarters of the province already exists and City would be the most convenient centre for Tamil Nad.

"The dog-in-the-manger proposal of constituting Madras City into a separate province cannot be supported. The analogy of Delhi cannot hold good. Madras City has grown out of Tamil Nad, and no purpose will be served by forming the city into a separate province. Both the City and Tamil Nad will suffer seriously by such a proposal."

There is nothing new in these arguments. Andhras can make out from the same as valid a case, so can Kannadigas.

Reclamation of Industrial Areas

Dudley Stamp was the soil expert in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). In this work he had to his credit a network of tube-wells that traversed the Province and reclaimed millions of acres. He had his critics for tapping sub-soil water as unhealthy for the area. In Calcutta we had tube-wells all over the city's areas as a wartime measure. And their impermanence is a lesson of doing in haste and repenting at leisure. Or, while the Calcutta Corporation have been lamenting the water-scarcity and the rate-payers join them, both of them have done their worst in pulling out these wells or damaging them; the latter out of a sheer spirit of mischief.

The excursion into the past has relevance when we find Stamp speaking to a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, the paper being reprinted in the December 28, 1951 number of its journal. It is a long paper, but it is worth reproduction in summary. Stamp spoke on the reclamation of "industrial areas." We can make room for one extract only on "Britain's Land Position," the industrial revolution and its consequences, good and bad. In the meeting there were critics mainly with regard to "costs."

"Britain's Land Position: Let us deal first with the overall land position in Britain considered against the world background, and compared with that of certain other countries. If we take the present population of the world to be of the order of 2,350 million, then the land surface of the globe represents a share of some 14 or 15 acres per head. If one eliminates those areas incapable of permanent settlement by reason of cold, aridity, elevation and relief, one finds that the area of potentially usable

land is of the order of 4 or 5 acres per head. This, of course, includes those vast areas like the Amazon forests of South America, or the great savannas of Africa, at present almost devoid of population; and the lesson to be drawn is the ever-increasing pressure of population on world land resources. No longer are there vast areas of land awaiting the first touch of the pioneer's plough before bursting into life and adding their quota to world food supplies. At present population increase at the rate of at least 20 million a year is out-distancing world food production. Put crudely, there is less food per head of population in the world to-day, despite the advances of science, than there was two or three decades ago.

"For Britain this has a double lesson. Quite apart from the changed financial position of the country—the loss of overseas investments and the liquidation of other overseas interests which formerly resulted in an automatic flow of foodstuffs and raw materials to this country—the surpluses available in world markets are much less than formerly and are getting less day by day and year by year. We in this country have not only to pay our way where we need imports of food and raw materials, we are compelled to compete with other countries and to bid ever higher in the world's markets for decreasing surpluses. To pay for these foodstuffs and raw materials we are attempting to sell in a world where industrialization has become the hallmark of national maturity in a world which is no longer hungry for British manufactured goods. More and more we are compelled to remember that a large part of our salvation lies in a more careful use of our home land resources and our ability to provide a large proportion of our own food."

The "Town and Country Planning Act, 1947," enables relevant authorities to tackle all the questions asked. In India we have Plans in plenty, and Indian intelligence is not blunt. So, here we leave the problem as it affects our people.

Egypt-Sudan-Tunisia

On January 26 last were published three items of news in the Indian press that have a family connection. Washington reported that

"Mr. Abdul Rahim, Egyptian Ambassador to the United States, said last night that his Government would regard action by any country or nation in sending 'token forces' to the Suez Canal zone as 'an aggression on our sovereignty.'"

"Afterwards, he described as 'very unfortunate' a proposal made by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, that token forces from the United States, France and Turkey would be welcome in the Canal Zone.

"It is tantamount to adding fuel to the fire and we consider any participation in token forces by any power as an unfriendly act and an aggression on our sovereignty."

"Habib Bourguiba, Tunisian nationalist leader, arrested a week ago, gave a make-shift Press conference at his 'hotel prison'; he said, he was ready to mediate in the Tunisian dispute.

"But, 'no compromise is possible if the French Government does not radically change its policy.'"

"Six police officers played cards in a corner of the room while Bourguiba spoke. He said that 'Real government' would only be possible in Tunisia if there was a transfer of power. But an agreement might be reached and he was prepared 'to be the advocate of such a compromise'."

On January 22nd, *Hindustan Standard* had a signed article entitled "Communal Harmony Drive in Egypt" which gains significance in view of our review in editorial comments of a booklet entitled *Egypt and Copts* that appeared in last month. The Cairo letter was dated 16th January and deserves to be quoted as a commentary on India's similar attempts at "communal harmony drive" and their failure. This experience need not be further elaborated.

"Untiring efforts are being made both on the official and non-official levels to bring about increased harmony between Moslems and the Coptic minority in Egypt. The main purpose of the move is to prevent fanatics from exploiting the present Anglo-Egyptian dispute and to direct their attacks against Christians.

"Official quarters in Egypt realize that if fanatics get out of hand and start a campaign against Copts and other Christians, under the guise of anti-British or anti-Western activity, the British will exploit these activities to spread anti-Egyptian propaganda and damage to Egypt's reputation abroad will be immense.

"A Joint Committee of five prominent Copts and five Moslems under the presidency of General Kamel Rizkallah Bey has received official approbation from the Prime Minister as well as from the Sheikh of Ashar, supreme Moslem religious leader, and the Coptic Patriarch, Amba Youssab II, to organize 'a campaign of harmony and unity between the two main groups of the nation.'"

"The Joint Committee has organized several mass meetings in Coptic Churches and Moslem places of worship in Cairo and the Provinces, in which Moslem Sheikhs and Coptic priests took turns in pointing out Christian-Moslem harmony in Egypt in the past and exhorting the population to remember the slogan of the Egyptian Revolt in 1919: 'Religion is to God, and the Homeland is for All.'"

"Praising the work of the Joint Committee, His Beatitude Amba Youssab, Patriarch of the Coptic orthodox community, said that 'Copt' meant 'Egyptian' in centuries past, and that 'all Egyptians regardless of their religion today belong to that ancient community which has managed to maintain its existence to this day.'"

Subsequent news dated 24th and 25th January

last spoke of "delegates of 13 Arab and Asian members of the U.N. called on the President of the General Assembly, Dr. Nervo, and urged U.N. intervention in the Tunisian crisis.

"The delegation, led by Syria's Faris el Ghoury Bey, included the leader of the Indian delegation to the U.N., Sardar Malik, Pakistan's Prof. A. S. Bokhari and Indonesia's Dr. L. N. Palar. Other countries represented were Afghanistan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

"The United Nations General Assembly President, Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo, was to request France to release Tunisian Nationalist leaders now under house arrest.

"India's chief delegate, Sardar H. S. Malik, said after the interview that several delegations including India were prepared to support any Tunisian action in the United Nations.

"The delegation led by Syria's Faris el Khoury Bey, also asked for a second immediate step—resumption of 'conciliatory negotiations' with the Nationalist representatives and expressed their 'deep concern' over the Tunisian situation.

"They also told the President that in their opinion the people of Tunisia were not at fault but that the violence there had been aroused by the imprisonment of their leaders and the situation in which the people of Tunis had been placed.

"They said the French Government should relax the tension to prepare the way for further negotiations.

"Dr. Padilla Nervo promised to talk to the French United Nations delegation but did not set a time for any meeting."

The French forces are, however, advancing against Tunisian resistance. A *Reuter* message told us:

"Five people died and nine were injured in new clashes in Tunisia between French Protectorate authorities and Nationalists demanding more autonomy. French planes went out after one incident.

"French forces in counter-attacks cleared insurgents from two towns Moknin and Tebulba, in central Tunisia, where Nationalist activity had been intense. The Nationalists seized Tebulba on Wednesday night after a clash with the French in which 77 Nationalists died.

"Most serious incident was at Kairouan, Muslim sacred city in central Tunisia, where four people died and nine were injured, a French communique announced. One Nationalist was killed in Tunis, the capital, in a gun battle with police.

"The French announced the clearing of Moknin where 5,000 Nationalists stormed the civil controller's office, and Tebulba, both near Sousse, a few hours after French aircraft had swooped low over the village of Kelibia where the Nationalists had blown up and besieged the French police post.

"French naval commandos arrived to reinforce troops in the Sousse-Sfax area, southern Tunisia centre of Nationalist rising in the past few days."

The latest news is that sabotage has been continuing, the French authorities have been imprisoning the leaders and their leader El-Habib Bourgiba has appealed in a letter sent from prison to India's Prime Minister Pandit Nehru to make common cause with the Arab States. That appeal was anticipated by India, Pakistan and 13 other States sponsoring a resolution in the U.N.O. drawing attention to this centre of unrest.

Britain and Malaya

Since the end of Japan's adventure in East Asia (1945) British authorities have been busy restoring their faded authority over this archipelago, rich in minerals and rubber, to re-equip the Planter Raj for a fresh lease of life. These seven years have not been able to record any success in this matter. On January 11 last appeared a news sent out of Singapore the day before:

"Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, British Commissioner General in South-east Asia, said here today in a broadcast that Britain had prepared plans, in case of necessity, 'for the successful defence of the whole of Malaya and British Borneo.'

"We shall continue to fulfil in sincere partnership with you our many other responsibilities up to the moment when you are fully ready to assume all the duties of Self-Government. Self-Government is an unalterable aim of Britain's policy in Malaya.

"It would take a long time to complete the task of forming a united, self-reliant Malayan nation but the date at which this ultimate aim was reached depended on the Malayan people themselves.

"No one should have the slightest fear that in the meantime Britain will desert Malaya.

"Speaking of the complexity of the problem in Malaya 'where Malayas, Chinese, Indians, British, Eurasians and Ceylonese share a common homeland' he opined that anybody who tried to solve it in a hurry would make a 'hopeless mess of it'."

Two years ago, a *Worldover Press* interpretation of happenings in Malaya reported things that show no substantial change has taken place since then.

"No one who could avoid it would travel either by rail or by road, from Singapore to the capital of Malaya, 200 miles inland, Lord Killearn recently said in the British House of Lords.

"The reason, of course, is the activity of Communist guerrillas in the jungles. It is unsafe, according to Lord Killearn, even to go into some of the low hills within a mile of the Governor's house. Every day, Singapore newspapers report lengthy lists of terrorist acts in Malaya by the so-called bandits. An 'anti-bandit month' was a failure.

"This dangerous situation is in sharp contrast to the reports six months ago, when the guerrillas were thought to be under control. The spring has seen a sharp upsurge of the terrorism, and one recent week was called the most active since the campaign began two years ago.

"What was optimistically forecast as 'a police measure' is developing into quite a formidable little war—to assist in which we have sent a squadron of Lincoln bombers, which we are now told are engaged in bombing operations over the jungle," complained British M.P. Emrys Hughes.

"And a London correspondent in Singapore reported that 'the R.A.F. in Malaya has assembled the most powerful striking force ever known in this country.'

"Reinforcements have been sent down from Hong Kong, and the first large-scale, co-ordinated drive to stamp out the jungle Communists is getting under way. The British take hope from the recent appointment of Sir Harold Briggs, a retired general, as civilian director of the operations.

"From fighting the Japanese in these same areas, the British know a lot more about jungle warfare than a decade ago. But most of the Malayan Communists are Chinese with a centuries-long tradition of secret organization against despotic war lords. The Malayan masses are friendly or, at least, sceptical of white imperialism. Red China has won British recognition. It looks like a long struggle ahead.

"In Malaya, however, there is some indication of moves to assuage the more basic complaints on which guerrilla violence grows. Dato Onn, who is President of the United Malays National Organization, has suggested some political changes. Significantly, these are under consideration at Whitehall in London.

"The most promising suggestion is that citizenship should now be granted to all persons born within the Federation of Malaya, and to those who qualify by a period of residence. It is high time that those who have made Malaya their home, particularly the Chinese, were granted the right to full participation in the life of the country.

"Another Onn proposal is the addition to the legislative council, which is not elected, of five 'unofficial ministers'—three Malays, one Chinese, one Indian. The idea, of course, is to give representation to the peoples, and the very fact that a Malayan political group is pushing the plan already shows a kind of participation in government.

"Moreover, representatives of over 100 trade unions have formed a Malayan Trade Union Council."

Unrest in Indonesia

Dutch imperialism has departed from the rich islands of mid-Pacific. But they have left a legacy of unruliness and separatist conceit, against which the Central Government has been gallantly fighting. A predominantly Muslim State, it is natural for the awakened people to wish that the norms and forms of Islamic life should characterize and colour their life and thought.

But the Dar-ul-Islam Party has ambitions that go beyond this. Otherwise, why should there be a news

such as the following sent out from Java on December 30 last:

"Indonesian army units have surrounded a group of rebels belonging to the Muslim organisation, Dar-ul-Islam, it was reported here today. The rebels were reported to have dug trenches and erected barricades against the advancing troops in central Java.

"Another group of rebels were still in the open. The Indonesian army lost one killed and two wounded on Thursday and 3 killed and 18 wounded on Friday. Rebels' losses on Friday were reported as 20 killed and several wounded. The rebels were reported to number about 1,000."

There must be a mystery behind all this. It is up to the Indonesian embassy to enlighten us on the matter. What has become of their *Merdeka*? We profit from its contents.

Rearming West Germany

The Western Bloc, in their haste to build a strong barrier against the Soviet, have practically decided on the rearmament of Germany. The *World Interpreter* strikes a dissident note thus:

"There are men in international diplomacy who are now determined to go on a perilous course, and are approaching it in the spirit of the over-confident frog. These are the Western representatives who insist on rearming Germany. Prodded by the United States, they are seeking against their better judgment to get the Germans somehow, by one formula or another, strongly armed to help resist Russian aggression. They are sincerely worried. And if rearmament of Britain, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, etc., might stop a theoretical Red Army drive on the Rhine, why not take in the Germans and try to hold on the Elbe?

"A Federated West Europe needs the Germans. So does the Schuman Plan. So does any pooling of agricultural resources. And because West Germany has some 50 million people, not counting the 18 million in East Germany under Communist domination, their contribution to manpower is looked upon as crucial.

"The trouble is, the Western planners absolutely refuse to look at what really lies ahead of them in Germany. It cannot be emphasized too much, and it ought to be written in capital letters two feet high, that the real choice in Germany is to have a democratic republic or a rearmed and powerful military state moving steadily and dangerously towards rightist extremism.

"A United Germany is the passionate desire of almost all Germans. It's natural. Americans would feel the same way, and so would the British, under like circumstances. But there is more to it than that. Division and unity are old questions in German history. Unity is now linked to patriotism, and has become a driving psychological force. Businessmen want the nation to be whole; churchmen plead for it;

the political parties demand it; intellectuals and trade unionists alike hold the same point of view. It is true whether you think of West Germans wanting the East with them, or East Germans wanting freedom.

"German rearmament nevertheless means a blow, perhaps almost a last one, to any hope of early unity between West Germany and East Germany. The present feeling of frustration and concern over the split will be given new momentum once rearmament is put through. When masses of Germans are again under arms, whatever the formula, many among the German people will long for the return of the territories given to Poland in the East, and even more for national unity. With force available, the most natural thing in the world will be to seek the use of force in winning a restoration of the territories stripped away. To the already menacing explosive possibilities of Europe, one more, of first-rate magnitude, will be added.

"In its folly the West seems to believe that a rearmed Germany will make West Europe safer. Actually, it will be weaker. Into a military Germany, Communist propaganda can penetrate with some chance of success—while at the same time, a fresh swing to a neo-Nazi right position can be expected in politics. And no one who knows anything about European politics can believe for a moment that extreme rightism can hold back Communism as reliably as democratic liberalism can. Britain under Labor rule reduced Communism to negligible proportions; Italy under conservatism still faces a powerful and challenging Communist movement.

"There are two ways by means of which German rearmament could be dropped, and still leave West Europe reasonably safe. The best way is to continue patiently to work for a settlement of the cold war with the Moscow Politburo. That, it must be admitted, is a tough row to hoe, and, it is not very promising. Yet, for a demilitarized Germany, the Soviet Union seems prepared to pay a fairly heavy price. But suppose this is for the time being an impossible dream. What then?

"With some reluctance the West could leave in Germany an occupation army. That is in the cards for a while, at any rate. Occupation troops might be better trained, briefed, and behaved. But unless Russia deliberately chooses war with the whole Western world, the United States included, she will never attack American contingents, no matter how small. All present evidence, and all intelligence reports, indicate there are no current signs of such a desire or such an attack. Then why take the enormous gamble of a rearmed Germany? It must be feared that there is no reason except the persistence of frog-eyed vision. Diplomats, as so often before at critical periods of history, peer anxiously ahead, with their eyes seeing only what is traditionally behind them."

The *World Interpreter* comment is worthy of

Charu Chandra Datta

Death occurred at Pondichery on January evening of Charu Chandra Datta, a writer, educationist and a retired member of the I.C.S. He was about 77. He entered the I.C.S. in 1899 and retired in 1925. He was closely associated with Aurobinda Ghose during the Swadeshi days and had almost open connection with the revolutionary movement in Bengal in the opening decade of the century. Suspected of his complicity with the movement, he was suspended from the service for one year. After retirement he served Visva-Bharati for a couple of years as an Upacharya. During this period he wrote several books including his memories *Purana Katha*. In 1941, he went to Pondichery and since then he had been living there with his wife. He translated Sri Aurobinda's *Life Divine* into Bengali.

His family hailed from the district of Burdwan. He was the son of the late Kalikadas Datta, Dewan of Cooch Behar. He is survived by his widow and a son, Sri Arindam Datta, a barrister of the Calcutta High Court.

This is a bald story. But behind it pulsed a personality of utmost courage, of pleasing manners, of speech and behaviour which was distinctive of his philosophy of life. The story of his early life was the story of the "high audacity" (Aurobindo's word) that had characterized life in Bengal, in Maharashtra, more or less the whole of India since the Swadeshi days.

Joining the service of the alien ruler, Charu Chandra started life with certain advantages that detract nothing from his own work. He married the daughter of Hem Chandra Mullick who was one of the pillars of the Nationalist Movement in Bengal, a cousin of Subodh Chandra Mullick, Aurobindo Ghose's host and friend for years. His service in Gujarat, Maharashtra strengthened his resolve to fight the "External Authority" from inside its fort.

Charu Chandra's acceptance of service was voluntary; he desired to use his official position to loosen the ties of alien rule. And from 1899 to 1925 he held this purpose with increasing intensity as the people wakened more and more to the shame and ignominy of foreign subjection. The report above has told us how he had to suffer for this "disloyalty." In his *Purana Katha* (Old Story) we find him laughing at the indignities heaped on him.

Charu Chandra was a master of that style of Bengali prose which started with Bankimchandra and reached its zenith with Rabindranath. Charu Chandra was Aurobindo's friend. How and when he developed into a disciple of his is not known. It is hoped that

his son will be able to render this service—the best memorial—to his life-work. We tender our sympathy to him and to his mother, and our homage to the memory of a truly great Indian.

Maharaja of Jodhpur

The death in an air accident of the Maharaja of Jodhpur on January 26 last is a loss to the new Princely Order in the Indian Republic. He was himself driving the plane, being an expert pilot. He died at his 28th year, and life's possibilities remain unfulfilled. It was the cause of his own order that, above all others, led him to stand as an independent, and win against the Congress nominee. The Maharaja could rightly boast of Rajput traditions, though these often worked against national interests. Both during the Muslim regime and the British they could not stand up against the pretensions of the new-comers. But in the presence of death all these are forgotten. And we tender our condolences to the bereaved family. May his spirit find peace!

Srish Chandra Nandy

This noble son of Bengal died on February 26 last. He inherited his traditions from his father, the late Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kshimbassar in the district of Murshidabad. The property acquired by "Kanta Babu" as Warren Hastings' manager, were vast, the assets being worth millions of rupees. Many were Manindra Chandra's charities, most of them unknown. Srish Chandra continued his father's example. Today we mourn his death, and to his family we offer our sympathy. His soul will attain the spiritual home that is the last wish of every human being.

Prof. Puntambekar

The death of this eminent Marathi scholar will be deeply mourned by the world of scholars in India and outside. He died on the 20th February while on a journey to Lucknow from Nagpur. He served as the head of the latter University's Raghavendra Rao Chair of History and Sociology. Starting life as a barrister at Amaravati he drifted into politics in the wake of Non-co-operation Movement. Suffering imprisonment he came out transformed into an educationist. He served under Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya in the Banaras University and was for a while with the Dacca University. His *Rights of Man* has been accepted by United Nations Economic, Social, Educational Organization. He died in his 55th year. Our sympathy goes to the bereaved family.

A WESTERN OR AN EASTERN ECONOMY ?

A Westerner Contemplates India's Future

37 WILFRED WELLOCK

So far as I am able to judge, India is unable to make up her mind whether to base her civilisation on highly centralised mass-production industry or on well-integrated agro-industrial village communities with all their wonderful techniques and skills. An article in the September issue of *The Modern Review* on The Five Year Plan, by Principal S. N. Agarwal, confirms this judgment.

In these circumstances the observations of a Westerner who has made a long and careful study of the origins and effects of the Industrial Revolution may not be out of place.

Some of the older readers of this Review may remember a series of articles which I wrote for it some forty years ago, wherein I asked India to think twice, when she had achieved Swaraj, before embarking on a programme of Western Industrialism.

Two years ago I paid my first visit to India. I hoped to find the country agog with ideas and grimy with the sweat of constructive achievement. Ideas and plans there were in plenty, but no unity of purpose, and thus no nation-absorbing action.

In England, I had become familiar with these plans. They included centralised and semi-centralised or regional industries, also cottage and village industries. Some industries were to be nationalised and others left open to private enterprise, under conditions, while the co-operative principle was to play a big part in the villages. But what I was unable to discover was the dominating idea and the over-all plan or picture. Was the population of India to be urbanised like that of the United States and Britain, or was it to remain spread out, in villages, but slightly enlarged, well-integrated by means of a sound agriculture and a host of crafts and small industries and thus rich in the finest culture, that of creative self-expression.

The occasion which took me to India was the World Pacifist Conference. This occupied the whole month of December 1949. The first two weeks I spent in the North, at Santiniketan, Rishikesh, Calcutta, Delhi and other northern cities, and the second two weeks in the C.P., at Sevagram and Wardha.

During that month I lived in two worlds which were strangely disconnected. For a whole week I was in the company of those followers of Gandhiji who accepted his whole gospel, his constructive programme as well as his Swaraj programme. These men, speaking from a long experience of close association with

Gandhiji, tried to reveal to us the essence of his teaching, what was involved in his concept of Truth and Non-violence for the individual and for society, with respect to personal conduct, one's social duties and relationships, and with respect to the social order. We discussed the Gandhian economy and related it with the dominant economy of our age, that of Western industrialism. Then we broke up for a period, and travelled in small groups from city to city, or city to village, some in this direction, some in that. I chose the North. Our little group received invitations from numerous societies and institutions, and in addition I received many private invitations. I availed myself of all I could, for I wanted to know what India, as a whole, in its variety of outlooks was thinking. I found widespread confusion and uncertainty. In most minds there was conflict between the claims of Gandhiji's Constructive Programme and those of Western industrialism, as a means of increasing India's wealth quickly, in part to obliterate the appalling poverty in the great majority of Indian villages, and partly in order to prevent the advance of Communism in India. Faith in India's future appeared to be at its lowest in Calcutta and Delhi. The nearer one got to India's political hub, the nearer one came to despair. Many were overwhelmed by the magnitude of the problems which confronted them. Even old stalwarts lamented: "Our leader has gone, our light is extinguished, we are helpless."

It was later, in the South, that I found the antidote to this northern pessimism and despair. The second part of our Conference took place at Sevagram, the birth-place of Gandhiji's system of Basic Education. Nearby is Wardha, the headquarters of the A.I.V.I.A., and of other expressions of the Gandhian way of life. What I experienced in this area caused me to accept with enthusiasm an invitation to visit a number of Gandhi Ashrams in 'South India' which, operating under various auspices, were training workers for carrying out Gandhiji's constructive programme in the villages. I gladly gave a whole month to this, to me, important pilgrimage.

In this experience I came to grips with India's major economic problems, and it soon became indubitably clear to me that the Gandhian economy was a sound policy, that a nation-wide system of village republics would be the best foundation for a classless India, a civilisation of high quality and India's best

contribution to a stable and peaceful world order, and also the speediest methods of removing the bane of poverty.

As long ago as 1908, Gandhiji, in his pamphlet *Indian Home Rule* revealed that he had probed Western Industrialism to its roots, and had found them to be cankered. He summed it up in the words: "This is a satanic civilisation; it will be self-destroyed." He perceived that its processes degraded and dehumanised the workers, that its aims and motives demoralised those who directed its courses, and spread the disease of materialism everywhere. It has been responsible for two world wars and is rapidly preparing for a third between two Dinosaurian blocks. Because both are the outcome of materialistic ideologies they lack the vision, the understanding and the moral courage to save themselves from catastrophes which they know might encompass their extinction as civilisations. These are facts of which India must take note.

A few Western Powers have developed enormous production potentials which can only be kept going by extravagant and wasteful standards of living at home, by large and ever-growing exports, and by big armaments programmes. As the demand for markets exceeds the supply, and as armaments stimulate fear, Western Industrialism is a breeder of international conflict. Before long will appear a new cause of war: a mighty clash between the rising, just demands of an awakening and long-repressed East, and the towering and ever-rising standards of material living in the West, especially in the United States, for the earth's resources in food and raw materials. These combined demands from the East and the West are now out-reaching supply, and even man's power to discover new sources of supply, while ideological conflicts and the fear of war are greatly aggravating this acute shortage problem by the development of re-armament programmes which surpass all knowledge or understanding.

What India has now to decide is whether she intends to enter this international vortex, the fundamental evil of which is materialism, uncriticised, uncontrolled high standards of material living, and what follows from this, class war and finally world ideological war, or whether she means to keep out of it, which she can only do by pursuing an essentially self-sufficient economy, and a civilisation of high quality in which material values will be controlled by spiritual values and principles.

Mr. Nehru has declared over and over again that India's aim is economic self-sufficiency—not absolute, of course. This policy is necessary, first, in order to insure her economic and financial independence, and second, because with such an economy India will not be a cause of those international strains and stresses from which, as explained above, modern wars spring.

But what India has not yet decided is whether she hopes to achieve this end mainly by way of centralised mass-production industry, or mainly by way of a well-integrated agro-industrial economy. That issue is vital, as I will explain.

If India makes the former choice she will be unable to escape two major evils: the pursuit of material wealth as a major objective, and the dehumanisation of the workers on a growing, and finally colossal, scale.

The spiritual decline of the West during the last century (symbolised in its present "Satanic civilisation," with its growing fears and war preparations) has been primarily due to the fact that the making of riches became the primary motive behind the Industrial Revolution. Hence there is great danger of pursuing a particular form of industry merely because it yields the maximum quantity of goods. But quality of production must also be considered, individuality and variety, and what is much more important, the quality of human personality. An industrial set-up which turns out millions of articles every one of which is the spit of the other, produces a dead, monotonous world, and also which is much more important and dangerous, a uniform man, the mass-man of the industrial West, who has made possible, and even become the basis of, the totalitarian state. Moreover, the producers of uninspiring monotony don't do this for love, but for money, while workers condemned to repetitive labour which requires neither skill nor intelligence can only endure such human indignity for the sake of the means to live. Hence mass-production carried out on a vast scale involves human degradation all round and the infection of the whole of society with the canker of materialism.

There is this also to be said. Many Indians claim that maximum mass-production development is necessary in order to raise the standard of living of the poorest, and in the quickest possible time. The fact is, however, that the masses of India's needy live in her 750,000 villages, and were the new mass-produced goods of India presented to them for purchase to-morrow, they would not be able to buy them. Only the few workers would be able to buy them who had been brought from the villages into the new factories. What then would happen? This is what would happen. Most of the new production would have to be sold on the foreign market, as Indian textiles are to-day, since they constitute 20 per cent of India's exports, even while scores of millions of villagers do not possess more than one square yard of cotton cloth each. In payment for these exports India would import luxury goods for her well-to-do population. Hence instead of the new industrialism solving India's poverty problem, it would stimulate the class war and hasten the march of Communism.

The argument is worth pursuing. Many Indians

do not realise how few poverty-stricken people would benefit from an even gigantic programme of industrial expansion. Today India has 390 cotton mills which contain over 10,000,000 spindles and 200,000 looms. Yet they employ only 450,000 people, men, women and children. And how long has it taken to produce them? Were India to embark on an industrial programme which included the erection and fitting out of say, 4,000 factories of all kinds during the next 15 or 20 years, she would do no more than touch the fringe of her village poverty and under-employment problem. And what about the cost?

At present world prices (which are going to remain for a very long time) the scheme would cost several thousand crores of rupees. India could not finance it, nor could any other country except the United States. But in view of the latter's military designs in Japan and the Far East generally, and the preparations that are now being made for a possible Dinosaurian conflict with Communism, would India sanction at this time an American financial invasion of her country? I know the answer to that question. In her foreign policy India is extraordinarily realist and sound. She must be equally realistic in her domestic policy, and realism suggests that she concentrate on bringing betterment by way of a steady and continuing process, and simultaneously, to the teeming millions in her villages. This can be done by one means only, the application of the Gandhian economy, that is, by the transformation of her disintegrated villages into village republics.

Gandhiji was very far-sighted and amazingly practical when he declared that India's salvation depends upon the spinning wheel—first, as a means of winning Swaraj, and afterwards as a means of raising the living standards of her poverty-stricken villages, the variety and quality of their life, and the status and dignity of their manhood.

The attitude of the Government to this claim seems to be this: Very well, if you really believe in this policy, get on with it and we will wish you God-speed, and we shall be glad to help you whenever we can. But is that enough? Big economic and international issues are at stake, including that of another world war. Moreover, equally big spiritual issues are also at stake. The decision to be made involves the issue of whether the purpose of civilisation is to make wealth and give the people a good time, (eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die), or whether it is to make men and women of full stature—physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually—and to this end to fashion the right kind of cultural institutions. A sound democracy cannot possibly rest upon a foundation of mass men with mass minds, for they would always vote for the Government which promised them the most wealth and the largest array of social amenities. And they would win the elections for they

would always be in the majority. The alternative would be a Right or Left Dictatorship.

But if the chief concern of the state be to breed a race of whole men and women, then they must be given tasks which will develop all their faculties, especially their emotions, their imaginations and their creative powers. Without responsibility and creative opportunity in their daily avocations, this condition of human wholeness cannot be achieved. Accordingly, an economic, industrial and cultural system must be devised which will provide these fundamental rights in fullest measure to the entire community, and not to the financially privileged few.

The Gandhian economy alone can do that. It is an ancient economy, being as old as society itself. Modern industrial techniques have destroyed it. Still newer techniques must restore it, but give to it a richer content. Instead of man's inventive genius running to giantism in machines, factories and cities, it should be directed to the small machine, to mechanical devices to assist men in the production of commodities of high quality, yet in such numbers that all may have them if they so desire. In the making of such commodities, men, women and even children would find the means of self-realisation, self-fulfilment and complete soul satisfaction. The outcome would be a beautiful world and a richly endowed humanity.

The foundations of such an India are already being laid by a few devout followers of Gandhiji. They are making enormous sacrifices; but are finding in them satisfactions which the politics and the riches of Industrialism would never give them. In different parts of India I visited Ashrams which are concentrating on producing cheap spinning wheels. Indeed I saw wheels which could be produced for a few annas, and many for one or two rupees. Could these not be produced by the million and sent into all the villages of India? How could Government money be spent better in order to raise the standard of living of the people? Cotton cloth in every Indian home means wealth and well-being—*Here and Now*, not in fifteen or twenty years. To teach women the art of embroidery, would add beauty to garments and covers, etc. After that start, other industries, cottage and village, could be introduced in quick succession, as fast as the appliances which they require could be produced, including the necessary raw materials. The production of the latter would provide new local occupations. So the work could proceed, fast enough to maintain a continuity of progress from end to end of India.

In this process such institutions as the A.I.V.I.A. and the A.I.S.A. would play a prominent part. The latter would train weavers, one from each village, who would then teach as many as were necessary. It would also arrange the exchanges of cloth for yarn and vice versa, at the recognised rates, and purchase

the surplus production for sale or exchange in other areas. As to the A.I.V.I.A., it is able to give expert tuition in scores of village and cottage industries, including paper making, soap making, oil extraction from all manner of seeds and berries, bee rearing, meal and flour grinding, the installation of simple domestic cooking ranges, pottery, including cooking pots, etc., They also ask for samples of the various trees, berries, beans, herbs, shrubs, etc., that are grown in different areas in order to see to what uses they might be put. There is no reason why a branch of this organisation should not be set up in every area throughout India.

It is an inspiration to witness this process in action, for once it commences there is no checking its advance. It may commence in one village with one or two classes in Basic Education, in another with a maternity centre or a clinic, and in another with the sinking of a well or installing a surface drainage scheme. But what it be, news of it will spread immediately to the surrounding villages, which will then ask for the same facilities. What is more, they are willing to make a contribution towards them from their scanty means. I went into one village—a Harijan village—which already had two basic education classes and a clinic, but which nevertheless called a meeting before the Temple to consider what could be done to bring a new service to the village. It was decided that each household should contribute one rupee towards its cost.

In this particular area, in S. India, one Gandhi Ashram was carrying benefits to nearly thirty villages within a radius of about fifteen miles, about half of which I visited. I witnessed similar things even further South, below Madras, also in Malabar. Moreover, all these Ashrams are training considerable numbers of young men and women drawn from every class and caste and no caste. These Ashrams, which know caste no more, are the seedbeds of the new India. In them are as fine people as one can ever desire to see. Few in my country can equal their spirit, their courage or their sacrifice. Upon me they made a lasting impression. One or two Americans and one or two British are to be found among them. I raise my hat to them all: they are of the salt of the earth. Is India giving them the support they deserve and that India, the India of Gandhiji's dreams, demands? I ask this question in all humility conscious of my country's present plight.

As this process of village industrial expansion developed, the surplus labour of the villages would gradually be absorbed, whereupon attention would be directed to devising more and more mechanical aids, possibly with the use of electric, wind or water power.

Already electricity is being carried to many villages. The main point to be watched in this development is that the mechanical devices adopted should serve as aids to the craftsman's skill, to quality production and not to cheap mass-production of characterless goods for profit's sake.

It is true, of course, that a certain amount of highly centralised industry cannot be avoided, but it should be avoided as far as possible. It is often largely a matter of technique. If it is reduced to the minimum, there would be no difficulty in arranging that the workers in such industry were given a secondary occupation which enabled them to develop their creative powers.

Were India to adopt this general plan, she would escape the evils that have overtaken the West and which now threaten the collapse and even the extinction of its civilisation. It is when civilisations become urbanised and prosperous, when money values supersede creative and other spiritual values, that civilisations begin to decay and the trek to perdition commences. The big problem of the West is whether a new social order born of a creative revolution can take place before an atomic war sweeps its civilisation, and everything else into the great Unknown. That creative revolution would be the Western counterpart to the revolution of the Gandhian economy in India.

Not only has India a clearer road to travel than we of the West, she has much more political backing, despite the enervating indecision which now prevails. Mr. Nanda, your Minister of Planning, and Mr. Patil, of the Planning Commission, have publicly expressed their profound faith in the principle of co-operation in the economic and social development of village life. Mr. Nanda sees in co-operation the surest guarantee of establishing a sound village democracy, while Mr. Patil envisages the unification of the village panchayat and the various co-operative organisations.

Were Indian statesmen to take their courage in their hands and declare their intention to build boldly on the foundations laid down by Gandhiji, and were they to call upon the nation to give them the utmost backing in this task and upon the youth of India to devote their talents to this great creative revolution in their villages, as workers, as teachers, as technicians, the face of India and the outlook of her people could be completely changed inside thirty years. It is, I am convinced, the most effective social revolution which lies open to her. It lies in India's power to initiate a new creative era which might spread to the ends of the earth whence mankind universally would enter into wider freedoms that it has ever known, including the freedoms of world intercourse and world peace.

UNION EXECUTIVE IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

III

In the previous section we have discussed the general position in regard to the relation between the President and the Council of Ministers as laid down in the Constitution to show that it leaves room for independent action by the President if he thinks that an occasion demands it though such occasions are not expected to be frequent. We shall now discuss some specific provisions of the Constitution which suggest that it is intended that the President should exercise his discretion independent of the Ministry in the exercise of his powers under the Constitution in some matters.

In the first place Subsection (2) of Article 74 fully exempts the President from the jurisdiction of Courts in the matter of how he will react to ministerial advice. So far as the law is concerned, therefore, there is nothing to prevent the President from even acting without such advice or acting contrary to advice, if given. His conduct in this respect will not be justiciable. Although this by itself does not completely secure the position of the President and enable him to go freely his own way in his relations with the Council of Ministers still it seems to us the provision goes a great way in securing the President a good deal of independence of the Ministry, if he wants it. Under Article 75, the Prime Minister is to be appointed by the President and the other ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. This is based on the practice in England where under a well-established convention the King calls the leader of the party that has obtained a majority in Parliament after general election to form the ministry. The King has little discretion in the matter unless no party obtains clear majority in Parliament in which case he calls first upon the leader of the party having the largest majority and so on. England has developed a tradition of two-party system from which there has been an aberration in recent times by the rise of the Labour Party into prominence during the last two decades, but there is again a tendency to lapse back to the two-party pattern by the liquidation of the Liberal Party. So in England there is seldom the scope for the exercise of the King's discretion in the matter as in France and other Continental countries with plurality of parties.

Here in India as far as we can see on the threshold of the first General Election the party situation is likely to be as in France and the Continent rather than in England and therefore there will be ample scope for the exercise of the President's discretion in the matter of appointment of the Prime Minister and indirectly the other ministers as well. The Constitution gives him the power of appointment which he may exercise in his unfettered discretion till conventions

grow up regulating its exercise. But there is one important restriction imposed on his discretion by Subsection (3) of the same Article which enjoins collective responsibility of the ministry to the House of the People. That means, in choosing his Prime Minister and forming the ministry the President must have regard to the requirement that they must be in a position to discharge the obligation of being collectively responsible to the House, in other words they must enjoy and retain the confidence of the majority in the House. In England this is secured by convention; here we have introduced a written provision so as not to leave it to chance. Under Subsection (2) the ministers are to hold office only during the pleasure of the President implying full power of the President to dismiss his ministers. As in the case of the power of appointment this also is subject to the important limitation imposed by Subsection (3) of the Article that is, the power is not to be exercised as long as the ministry enjoys collectively the confidence of the House. If the President does otherwise, he would make himself liable to impeachment for violation of the constitution. If, however, a ministry is defeated in Parliament and advises the President for a dissolution of the House will he be bound to accept that advice or is he in a position to exercise his discretion? The constitution has given the President full discretion to dissolve the House when he thinks fit. Article 85(2) provides, "The President may from time to time dissolve the House of People." In England, the power of dissolving the House of Commons is a prerogative, i.e., discretionary power of the Crown, but convention has restricted the use of the power of the King only on the advice of the ministry in office, so that the King cannot now refuse to dissolve the House if so advised by the Prime Minister. But even in self-governing Dominions who borrowed their political institutions from England the Governor-General or the Governor as the case might be has exercised free discretion in the matter until quite recently* although now the English practice has been adopted. I do not think

* Even as late as June 1926 Lord Byng, the Governor-General of Canada, refused dissolution of Parliament to the Liberal Prime Minister Mr. Mackenzie King, although he granted it to the next Prime Minister Mr. Meighan, the Conservative leader, when defeated in Parliament very soon after. Even in 1927 Prof. Keith wrote: "In the Dominions, the discretion of the Governor is still constitutional and real, however much it may be deemed preferable that the British Plan should persist, and however clearly events are moving in that direction." (Keith: *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, Vol. I, p. 156, quoted in Wheare: *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status*, 1938, p. 58). Even with regard to England, Lord Oxford and Asquith as late as 1924 supported the view that the King possessed a discretion in the matter of grant of dissolution. (Vide Wheare: *Ibid.*, p. 58).

therefore that the convention followed in England will automatically apply to our case. Until conventions grow up, and there is no guarantee that same conventions as in England will develop here, the President will enjoy free discretion in the matter and it seems to me in the situation envisaged above the President will be free to accept or reject the advice of the ministry. Of course, he should exercise his discretion only in exceptional circumstances, when, for instance, the advice of the ministry appears to him to be frivolous and unwarranted by the political situation and he feels he cannot accept it consistently with the best interests of the nation in his judgment. Because the President although he may be elected on a party ticket, on assumption of his office should become a neutral force politically if he is to be true to the oath of his office. As such he should place the interests of the nation at large above those of any party. The advice of the ministry will be prompted by partisan motive and for party advantage. It is only when the President as the representative of the nation and of the units of federation has reasons to think that if the dissolution be granted on the advice of the ministry it will be detrimental to the national interests and secure an unfair advantage to the ruling party that the occasion will arise for his acting against the ministerial advice.

We come next to the relation between the President and Prime Minister which is regulated by Article 78. It seems to us the provision in the Article has the effect of giving a weight to the President which does not quite belong to the English King or the constitutional head in other countries which have accepted the English model. In England also the King is kept generally informed of the affairs by the Prime Minister after decisions have been taken by the Cabinet, and the Prime Minister may seek the advice of the King on important issues but all this takes place on an informal level and "off the record," but our constitution (Article 78) makes it mandatory on the Prime Minister "to communicate to the President all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation," "to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for." If the Prime Minister does not communicate a decision of the Cabinet or if after the President has called for some information regarding administrative matters and legislative proposals the Prime Minister refuses to furnish it he will be clearly guilty of violation of the constitution. In England it would be a mere breach of convention, but the convention is so firmly established that it is almost absurd to think that such a thing will ever happen. Of course, the smooth working of the system will depend on the growth of a relation of mutual trust and confidence between the President and the Prime Minister as in

England, whatever may be the provision in the constitution. Sub-clause (c) of the Article, however, in our opinion constitutes a clear departure from the principles of orthodox parliamentary system and marks an innovation. It provides that it shall be the duty of the Prime Minister, if the President so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a minister but which has not been considered by the Council. It implies the following three things which are not quite in accord with the spirit of parliamentary system of government:

1. An individual Minister may take decisions on his own initiative and responsibility;
2. If such a decision comes to the notice of the President and is not to his liking he may require the Prime Minister presumably acting in his free discretion to refer it to the Cabinet as a whole;
3. On such a demand by the President the Prime Minister would be bound to refer the matter to the Cabinet.

Now in England except in regard to routine matters in his department a minister cannot take decisions in his individual responsibility; in case of doubt whether a matter is one which can be disposed of departmentally or should be referred to the Cabinet he is to consult the Prime Minister. If he fails to do so and the matter is adversely criticised in Parliament he is called upon to resign instead of the Cabinet rallying to his side, as happened with Mr. Montagu in Lloyd George's ministry. The provision in question, in our opinion, may stand in the way of development of mutual understanding and special relationship between the Prime Minister and his colleagues and the unity and solidarity of the Cabinet so necessary for the smooth working of parliamentary system by allowing the President to come in occasionally between the Prime Minister and an individual minister. The power if used by the President indiscriminately might prove irritating and mar the good relations between the President and the Prime Minister.

Next we come to another provision of the Constitution (Article 86) dealing with the right of the President to send messages to Parliament which is more in accord with and borrowed from Presidential system than Parliamentary. The President is empowered to send messages to either House of Parliament whether with respect to a bill then pending in Parliament or otherwise and a House to which any message is so sent shall with all convenient despatch consider any matter required by the message to be taken into consideration. This is not exactly like the speech from the throne delivered at the opening of a Parliamentary session embodying the programme of business proposed to be taken up during the session as prepared by the ministry and simply put in the mouth of the King. It is more like the messages sent by the President of the U.S.A. to the Congress in-

forming the latter of the state of the Union and recommending certain concrete measures for the latter's consideration which he deems necessary and expedient in the prevailing situation, but with this difference that in U.S.A., the executive under the constitution having no contact with the legislature and no means of giving a lead to it utilises this right to fill up the lacuna; whereas under our constitution the ministry having the leadership of Parliament has no need for such a device. If it wants to give any direction to Parliament or offer any advice or suggestion to Parliament it can do it on the floor of the House without utilising the President for that purpose. Vesting this right in the President becomes therefore meaningless and superfluous unless the President is understood to exercise this right independently of the ministry to tell the House something on his own—a thing which is not quite consistent with Parliamentary system of the orthodox brand.

The same consideration also applies to the right of the President under Article 111 to withhold assent from a bill passed by both Houses of Parliament, or to return such bill (being other than Money Bill) to the Houses for reconsideration of the bill as a whole or certain specified provisions or with a view to considering the desirability of introducing some amendments suggested by him. Although Parliament would not ultimately be bound by the President's advice or suggestions, the President would presumably be acting in these matters on his own initiative, because the ministry cannot be reasonably expected to advise the President either to withhold his assent to a bill or return for reconsideration a bill which has been passed by both Houses either on their initiative or at least not against their dissent. The President has also been given some power with regard to bills passed by State legislatures reserved by the State Governor for his consideration under Article 200. In particular the Governor is bound to reserve a bill for the President's consideration if the bill, in his opinions, if passed into law would so derogate from the powers of the High Court as to endanger the position assigned to the Court by the Constitution. In case of any bill so reserved three possible courses are open to the President—(a) to assent to the Bill, (b) to withhold assent from the Bill, and (c) in case of a bill other than a Money Bill to direct the Governor to return the bill to the Legislature for reconsideration. Now the question arises, would the President in making any of these decisions be necessarily bound by the advice of the Union ministry? In our view the Constitution leaves room for the exercise of the President's discretion when he has reasons to think that the Ministry in giving its advice is moved by partisan considerations, particularly when two different parties are in power in the Union and the State and that to act on the advice of the Union ministry would constitute an unwarranted encroachment on the

autonomy of the State Government. In such circumstances it would be the duty of the President to assert himself as a neutral force and to hold the scales even between contending forces, although that may not be in accord with the traditions of a strictly constitutional ruler.

Under Parts VIII, IX and X of the constitution the President has been given important powers in regard to the administration of areas, territories and tribes comparatively backward for which or whom the provisions of the new constitution are thought not to be immediately applicable or suitable, just like the non-regulation areas of British days. Special provisions have therefore been made for their administration suited to the respective stages of their development providing for a period of tutelage, the ultimate responsibility for which vests in the President of the Republic. Thus under Article 239 the administration of Part C States, i.e., the old Chief Commissioners' Provinces and some merged Indian States, is vested in the President, acting to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant Governor to be appointed by him, etc. Under Art. 243 territories specified in Part D of the First Schedule (i.e., Andaman and Nicobar Islands) as also territories not included in other states are to be administered by the President acting, to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner or other authority to be appointed by him. In discharging the responsibility for the administration of these areas the President will of course normally be advised by the Union Ministry but supposing the President and the ministry do not see eye to eye with regard to a particular policy or measure it seems to us the President may authorise action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with ministerial advice if he thinks that necessary in the interest of the areas, for the Constitution vests in him the responsibility for promoting the welfare of these areas. The same thing holds good of such powers as are vested in the President under Part X in regard to Scheduled and Tribal areas. This is made more explicit in Subclause (2) of Art. 243 which provides that the President may make regulations for the peace and good government of territories in Part D and territories not included in other states and any such regulation may repeal or amend any law made by Parliament, etc. It is clear that the responsibility for making laws for such territories is vested in the President alone who may override even Parliament, that is, the ministry which presumably leads it. The idea seems to be that the welfare and tutelage of peoples in these areas should be placed above party politics and should be the care of the head of the State who would be above party politics. The same thing appears to us to hold good in the sphere of administration as in legislation.

Lastly, we come to the Emergency Provisions of the Constitution under Part XVIII of the Consti-

tution. These vast tremendous powers in the President and these will come into play only if the President issues a Proclamation and for that he has only to be satisfied and to declare that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, (Art. 352)—a question of fact and opinion which would not be open to dispute in a court of law. What makes the power still more sweeping is the provision [Article 352(3)] that the proclamation may be made even before the actual occurrence of war or of any such aggression or disturbance if the President is satisfied that there is imminent danger thereof—again a question of opinion. The effect of the Proclamation of emergency is to arm the President with special powers in a number of matters. It will practically supersede the normal administration of the States, the President being empowered to give directions to a State as to the manner in which its executive power is to be exercised and Parliament empowered to make laws regarding matters outside the Union List (Article 353); it will be open to the President during the pendency of the Proclamation to suspend the financial provisions regulating the distribution of revenues between the Union and the States (Article 354). The President is empowered during the pendency of a Proclamation of Emergency to suspend the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights (as laid down in Part III) by any court. What is more, even in the absence of a state of emergency as stated above simply on the report of the Governor or the Rajpramukh, who by the way are the President's nominees, that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the President is authorised to issue a Proclamation assuming to himself the functions of the government of the State or any powers vested in its Governor or Rajpramukh or any other body or authority in the State and declaring the powers of the State Legislature to be exercisable by Parliament and making all necessary incidental provisions including provisions for suspending in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of the Constitution relating to any body or authority in the State excepting a High Court—formidable powers indeed! The President has also been given power to issue a Proclamation of another type, viz., in financial emergency (Article 360). During the pendency of such a Proclamation the Executive authority of the Union would extend to the giving of directions to any State to observe such canons of financial propriety as specified in the directions and the directions may include other provisions also, such as requiring Money Bills passed by the Legislature of the State to be reserved for the consideration of the President. The President is also empowered to issue directions for the reduction of salaries during the pendency of the Proclamation. It will be noticed that

the common feature of all these cases of Proclamations that the President can issue them in his discretion and on the issue of the Proclamation he is armed with abnormal powers, although temporarily and subject to some limitations. Another thing to be noted is that whenever an emergency of any of the categories stated is proclaimed the autonomy of the States is practically thrown overboard and the Union Executive dominates the States. Even in normal times the scheme of distribution of powers between the federation and the units in our Constitution is heavily tilted in favour of the former; in emergencies our Constitution is virtually converted into a unitary form. Dr. Ambedkar did not make any secret of the fact that the Drafting Committee so fashioned the Constitution that it would work as a federation (and that even with a unitary bias) in peace times, but would become unitary in times of national emergency. We do not propose to go into the merits of that plan here, but it will be admitted that if our adoption of federal system is not groundless, it ought not to be given up even temporarily without very grave reasons. At least that question should be removed from the arena of party politics. If that is to be the case the emergency powers should not be left to the unfettered discretion of the Union Ministry, and the President should be in a position to act contrary to the advice of his ministry, if he has reasons to believe that it is prompted by purely partisan considerations. Otherwise there would be a great risk of these formidable powers being used or rather abused by the party ruling at the Centre to the great annoyance of other parties that may be ruling in the units, because it cannot be expected that there will always be only one dominant party ruling throughout the country as at present. That will lead to a very undesirable state of affairs with great danger to the Constitution. The reserve power of the President will be the only safeguard and protection against such development.

To sum up, the conclusions that emerge from our discussion so far may be stated as follows:

- (1) The character of our Union Executive is modelled substantially on that of England, though not wholly so.
- (2) The elective character of the office of the President of the Republic introduces a fundamental difference between our President and a constitutional ruler under orthodox parliamentary system of the British type.
- (3) The constitution as it stands leaves a wide margin of discretion for the President in the exercise of his functions under the constitution. In particular some specific provisions of the constitution are calculated to introduce a departure from the British system specially in the context of conditions in this country.
- (4) Our constitution is however still in a nebulous condition. It is not possible to be dogmatic

about its true character. What shape it will take will depend entirely on the growth of conventions which again will depend on many factors.

(5) But as far as we can see and it seems to be the intention of the authors of the Constitution also that the relations between the President of our Republic and the ministry is not to be an exact replica of the British original. The departure is necessitated particularly by two factors peculiar to our country—federal system and the prospect of plurality of parties. In view of these we hold it desirable also that there should be some reserve power in the President to be used in his discretion, only in marginal cases to hold the scales even between different claims. In the normal situation, however, the relationship between the President and ministry should be one of mutual trust and confidence and perfect accord, but situations might arise in the prevailing conditions of the country when the President, if he was to be true to the oath of his office and to the larger interests of the nation, might have to differ from the ministry. It is only on such occasions, which will be and should be rare, that the desirability of the President exercising his independent discretion would arise. This assumes a conception of the office of the President as a neutral, non-political and non-partisan figure in the government of the country. That is also in accord with the letter and

spirit of the constitution. One thing,—his oath of office points in that direction, and secondly, a parliamentary system requires for smooth working such a figure at the Head. Of course, the method of election laid down in the constitution gives advantage to a party candidate getting elected, but there is nothing to prevent even such a man after election to shed his political affiliations and assume a strictly neutral and non-political role on the analogy of the English Speaker. It will all ultimately depend on the development of a tradition what shape the office will take.

But if we are to judge from the attitude of our first President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the prospect of such a tradition developing is bright. As the first President he has set the example of an absolutely neutral, non-partisan President which is likely to be followed by his successors. For with the assumption of office he severed his connection with the Congress Party organisation, painful though it must have been and up to now he has completely steered clear of party politics. Using his name in connection with the last general elections was also forbidden and he has not even exercised his franchise. It is hoped that this tradition will be maintained by his successor, for it is only on that basis that the President can truly fulfil the responsibilities of the office laid on his shoulders under the constitution. (Concluded)

—:O:—

THE FUTURE OF MAN

By T. N. SAPRU,

Reader-in-Law, Allahabad University

Not a few hold the view that man's development from barbarism to civilisation is cyclical. That is to say it recurs in cycles like the phases of the moon.

This immediately leads to the question what then is it that we understand by civilisation? If we relate it merely to a condition of affairs which easily and elaborately satisfies our fundamental needs we obviously take a very perverted view of it. Economics as the sole consequence of man, is only a perversion of truth. The satisfaction of the primary needs of man is undoubtedly a major factor in the moulding of human life but man's mind craves for higher things of life too. Civilisation then must not only aim at the restoration of conditions conducive to the satisfaction of man's immediate needs but must give him enough leisure and energy to attend to the developments and demands of the mind and the spirit.

Those who live a contemplative life, do so, not merely for their material or social advancement, or for love of power and fame, but because they regard it as higher and take pleasure or interest in it. Thus in a civilisation, it is not merely enough that men should be rich and powerful and leisured and be able to satisfy their material wants easily and abundantly.

This, after all, is only what a glorified savage would do, given the advantages of leisure and abundance. Men must also devote at least some part of their energies, to living the life of the mind and of the spirit, by pursuing those things which are good, true and beautiful. They must also create an eagerness in others to know them equally. In other words, a civilisation must have a sufficient supply of elevated minds, freed from the pressure of purely biological ends and of immediate cares. It must enrich human society with beautiful things of art and music, advance science, philosophy and religion, and explore the mysteries of this universe.

But unfortunately, while this is what civilisation stands for, few men who have become rich, leisured and powerful, have used their leisure and energy for the good of their fellowmen. On the other hand, our experience has been that they have used them like savages for the gratification of their senses and for wielding power oppressively over their weaker fellowmen.

Thus this bitter experience has led some to evolve the cyclical theory. The upholders say that civilisations rise and fall just as individuals reach a certain

level of glory and then fade away. In this sense they take civilisations to have been the result of the activities of the communities. These acquired power and wealth and enjoyed them mainly for their benefit for some time and eventually ended either because of their own weaknesses, or because they were overrun and destroyed by more vigorous and simpler peoples. Therefore, the protagonists say that the success and fall of the communities cannot be explained away merely on the ground of accident but that they occur, in fact, in pursuance of some kind of rhythm or in obedience to some kind of law.

Whether this supposition based on their experience of the past and present is true, is to say the least, very controversial.

The view, even if it be true, serves no useful purpose. It offers no incentive to man to improve himself and condemns him to a perpetual barbarism. It is a negation of the view that there is a purpose in the Divine plan. Either there is a moral purpose in the universe or there is none. If there is not, life becomes quite meaningless. The theory of progressive evolution of man becomes merely the vain boast of intellectual conceits.

Unfortunately, the genesis of this view rests in the belief that human nature is essentially vicious and thus we can never expect to be very happy. The fact is that both evil and good are necessary for man's progress. If all were made in God's image we would then have been merely virtuous automata. Hence, in order that human beings achieve virtue, they must be in some sense free, and freedom means freedom to choose between wrong and right. In other words, free will is a condition of morality. But nevertheless there must be conditions conducive to the growth of moral living. These undoubtedly exist but we have only to perceive them. Where, however, we choose evil and not good, the fault is ours. But where we do choose the good, we increase its total amount and contribute to our general happiness. Thus if we live moral lives caring equally for our and others' needs, our characters may improve and our lives may be much happier. The need for moral living is all the more today, when the modern man has, through science, acquired such immense power over Nature. The countless inventions of dangerous weapons threaten the destruction of the human race so much, that it is quite possible that our civilization might come to an abrupt end.

There are three ways in which this danger may occur.

First, there is the new danger from war. The potentialities of the biological warfare and the splitting of the atom and the setting free of the incalculable forces of atomic energy might well lay waste the countries involved.

The dangers of biological warfare are far greater than those of atomic warfare. In the face of such a threat the assets, traditionally supposed to make a

country strong in war, such as heavy industries, large armies, navies and air forces, nay even atomic weapons, would be valueless.

Now so long as men continue to be organised into separate national states and each state believes in sabre-rattling as the most effective way to gain an advantage for itself the threat of world war will never diminish.

Secondly, as wars generally do not remain local but tend to spread, the danger of their leading to world conflagration has become very real. Science has by accelerating man's speed shortened distances. We cannot, therefore, but treat the world today as a single whole.

Thirdly, the continual increase of world's population is another real danger to world peace. The progress of medical science has been staggeringly great. It has begun to give today such tremendous protection to human life from diseases and pestilence, that human population is fast outgrowing food resources. There is a marked reduction in infant and maternal mortality in backward countries of Asia and Africa. The prophecy of Malthus that human beings tend to increase more rapidly than the food supply was never so true as today.

Fourthly, modern scientific methods of farming causing soil erosion and the rapid growth of industries attracting people to towns are also in no small degree contributing to the food shortage.

But still science provides some resource to us. The various kinds of contraceptives enable us to limit our children. Its use has to be popularised amongst the less educated and poorer communities.

Besides, scientific inventions and knowledge can enormously increase the world's food supplies. There are two ways to do it. First, by increasing the food growing areas, secondly by making large cultivable areas produce much larger amount of food than they actually do at present. New scientific inventions and fertilisers help us a lot in this way.

But unfortunately all these benefits of science have not so far been used fully for the good of the human race. Science is used more for man's harm rather than for his welfare. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue, the world may well be faced sooner or later with famine involving wars between famine-stricken nations competing for larger share of a dwindling food supply.

Little wonder, therefore, that the minds of wise statesmen, philosophers and economists are turned today to the need of some form of world government which may control all the world's armed forces making it impossible for any individual nation or group of nations to plunge the world into a devastating war.

The prospects of such a government, however, are not very promising. Ideals and the means to achieve the end still divide statesmen. Two attempts have already been made since the first Great War of 1914

The first was the League of Nations created upon the termination of the first war.

The second one is the establishment of the United Nations Organisation after the last war. Yet neither of them can be said to have achieved any appreciable degree of success. The League of Nations failed to prevent the second world war and the United Nations Organisation is still struggling for supremacy over the great powers. It can only exercise its authority or impose its will upon nations effectively when they agree to place at its disposal an armed force which it may freely use against any nation or group of nations challenging its might.

Meanwhile, the world is divided between two power blocs—Russia and Western democracies with totally different ideologies. Communism is a negation of individual liberty. It stands for abolition of private property and loathes free competition. It visualises a classless society with one economic system. The State is to assume the control both of the means of production and distribution. The interests of the State and the individual being identical it argues that there is no need for an organised opposition to the government. Such a society the communists say can only be brought about by a world revolution. In their view peace can never be restored in the world until a communist world state controlled and run by Moscow is established. It thus idealises the State and holds that individuals must serve its ends. But Communist internationalism is gradually drowning itself in nationalism.

The Western democracies, on the other hand, believe in the achievement of the ideal of social and economic equality through individualism.

The connotation of the term has undergone radical changes under the influence of socialism in the present times. Mill in the nineteenth century drew a distinction between self-regarding actions and actions affecting other people. In his view the State could best further the happiness of individuals by interfering in their personal affairs as little as possible. This freedom he conceded to the individuals all the more in the sphere of opinion. Individual liberty, in other words, according to him, consisted of the inalienable rights of man to enjoy his property freely, to speak freely and to act freely.

Herbert Spencer, on the other hand, extended its scope. He imported into it biological conceptions derived from the Darwinian doctrine of evolution. While he regarded the State as contractual in origin, he also believed somewhat inconsistently in the theory of society as an organism which had evolved. In this organism members, not fitted to play their part, he said, should be eliminated in the interests of the whole. It was no duty of the strong in his view to tolerate them and perpetuate their weaknesses by making provision for it.

Progress thus consisted for him in the elimination

of those who fell behind in the struggle for existence. He, therefore, denounced all forms of State relief to the poor and all collective effort on behalf of the distressed. This philosophy being cruel discredited individualism in the eyes of the socially minded people. It encouraged the strong to ruthlessly exploit the weak. It had particularly pernicious effects in the field of economics.

Again Bentham has further, by his insistence that as men are fundamentally selfish they should be left free to pursue their interests unhampered by State interference, added to the present economic crisis. The policy of leading men to bargain unhindered and unchecked with one another has become too cold for people to act upon. It is thus clear that the doctrine of laissez faire can no longer hold good and it is this policy which has principally given rise to various theories of socialism.

The New Individualism has consequently been the result. It differs from the old in regarding the group and not the individual as its unit for political purposes. Two factors have in the main built it. First, the old Individualism failed to protect the individual from the exploitation and oppression by (1) the privately owned economic interests and (2) public opinion expressing itself in the rule of the majority.

Mr. Norman Angell thinks that men are united by a community of feeling based on economic interests which not only runs counter to but frequently transcends national and geographical boundaries. Only the competing States foster unhealthy national feelings in the people by misrepresenting issues to them. In other words, he looks forward to a time when national States will be merged in an international order of society on an economic class basis.

Again, Mr. Wallas rightly points out in his book *The Great Society* that merely the transference of the means of production from private to social ownership will not give any economic equality to the people until the State administering them becomes really representative of the society that owns them. The modern centralised State with Parliament as its organ of expression does not in his view produce the most vigorous 'collective mind.' The elections conducted and governed by the State machinery on a geographical basis cannot elect such types of men. They may be influenced by interested propaganda. He, therefore, proposes that the electorate should be divided into groups on a vocational basis and that each group should elect members to a second chamber which would be composed entirely of representatives of the different trades and professions. A lower chamber would be retained elected on a purely geographical basis. Another proposal which he makes is for the election of bodies of representatives on a geographical basis for the carrying out of particular undertakings, leavened by a minority of members appointed by professional organisations. In other words, the attempt

of Mr. Wallas by his proposals is to protect the individual from the evils of the majority rule. He is not so much worried with the likely oppression of the State as with the likely tyranny of the mob mind.

Again, Mr. Belloc, for instance, in his book *The Servile State* offers quite another solution for the economic ills of the human society. His suggestions have been developed by the Guild Socialist. They regard human society as a federation of two kinds of groups representing respectively the producer's and the consumer's point of view.

The existing Trade Unions and co-operative societies are taken as the germ from which this group organisation of society is to be developed.

In short Guild Socialism aims at the abolition of the wage-system, and the establishment by the workers of self-government in industry, through a democratic system of National Guilds, working in conjunction with other democratic functional organisations in the community.

The principles governing its aims are three, viz., (1) the principle of Functional Democracy, (2) the principle that industry should be administered by the common action of workers both manual and managerial who carry on the industry, and (3) the principle that power and responsibility in society should be related and be proportional to the importance of the functions which individuals perform in the service of the community.

It is thus obvious that the maxim "Every man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost" does not afford an adequate basis for a contented society. The concept of a modern Welfare State is, therefore, the inevitable consequence of the individualistic theory and any resistance to the growing view of State interference in industrial and economic matters is to say the least quite futile today. Human beings are so distressed with their economic condition and their minds are so stuffed with utopian ideals advocated and preached by politicians and thinkers that a step forward is inevitable.

We must remember that a happy social order can not exist nor can it be maintained until man has been drilled into a moral life. It was for this reason that Mahatma Gandhi's programme of a mixed economy combining capitalism with socialism is a practical solution of the economic ills facing the world today and is based upon a sound understanding of human nature. His anti-machine attitude may be regrettable but his due appreciation of the importance of capital and labour as indispensable factors in the economic sphere and willingness to give scope to private initiative and enterprise within reasonable limits is just what the world has to realise today.

Let us not forget that socialism succeeds or fails upon the hypothesis whether man is essentially good or vicious. If he be good, he can work in a team for

the good of others without caring for himself. If he be wicked, it fails miserably.

We can by our foolishness destroy ourselves completely or revert to a state of savagery or barbarism which may last for hundreds or even thousands of years.

Those of us who wish to bring about an utopian society by force may well take stock of the risks involved in the venture. Socialism is a religion, a culture. It takes time to grow. Wisdom therefore lies in being cautious with the experiment.

Its imposition upon people ill-equipped for it will only accentuate miseries. To hope for a uniform economic system controlled and regulated by a World Government is a vain attempt. It is neither possible nor feasible. And yet our efforts must be directed towards the attainment of a well-contented human society. The way to it is either democratic or totalitarian. Democracy implies man's freedom from bondage. Totalitarianism means his reversal to a state of bondage again. The choice is with us. Let us not blunder. The regeneration of man is the supreme need of the moment.

The establishment of the United Nations Organisation is a right step in the direction. The Atlantic Pact guarantees the Four Freedoms to man. It provides a forum to nations for exchange of views and for settlement of differences by free discussion. Perhaps it may be said that the organisation when it has not the military strength to enforce its decrees against belligerent nations cannot restore peace to the distracted world. But mere discussion creates in statesmen and diplomats a habit to think and act rightly. It kindles within them a passion for peace. The formation of world government may be impracticable but even if the organisation succeeds in persuading the nations to agree to the establishment of an international committee to control the Atomic energy and the essential supplies of raw materials and minerals we shall have gone a long way towards building up world peace.

The world may be divided into nations and each nation may be distrustful of the intentions of the other. The disarmament conference may have failed or may fail. But the setbacks need not deter us from our efforts to achieve the ideal. Variety is the law of nature. It, in fact, enriches human life. In diversity lies unity. Human life is a continual evolution from a lower to a higher plane of human existence.

This fact is indisputably established whether we take life and mind to be accidental by-products of the working of material forces or as expressions of some vital creative force or still again as manifestations of the life and mind of a Person who created mankind in pursuance of a purpose. Let us therefore have faith in our ultimate mission and a happier world will perhaps be the outcome.

A. G. GARDINER Last of the Old Brigade

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"
—SHAKESPEARE

There is not a lover of journalism or literature who does not mourn the passing away of A. G. Gardiner a few years ago. He had long passed the psalmist's span of three score years and ten. That, however, does not mitigate the sense of our loss to any appreciable extent: rather does it serve to heighten it. We had been so very much accustomed to take his presence in our midst for granted that now we cannot bear to contemplate the void caused by his demise with any degree of equanimity. His was, indeed, a name to conjure with. The initials, "A. G. G.," were known and honoured wherever they were found: they were an instantaneous passport to our affection. We read every line of his that we could lay hands on, and, like Oliver Twist, asked for more. His writings were suffused with charm. No wonder that even his worst enemies could not resist their lure. It is no exaggeration to say that, once you came to him, you could not leave him without a pang of regret. I can still remember many a dinner that was allowed to get cold because I happened to be in the middle of an article, or essay, of his. It is equally true that I often neglected my more serious studies for the same reason. It can be said of him, as it was said of someone else before him, that he "beguiled children from play and old men from the chimney-corner."

LAST OF THE GIANTS

Gardiner's death is a loss in another respect also. He was the last of a race of journalistic giants. Scott, Spender, Massingham, and Gardiner formed a quartette that has never been surpassed anywhere. They have had no single successor. It was, probably, not quite an accident that all of them belonged to the great Liberal party. During that period there was an efflorescence of the human spirit in that party that was well-nigh unique. In politics as well as in the arts it "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky." Look where you would it was a Liberal that dominated the scene. It was from that cultural Pamir Plateau that all—or nearly all—the rivers and rivulets of genius flowed and "winded somewhere safe to sea." That illustrious savant, Lord Morley himself, drew inspiration from the same prolific source. Naturally, these four figures whose names I have mentioned above had no option,

so to speak, but to tread the same path of intellectual development.

THE MOUNTAIN-PEAKS ARE ALL SNOW-CLAD

It would be unprofitable to go into the question of who was the tallest among those giants. There can be no comparison where superlatives are concerned. The mountain-peaks are all snow-clad. Scott was, undoubtedly, the doyen among them. He had also the advantage of being associated with the finest daily in England. That, of necessity, gave him a "pull" that was, unfortunately, denied to the others. He was the seniormost among them. His noble example could not but have been an invaluable asset, acting, as it must have done, as a sort of beacon-light to the younger set. Scott was an institution by himself: the *Manchester Guardian* a veritable "school" of journalism. In English journalism Scott was, indeed, a landmark; and when he died the whole country rose as one man to render him homage.

In so far, however, as comparisons are possible among giants it has always seemed to me that Massingham towered above them as Mount Everest towers above Kanchenjunga and Nanga Parbat and the rest. Massingham was in a class by himself: as Cowley said of Pindar, "he formed a vast species alone." His soul was like a star and dwelt apart. He was the biggest man of them all, though an unkind fate denied him the chance of becoming an institution in the same manner as Scott. His was a more fiery spirit: nor had he the knack of suffering fools (and knaves) gladly, as anyone must have who is determined to make the best of both the worlds. Even idealists, if they do not wish to be "caught out," usually contrive to have a streak of materialism deeply embedded in their composition: if it escapes public detection it is because it is camouflaged cunningly and is made to form an inextricable part of the general colour-scheme. The lack of this protective principle, of this "safety first" device, was Massingham's undoing.

J. A. SPENDER

Spender had neither the idealism nor the brilliance of either Scott or Massingham. He was not an out-and-out Radical like them and was noted for adopting

"the middle-of-the-road" policy in most matters. He brought everything to the touchstone of practicality. The words of Sir William Watson about Matthew Arnold are equally applicable to him:

"... for though with skill
He sang of beck and tarn and ghyll
The deep, authentic mountain thrill
Ne'er shook his page,
Somewhat of worldling mingled still
With bard and sage."

This is not to belittle Spender's contribution either to politics or to journalism; but I am here dealing with the imponderables, and Spender, consistently displaying more of the diplomatist's skill than of the idealist's fervour as he was wont to do, has, obviously, no place in this narrative. Even his literary style was not comparable to that of the other "Three Musketeers."

THE ILLUSTRIOUS FOURSOME

In the foregoing I have tried to sketch the journalistic background against which Gardiner's qualities must be judged. It is easy enough to win fame if one's lot is cast among nonentities. In the country of the blind the one-eyed are, unquestionably, the monarchs, as Dr. Johnson noted long ago. But this charge cannot be levelled at "A. G. G.'s" door. He functioned in the palmiest days of English journalism. Wordsworth wrote of the French Revolution:

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
And to be young was very heaven."

The main period of Gardiner's life-work fell at precisely such a time as that depicted by the Lake Poet. He was the fourth wheel of a superb journalistic coach.

Scott in the *Manchester Guardian* and Massingham in the *Daily Chronicle* (and, later, in the *Nation*) and Spender in that "old sea-green incorruptible, the *Westminster Gazette*, and Gardiner in the *Daily News* "magnoperated," in the late Mr. James Agate's beautiful phrase, as no "foursome" had ever been privileged to do. It was the grandest symphony that anyone could have hoped to hear. For nearly two decades Gardiner preached the Liberal doctrine from the pulpit that the *Daily News* so graciously provided for him. I am not prepared to aver that he was a match for the other three in point of political lore. Politics was far from being his first love. He did not come to it *con amore*. Pride of place in his mind was always given to literature. But, with all his limitations in that line, he managed to make up by unwearied diligence for what was lacking in primal impulse.

GOES INTO THE WILDERNESS

Belonging as he did to the "old journalism" Gardiner laid huge store by "principles." They did not cling to him, in Falstaff's memorable phrase, "lightly, like an old lady's loose gown," but were woven into the fabric of his very life. They were not so much ballast intended to be thrown overboard at the first

hint of a gathering storm; they were, rather, the precious cargo itself, and the commodore preferred to go down to the bottom of the sea with his merchandise to saving his skin by flinging it into the roaring waters. That was how, ultimately, he lost the editorship of his paper. The policy of the *Daily News* was changed to suit the new Lloyd George that emerged during the later stages of World War Number One, a Lloyd George that took friend and foe alike by surprise, and Gardiner was asked to change with it. But he sternly refused thus to trim his sails to the prevailing political wind and left the *Daily News* after an unbroken service of nearly twenty years. The loss, needless to say, was more the party's and the paper's than his.

After that he turned his hand to free-lance journalism. He did some work for the *Nation* after Massingham's departure from it. He wrote regularly for *John Bull*. But all this was, more or less, like the crackling of thorns under the pot: his life's mission ended with the editorship of the *Daily News*. The Liberal party chose new gods, but Gardiner would have nothing to do with them.

MORE AN AUTHOR THAN A JOURNALIST

To the general public Gardiner is known more as an author than as a journalist. In this he scored heavily against Massingham. Massingham did not leave a single book behind him to commemorate his memory. He might have left one, for he was persuaded to write his autobiography, but his life was cut short abruptly: he could not bear the severance of his connection with the *Nation*—into the editing of which he had put the whole of himself. The *Nation* was Massingham and Massingham was the *Nation*. But Gardiner was wiser and, side by side with editing the *Daily News*, was shrewd enough to put a lot of himself into books. It is probable that now many have forgotten his editorship days but still remember with inexpressible gratitude the pleasure his printed pages gave them. When the late C. E. Montague resigned from the *Manchester Guardian* in order to dedicate himself entirely to the service of literature a farewell dinner was arranged at the Reform Club in Manchester at which Scott presided. While proposing the guest and after speaking of the affection in which he was held Scott proceeded:

"We want to thank him for all he is and all he has done, for his high temper, his political courage, the unswerving stand he has ever made for liberty, his deep and critical understanding of literature, the drama, and the finer arts, for the crystal clearness of his style and its wonderful vigour and vividness, for the model he has set before them of English pure and undefiled."—C. E. Montague: *A Memoir*. By Prof. Oliver Elton. Chatto & Windus. 1924. P. 266.

We may transfer this well-spoken eulogy word by word to Gardiner himself. Scott then referred to Montague as an author:

"Only in his books does he become completely himself. Montague has lived both lives, the life

A. G. GARDINER

of the journalist and the life of the author—he has lived them hard, and he has lived them together. The paper of the day must die with the day, but its work, if well done, as Montague has done it, does not die; it enters into the life of the nation and helps to direct its mind and shape its destiny."—*Ibid*: Pp. 266-7.

This tribute also can be applied to Gardiner *verbatim*. Gardiner lived in his books much more than Montague did. Montague's passion was at white heat even while writing the day's leading article or the notice of the previous night's play. This cannot be said of Gardiner. He had always an eye to the future and practised a wise economy in his day-to-day work. While not stinting his service to the *Daily News* he looked farther ahead than most working journalists do. He was an author first and a journalist afterwards.

HIS "MAGNUM OPUS"

Gardiner wrote the standard biography of his political hero, Sir William Harcourt. It compares favourably with the other political biographies in the English language, and compares more than favourably with Spender's biography of Campbell-Bannerman. It is, as usual, a "double-decker." We should have been obliged to him more than we can tell if he had been able to condense his material into the pages of a single volume, as Lord Newton did with his biography of Lord Lansdowne. Never has literature known such a foolish bed of Procrustes as the conventional length of a political biography. Everyone remembers the vehement protest of the late Mr. Lytton Strachey, conveyed in his own matchless sentences, in his preface to *Eminent Victorians*:

"Those two fat volumes with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead—who does not know them, with their ill-digested masses of material, their slipshod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design? They are as familiar as the cortege of the undertaker, and wear the same air of funereal barbarism. One is tempted to suppose, of some of them, that they were composed by that functionary as the final item of his job."

But Gardiner redeems this tedium by the incomparable loveliness of his diction. I do not think that any two-volume biography has ever been written with such perfection of style. Gardiner's masterpiece—for such it undoubtedly is—scintillates with brilliance. His concluding chapter, in especial, deserves being bound by the young student of literature "for a front-let on his brow and a talisman on his writing wrist," as Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch ("Q" of revered memory) has said of Cardinal Newman's *The Idea of a University*. Had I had sufficient space at my command I should have quoted from it copiously. It is like aaron of beef: one can cut and come again.

HIS UNSURPASSED "PEN-PORTRAITS"

Gardiner excelled in "pen-portraits" of eminent

personages, which he gathered together between the covers of several books, like *The War Lords*, *Prophets*, *Priests*, and *Kings*, *Pillars of Society*, and *Certain People of Importance*. It is the literal truth to say that he had not his equal in this field. He has had many imitators, but they have not been able to dislodge him from his seat of eminence, much, no doubt, as they would have liked to do. They had neither his breadth of vision, nor his catholicity of interests, nor his felicity of expression. The one who came nearest to him was, perhaps, the late Mr. "E. T. Raymond"—in real life Mr. E. Raymond Thompson—one-time editor of the *Evening Standard* of London. He had to his credit many volumes of literary portraits as well as of full-length biographies. I have gone through most of them and I am the last person to decry his ability or to deny him his due. He had, further, an enviable command of language. Nevertheless he failed to give his readers the same "over-all" delight as "A.G.G." did.

"Where O'Flaherty sits is the head of the table," and where "A.G.G." was was the master of pen-portraiture. There is no manner of doubt that, within the limits that he prescribed for himself, he was the supreme magician. Everything must have a beginning, a middle, and an end, and his sketches had them to perfection. He marshalled his argument so that it lacked not (as the old divine puts it in Thomas Love Peacock) the primary requisites of a head and a tail. In other words, his sense of construction was infallible. He caught our interest with his very first sentence and he led us up the garden path of his narrative with just the right measure of coaxing and cajolery. In like manner he was not abrupt in his denouements but softened the fall of his endings, so to speak, by preparing us beforehand for them. He knew—none better—how to "join his flats."

THE MASS OF HIS INFORMATION

What struck us was his amazing mass of information. The career of every public figure seemed to be an "open book" to him. It appeared to be all one to him whether that public figure was a poet or a philosopher, a politician or a publican: he grasped them to his bosom with hoops of steel. The only condition that he made was that those who sat for him as his "models" must be persons "of importance in their day," as Browning would have called them. Of course, the more that importance promised to be permanent the better it suited him. But he was wise enough not to drive this principle to its logical conclusion.

HIS UNERRING EYE FOR PRETENSION

In the treatment of his "subjects" he was, as a general rule, very lenient. His quality of mercy was not strained.

"It dropped as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath."

But there was an exception. He had an unerring

...the pretensions. He had nothing but withering contempt for the poets. When confronted with any of these contemptible beings his sarcasm could be biting, indeed. I can cite two examples. His portraits of the late Mr. St. Leo Strachey, editor of the *Spectator*, and of Mr. Hilaire Belloc are unforgettable. Both of them, Gardiner hints, are (not to put too fine a point upon it) humbugs in certain respects. The manner in which he establishes his thesis is extremely revealing. He lets his full stream of irony play on them as from a hose: now the hose is turned in this direction and anon on that. I cannot resist this quotation from his sketch of Mr. Belloc. The very opening sentence gives us an indication of his method of attack.

"Some wit has divided society into two classes—dukes and other people. This is a mistake. The true classification should be—the British people and Mr. Belloc. One ought, of course, to put Mr. Belloc first, but perhaps he will forgive the slight for the sake of the cadence. It is not intended to suggest that Mr. Belloc is inferior to the other 45 millions of us. That would be absurd. No one would recognize its absurdity more readily than Mr. Belloc, for among his many transcendent qualities humility is not conspicuous."

TWISTING THE KNIFE IN THE WOUND

This, naturally, prepares us for what follows:

"It was the capital crime of the Liberals when they came into power in 1906 that they forgot Mr. Belloc. They acted as though they were unaware that he was among them—that he, who had served in the French artillery as a conscript and knew more about war than anybody else could possibly know, who had burst upon Oxford like a tornado and swept it with the whiffs of his Gallic grapeshot, who had all the secrets of history in his private keeping and had turned the Froudes, the Freemans, and the Stubbes into discredited back-numbers, who had written novels and satires and poetry and biographies and histories, who had discovered the French Revolution and put Carlyle in his place, who had invented a new medieval Europe after his heart's desire, who had tramped through France and Switzerland to Rome, and from Tangiers to Timagad, and had written books about both, with pictures from his own hand, who could instruct you in art and explain to you the philosophy of Classicism as easily as he could sail a boat, mow a meadow, or ride a horse—they forgot, I say, that he was the Liberal member for South Salford."

"OTHERS ASIDE OUR QUESTION . . ."

Is this not delicious? Opinions may well differ as to whether his pen-portraits of politicians or of literary figures are the better. I prefer the latter. His sketches of George Meredith, Thomas Hardy, Bernard Shaw, and Rudyard Kipling are among his very best. My own favourite is the first. I am a lover of Meredith myself and am happy to find that I am in excellent company. Gardiner's chief glory is these pen-portraits. He stands supreme in this chosen field

of his. Matthew Arnold's memorable words on Shakespeare can, with equal justice, be applied to him:

"Others abide our question. Thou art free. We ask and ask: Thou smilest and art still, Out-topping knowledge."

AS AN ESSAYIST

Gardiner has another title also to distinction. Under the pen-name of "Alpha of the Plough" he wrote a series of essays in the well-known London weekly, the *Star*. These are now available in book-form as *Leaves in the Wind*, *Many Furrows*, *Pebbles on the Shore*, and one or two others. His style in these is bewitching. If, as an editor, he is not in the same street with Massingham, as an essayist he is not, to be perfectly candid, in the same class as the late Mr. Robert Lynd and Mr. J. B. Priestley. It was he, however, who helped Mr. Lynd ("Y. Y." of the *New Statesman*) on to his present position. He was among the first to discern Mr. Lynd's genius and, having done so, appointed him as the literary Editor of the *Daily News*. Though, as I have noted, he is not, as an essayist, of the same calibre as Mr. Lynd, he occupies a unique position nonetheless. As C. E. Montague observed, a range of mountains may not be the Alps, and yet have a career. Second-class essayists, like "A. G. G.," have also a special niche in the temple of fame. Let us give them our meed of praise and pass on.

HIS STYLE

I have remarked that "A. G. G.'s" style is bewitching. Simplicity is its key-note. It is not easy to write a simple style. Nor is a simple style, as some imagine, an insipid style. There is an ornament that pertains to simplicity, and there is a simplicity that is at the same time scholarly. Gardiner's simplicity was of this nature. If we would cultivate this kind of writing, we should exercise a wise economy in words: there should be a self-restraint in language what Walter Pater called "the beauty of a frugal closeness of Style." That Walter Pater himself did not practise what he preached is beside the point. Gardiner, for his part, observed all these rules. One is never pulled up by a clumsy phrase or an obscure sentence. In addition he was a master of epigram and of quotation. His love of literature shines through every line that he ever wrote. Like the maiden in the fairy story he could not open his mouth without pearls (of literature) dropping out of it.

Such was Gardiner. This "appreciation" of him of him is by way of being an affectionate memorial—albeit belated. I got much from him: it is only in the fitness of things that I should endeavour to repay, however inadequately, those manifold services. May his name shine for ever as a sort of beacon-light to guide the footsteps of aspiring journalists!

EDUCATION IN FREE INDIA

By Dr. SATIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
Calcutta University

Education is a matter of absorbing interest for all of us. It should engage the attention of all enlightened persons who have the welfare of their nation and country at heart. Of all the nation-building departments of a State, that of education is perhaps the most important. The life and progress of a country and the peace and prosperity of a nation depend primarily on the type of education that is imparted by the State to the children and the youth who live in it. The object of this paper is to consider the problem of education and suggest the specific form that should be given to it in a country like India in the present atmosphere of its political independence.

The word "education" etymologically means rearing or bringing up the child. So by education we are to mean the all-round development of the children and the youth. Now if there is to be an all-round development of a boy or a girl through education, then we must educate, i.e., develop all the sides and aspects of his or her life. In the total life of every human being we find several constituent parts or elements. A human being is a soul or self living in an organism which is a mind-body system. A man has a soul, a body and a mind, and he stands in certain social or moral relations to other human beings living in some society. As such, the development of his life as a whole depends on the training of his body and mind, his moral and spiritual nature. Education, therefore, means finally the physical, mental, moral and spiritual development of the young human individual.

It follows from what has been said before that training of the body, i.e., physical culture is the first and most important thing in the child's education. The body is the physical basis of our mental life. Unless the body is stout, strong and healthy, the mind cannot be alert, vigorous and steady. It has been truly said that a sound mind resides in a sound body. If one's body be weak and diseased, his mind too is bound to be disordered and disorganised. The health of the body is reflected in the working of the mind. Mental powers of thinking, remembering, reasoning and understanding are all impaired when the body becomes weak and exhausted through disease, decay and long exercise. It is but a vulgar error to think, as some religious people do think, that mortification of the body is the way to salvation of the soul and that one should sacrifice the body for the sake of the soul. The Hindu Sastras do not support this belief nor do they sanction this sort of physical discipline. On the other hand, it is expressly stated in the Sastras that the body is the primary condition and the necessary means for the attainment of a virtuous life (*sariram adyam khalu dharma-sadhanam*). If the health of the body be the necessary condition for our religious life, it is needless to say how far more

important it is for the development and progress of our intellectual life. Hence we are to recognise the value of physical culture for mental development and say that it should be given a place of supreme importance in any comprehensive scheme of education.

The second thing that is necessary for education is the training and development of the child's mind. For this purpose adequate provision should be made for imparting effective instruction to the child in the various arts and sciences. Among other institutions, the schools, colleges and universities in our country, provide for the progressive instruction of the students in the different arts and sciences. The main object of the instruction thus provided for, must be to give the students a sound and intelligent understanding of the subjects of their study, instead of enabling them only to pass the examinations and obtain the University degrees as passports to the different professions. So also the students in their turn should not succumb to the lure of passes and degrees and be entirely forgetful of their primary duty of acquiring a sound knowledge of the subjects they study. It is learning and wisdom that should be the aim of this part of education. What Indian youths need most today is that reasoning power and critical faculty which will enable them to study all things rationally and judge their value critically. If the system of education in our country help the Indian youth develop such critical powers, they will not be swept away by the impetuous flow of foreign ideas and 'isms' into our land. The glitter of Western civilisation and the apparent success of Western science will not blur their vision and benumb their intellect and thus prevent them from seeing anything good and valuable in their ancient thought and culture. Hence mental training as a part of education should consist in the acquisition of such learning and wisdom as will enable a man to see things in their proper perspectives and appreciate and realise the eternal values of life.

The next thing that is very important for the education of the youth is the formation of moral character. For this purpose moral training should form an essential part of any sound scheme of education. The main objects at which moral training should aim are self-containment, self-control, or discipline of the mind-body, love of truth, moral courage, fortitude, fellow-feeling and patriotism. The necessity and importance of continence for the building up of the youth can scarcely be over-emphasised. In ancient India, the vow of *brahmacharya* or continence was given a place of supreme importance in the life of every student. The development of the student's body and mind, the vigour of his youth, and the happiness and prosperity of his future life—all depend on this great virtue. So also a rational control over the

natural passions and impulses of life is the first step in the formation as well as reformation of one's moral character. Along with these, there should be instilled into the impressionable mind of the youth a deep regard for and a sincere love of truth. He should be taught to be truthful in thought, word and deed and to despise all that is untrue and false. Moral courage is another great virtue which should be possessed by all educated youths. It consists in the firm resolve to follow the right path and do the right thing without any concern for the opinions and interests of others, without any consideration of the frowns or favours of others, and of loss or gain to oneself. We should give such moral training to our youths that they will have the moral courage to live and die for truth, and sacrifice their all for the sake of a good and righteous cause. Closely connected with moral courage is the courage to stand adversity and suffering. This is the virtue of fortitude which, if acquired in early life, stands one in good stead amidst the dangers and difficulties of later life. Among the social virtues, sympathy is the most fundamental and vital. Man is a social creature. He has to live in a society of individuals each of whom has to work not only for the good of himself but also of others in order that the social organism may be healthy and prosperous. So in the moral training of the youth attempt should be made to free him from selfishness and develop in him the virtue of fellow-feeling and altruism. Patriotism as the disinterested love of one's country is a virtue which extends the bounds of one's sympathy over the whole nation. As such, it should be infused into the mind of every student, so that he may be in a position to place his country above all else and consider no sacrifice to be too great for the sake of his country and the State. Lastly, religious instruction should form a necessary part of education. It may be that in a Secular State there may be objections to the inclusion of religious training in the scheme of public education. But considering the place that religion has in the life of man it would be unwise to exclude all religious instructions from his education. Man is a spiritual being even though he has an animal nature as well. The evolution of humanity is the gradual process of transforming man's animality and developing his spiritual nature. Religion is a powerful agency that helps to bring about the spiritual regeneration of man. It is true that in the history of the world certain dogmatic, institutional and sectarian religions have done more harm than good to the human race and often retarded its peaceful progress. But that is due not so much to the intrinsic nature of religion itself as to its prostitution for non-religious ends and purposes. Wherever religion has been made the instrument of tyranny and oppression, we may reasonably suspect the presence of mean motives of personal gain or national exploitation. Religion as a sincere and firm faith in the self of man within and God overhead is

not only a rational belief but a saving grace for the life of man. It gives man a safe anchorage in the ocean of life and sustains him amidst the dangers and difficulties in the journey of life. Religion in this universal form must be made a part of the of young minds.

So far we have tried to explain the different and aspects of education in general. Now we propose to indicate the special form and type of education that should be imparted to the Indian youth in India. The educational system of a country must be suited to the genius of the race or the people who inhabit it. It should also respect the traditional culture that exist in the country and constitute a common heritage of the race. During the British rule in India for about two centuries the system of education obtaining in this country hardly satisfied the needs and purposes of the ruling class than to building up of the Indian nation. Now that India has attained independence after many years of hard struggle and intense suffering, she should adapt her educational system to the national needs and ideas and make it suited to the spirit of Indian culture, the one hand, and the modern conditions of life on the other. The eternal culture of India is spiritual in spirit and has its primary basis in the Vedas, the Upanisads, and is summed up later in the teachings of the Bhagavadgita. Hence in the system of education in Free India, provision should be made for the study and dissemination of Indian thought and culture, especially of Indian philosophy and religion. To achieve this end, Sanskrit language and literature which are the repository of India's ancient culture, should be given an important place in the education of the Indian youth. But while India may be rightly proud of her spiritual heritage, she cannot afford to shut her eyes against the movement of things and events in the world outside. At the present age, the Western world has made immense progress in the study and development of the physical, mental, industrial, commercial and political sciences. The practical achievements of the Western countries in the field of science are as great as those of India in the life of the spirit. But the scientific culture of the West seems to be a stupendous body without a soul, the spiritual culture of India a meagre soul with a vigorous body. To keep pace with the movement of the world and to infuse new life and vigour in the spiritual culture, Indians must study and acquire mastery over the Western sciences. In a free India, therefore, the system of education must be a synthesis of all that is best in her spiritual and the scientific culture of the West. It is only in this way that Indians can become a vigorous and honourable nation in the world, and India can occupy a place of peace and prosperity of the world at large.



Toilette by Vipra Mahanti



A Rajput woman by Haimati Sen

Bhisma's Sarasajya
By Santirajan Mukherji

(772-846) are some of the greatest poets China has ever produced. There are numerous names in the history of Chinese poetry, but the rest of them stand nowhere in comparison. Among the modern poets the well-known ones are T'ao Yuanming, Yu Yiu-jen, Ch'eng Ch'ien, Chu Hsi and Professor Lu Ch'ien.

Li Po was a wanderer for a major portion of his life and sang of the then beauty of China, Yang Kuei-fei. He was fond of pleasure and loose life, a gay townsman. However, he appreciated the beauty of nature, the mountain, the river and the ocean. The remarkable thing about his poetry is that it is spontaneous—oozing from the heart, as it were. He does not labour over his poetry and thus make it artificial. However, he is a master of style, expression and words. In spite of his departures from the conventional restrictions and his freedom in composition, his poetry has a beauty of its own.

The poetry of Tu Fu, on the other hand, has an artificial and unnatural atmosphere about it, and it is apparent that he has a laboured style. His poetry lacks the music and lyrical quality of Li Po. Tu Fu was a realist and therefore he tried to divert emotion and imagination into definite channels. He is primarily a poet of the down-trodden and the suffering masses and speaks for them.

Po Chu-i was trained in the Confucian literature and gospel. He has made poetry the vehicle of moral teaching, though in some of his poems he betrays a romantic outlook. And it is these, the latter type of compositions, which have made him immortal, and not his preachings. His work has the great quality of being intelligible to all sections of the people.

IV
One of the greatest difficulties in the translation of Chinese poetry, as in all translations, is the general character of the local ideas and ideals. There are many types of poems: some owe their beauty and grandeur to the idea the poem sets forth; some have their beauty in the association and sensitiveness of the words the poet chooses (as the prose of Mr. James Joyce,* the Irish novelist) and sometimes it is the vivid and realistic description that adds beauty and makes the poem more appealing.

Most of the Chinese poems are suggestive in nature. Po Chu-i, Chu Hsi and Wang Wei are poets of this type: most of their poems are loved and appreciated for the sensitive, the suggestive and the appealing association of the words they have used. Here is a good example from the works of Po Chu-i:

Over the river, the fog stealthily glides,
Over the river, the wind icily blows.
All the night, rain drops on the stern,
All the night, waves strike the prow.
In the boat there is a sick passenger
Going down towards Chiang Chou.

* Refer to the two articles on James Joyce, by the present writer, published in the *New Review*, Calcutta, January and February, 1949.

In the original Chinese the beauty of the poem lies in the brilliant association of words, their sensitiveness and their suggestiveness: the poem owes its charm to its undertones. All this has been lost in the translation—and this happens with all translations of poetry.

Then there is the difficulty of making sense out of the peculiar and strange local ideas of China, strange as they may seem to a foreigner. These are difficult to understand for the Westerner as well as the Indian unless one happens to know the Chinese background and sentiments. If we translate them literally, we will be doing a great injustice; and if we try to render the ideas into a different language, the ideas themselves are so peculiar to our ears that they would not yield the real beauty or the sense. Here is an example of this strange difficulty from a passage translated literally from a poem of Chu Hsi where one cannot make any sense out of the translation:

Suffering, checked, to see the Eastern Wind's figure,
The Spring is ten thousand times purple and one
thousand times red and black.

Surely this is a very strange description of the colours of the Spring season and a very odd way of expressing the beauty of the proverbial King of Seasons!

V
Professor H. A. Giles, in his book *A History of Chinese Literature*, while giving the chief characteristics of Chinese literature has said that Chinese literature abounds in works on morals and in every literary work, whether prose or poetry, it seems as if the author were preaching morality.

"... Harmony of literature and morality," says Prof. Giles, "is the quality of Chinese literature."

This, however, is more apparent in prose work than in poetry. Chinese poets have used poetry to express and to teach the various ideas and ideals of morality and moral character and conduct. The Chinese, it seems, love poetry because it is an expression and preaching of morality both in its tone and its subject-matter.

However, we have to add that sometimes Chinese poetry is over-moralizing. And this over-moralizing bores the reader, especially a reader who is not used to such moralizing and preaching in literature or whose notion is that literature should not sound like a sermon. In Western literatures, especially in French, moralizing is not liked and is sometimes hated. Gustave Flaubert could never have stood such a literature. But the method of Flaubert, too, was not all good at worth copying in toto. In fact, though literature knows no boundaries and regions, it must have some national character. And it is this that differentiates the literature of one country from that of another.

A GLIMPSE INTO CHINESE POETRY

Lu Ch'ien preaches:

I desire all men to be brave,
Not believing in empty words,
But taking up responsibility upon their two
shoulders.
Let us raise our flags and shout aloud
And with clenched fists overthrow all obstacles:
For then our hearts will know no sorrow,
But in our shabby blue gowns we will work hard.

VI

The Chinese conception of love is far different from the European or the Indian. To a Westerner, love is at its peak in the young hearts and during the time of courting and the honeymoon; that love is considered to be the best which is the freshest and the youngest—love at first sight. To an Indian, love is at its peak after the couple have lived together for some time, faced some difficulties of life and come victorious out of them—when the two have proved their love for each other and are still young enough to love and be loved; that love is wanted which has come out victorious in the battle of life and still has a bright future ahead of it. To a Chinese, love is at its best after it has been tried fully; love of the old age, when each of the couple can help the other as a friend; such love is wanted as has survived to see the old age. To be a bit more clear: a Western poet is a passionate lover; an Indian poet a philosophic adorer; a Chinese poet a friendly mate.

The difference, as we find it, seems to arise from the social customs and conventions and the marriage systems of the different countries, as also the cultural effects and the heritage.

Tu Fu sings in "To My Retired Friend Wei":

It is almost as hard for friends to meet
As for the morning and evening stars . . .

VII

The Tang dynasty is known for some of the best poetry and painting that it gave to China. However, as Latourette has rightly remarked, it is worth noting that "a note of sadness runs through much of the Tang poetry" and it seems that this poetry "almost certainly had some connection with Taoism and Buddhism, for both these faiths encouraged the man of insight to look below the surface appearance held to be illusory to the reality beneath and to do so through the approach of the mystic."—(Pp. 206-7).

It is the poetry of parting rather than that of meeting of which the Chinese poets write. We read in *The Jade Mountain*:

Friend, I have watched you down the mountain
Till now in the dark I close my thatch door
Grasses return again green in the spring,
But, O my Prince of Friends, do you?

Another poem, by Yuan Chen, strikes our attention in this connection. Writes Yuan Chen:

Hsieh Kung, the youngest, inclined to pity her;
Since you married Ch'ien Lou, a hundred things
have gone wrong.

Seeing me without clothes, you searched your
treasure box;
I chivvied you—to provide me with wine—to part
with your gold hair pin.
Wild green made our food: sweet was the
perennial *huo*;
Fallen leaves added to our feed; we look up to
the old *huai* tree!
Today my salary exceeds one hundred thousand
cash;
To my princess I offer libation; I practise fasting.
Thinking of death, in the night I constantly awake
In recompense for the life-long furrows of your
brow.

Such is the type of the Chinese love poetry. It is almost always the poetry of parting coupled with a sense of respectful regards for the other party who is far away or no more.

VIII

The love of Nature of the Chinese poet as also the common folk of China is well-known. The Chinese are great lovers of Nature as also great ascetics, just as their neighbours, the Indians are. The life of a Chinese, on the whole, is usually simple; his wants are few and restricted. The poet of China, too, reflects this trait of Chinese life. T'ao Yuanming is one such poet. In his poem "The Moving House" he writes of his shifting his abode from the congested and hectic life of the city to a peaceful and secluded house in the midst of natural surroundings in a forest. Says T'ao Yuanming:

For many years I had longed to settle here;
Now at last I have managed to move house.
I do not mind if my cottage is rather small
So long there is room enough for bed and mat . . .

The rapturous beauty of the moonlit night and the moon is a common feature of Chinese poetry. It is depicted so realistically that we are compelled to admit the mastery of the poet. The following stanza is a good illustration:

The wounded soldier sighs,
The sun has set and the moon rises;
For he complains that care-free people simply
enjoy the moon,
But it was in moonlight that enemy planes
wounded him.

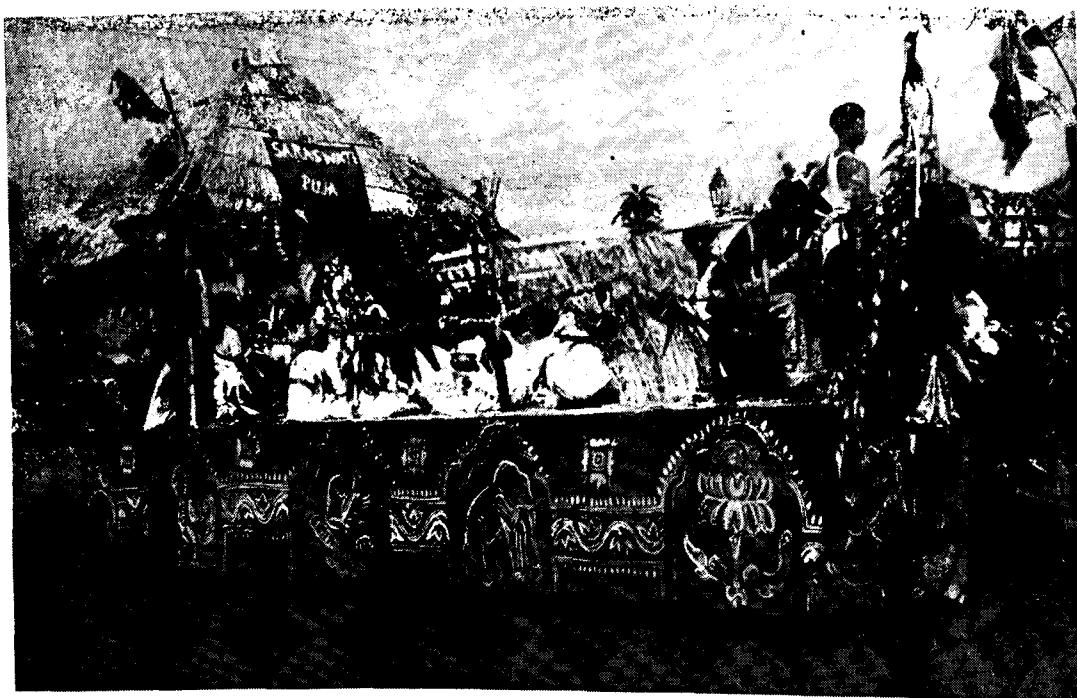
The moon is setting, my bones are aching;
The fate of the country is at stake
And I am fortunate to be in the sacred war.
Last year I sang and danced at the moon festival
in the army,

But this time I grieve that I cannot participate . . .
And now I reproduce a passage from the famous poem of nature, "The Deer Park Hermitage":

There seems to be no one on the empty mountain
And yet I think I hear a voice,
Where sunlight, entering a grove,
Shines back to me . . .

IX

The Chinese war poems form a group by themselves and are a very important branch of poetry in the twentieth century history of Chinese poetry. Some of the best war-poets are (1) Ch'eng Ch'ien, the



The Indian Republic Day was celebrated in Delhi on January 26, 1952. The pageantry procession represented the cultures of different States and regions of India. Here is a scene showing the Saraswati Puja of Bengal



Sergeant Muthu Krishnan and Private Kushal Kulkarni, both medical non-combatants with the 60th Indian Ambulance Unit in Korea, honour their war dead at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier under Arc de Triomphe in Paris

A GLIMPSE INTO CHINESE POETRY

By DHARMA BHANU, M.A.

CHINA has a prominent place in the international affairs of the day and the student of world affairs and history is specially interested in that great country and her culture. We in India are her close neighbours; we two played a prominent role in world affairs in the past and acted as torch-bearers to the world in fields more than one. As the literature of a land affords us a peep into the cultural and social life of a people, it is proposed in this brief paper to study the poetry of China with a view to "unlocking her heart."

The first problem that confronts a student of Chinese literature in a foreign country is that of translating it—poetry and drama, fiction and prose. It was sheer chance that Chinese literature attracted the attention of translators. It would be a mistake, however, to think that Chinese literature has not left any mark on English literature or any other literature of the world. It is Chinese literature, in fact, that gave the world most of the new types of verses and poems in recent times, as I propose to show in the course of this paper. So many books of Chinese poetry have appeared in our times that their popularity cannot rest merely on novelty.

Legge was the first English translator to be attracted by Chinese poetry. He translated some of the most beautiful and musical passages of Chinese poetry into English. So he became the forerunner of the contemporary translators—Mr. Arthur Waley, Prof. H. A. Giles, Mr. Witter Bynner; and among the Chinese themselves, Dr. Kiang Kang-hu, Prof. Lu Ch'ien, Mr. Ten T'ai and others.

Original Chinese poems read mostly like songs; but the musical setting, the rhyme, the rhythm and other beauties have, in almost all cases, been lost in translations. Though one of the best translations, *The Book of Songs*, translated by Mr. Arthur Waley, does not come up to the standard of the original or even to the standard required in works like those which are aimed at introducing and explaining the literature, culture, society and aspirations of one people to another. But it is not essentially the fault or short-coming of the translators it is almost always an inherent defect in all translations of poetry.

II

Generally speaking, for the sake of convenience, we can group Chinese poetry under three heads: (1) Ancient Style, (2) Modern Style or Code Verse, and (3) Curtailed Verse.

Ancient Style allows a good deal of latitude to the poet and is less strict and less rigid in comparison with *Code Verse*; it gives the poet a greater facility and is a lesser stumbling block in his path. *Ancient Style* is the oldest form of Chinese poetry, as the name itself suggests. In spite of being less rigid, however, *Ancient Style* has a smaller number of poems to its credit than *Curtailed Verse*. As an example of this form of poetry we may cite "The Moving House" by T'ao Yuanming, to which we refer in the latter portion of this paper.

Code Verse or *Modern Style* is governed by a set of strict rules. *Modern Style* does not mean that the form is new, as one might be led to believe. It is as old as *Ancient Style*. It is, however, more fixed and rigid. The subject-matter, the allusions, the accent and other qualities which go to make good poetry, have got to be balanced in the different lines of the poem. Here the length of the line, the arrangement of characters, tones, rhymes, etc., have to follow strict conventions and set rules. The matching of the different lines is almost essential—the final characters of every other line must match and rhyme. The same character, at the same time, must not be used twice in one poem, while all parts of speech, that is, noun, adjective and verb, must match by the use of the same parts of speech in the next line. With all its rigidities, *Modern Style* makes it more difficult to be used as a vehicle of the poet's emotions and ideas. In course of time this form became so strict and rigid and its rules so numerous that it became impossible for poetry and imagery to get a place in the form. Thus from a general vehicle of poetic genius *Code Verse* changed into an artistic and scholastic exercise. "I Send My Sweet Caresses" by Yuan Chen (770-831 A.D.) is a good example of *Code Verse* or *Modern Style*.

The last, but not the least important, form of Chinese poetry is *Curtailed Verse*. The main function of *Curtailed Verse* is not to tell a tale or relate a story, but to create a mood and to treat a single emotion of the poet. This form may very aptly be compared to the English lyric. *Curtailed Verse* makes the largest amount of Chinese poetry and, as such, deserves our greatest attention. It is, like the English lyric, most popular among all classes of people and poets of all shades of opinion. Also, it has been used by practically all poets.

III

Li Po (705-762), Tu Fu (712-770) and Po Chu-i

author of the long and well-known poem, "The Achievements of Dr. Sun," (2) Ten Pao-shan, (3) Sun Wei-ju, (4) Lo Cho-ying, (5) Huang Ch'iou, (6) Ch'iu Feng-chia, (7) Ch'ien Ch'eng-kan, and many others.

The war and the destruction wrought by it have been depicted by Yu Yiu-jen in the poem "The Fatherless Child":

The whole land suffers beneath fire and sword,
Where the exiled people go?
The fatherless child sheds tears
And wets his mother's garments . . .
In the Eastern village the house is burnt
And people fled from the Western suburbs.
My father went out to fight the barbarians,
But when did he die on the battlefield?

A poem by Professor Lu Ch'ien reads as follows:
For us to write about the War is vain;
No victory shall we, by speaking, gain.
It matters not if but bare hands we have,
For when the end is reached a change must be;
Only we must hold fast to integrity . . .

This is how love of the motherland has been described by the reputed poet Yu Yiu-jen:

The long song is long, the short song is short,
The sacred war takes its course,
And brothers follow each other
To lay down their lives for the country;
Until the barbarians are defeated
And we return home singing.
The short song is short, the long song is long,
To die for one's country
Is eternal glory.

We love our dear ones, we hate our foes;
Our heroes are not afraid and the humane need
— not fear fate,

But let us rise up together to defend our sacred land.

This is the war-cry of China. The war hysteria, specially that of the Civil War there, penetrated also the mind of the poet, and he sang of the glory of the

War and inspired his reader to fight for the motherland.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Florence Ayscough: *Tu Fu, the Autobiography of a Chinese Poet*, arranged from his poems. (Translated poems, 2 volumes).

Ayscough and Amy Lowell: *Fir Flower Tablets* (poems).

Witter Bynner and Kiang Kang-hu: *The Jade Mountain*, a Chinese Anthology being three hundred poems of the T'ang Dynasty, 618-906.

C. D. Le Gros Clark: *Selections from the Works of Su Tung Po*.

H. A. Giles: *A Chinese-English Dictionary*.

H. A. Giles: *A History of Chinese Literature*.

H. A. Giles: *Chinese Poetry in English Verse*.

H. A. Giles: *Gems of Chinese Literature*.

H. H. Hart: *The Hundred Names*, a short introduction to the study of Chinese poetry with illustrative translations, 2 volumes.

Kenneth Latourette: *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*.

Kenneth Latourette: *The Development of China*. Evan Morgan: *A Guide to Venli Styles: Chinese Ideals*.

Shigeyoshi Obata: *The Works of Li Po the Chinese Poet*, done into English verse.

T'ing-kan Ts'ai: *Chinese Poems in English Rhymes*.

Arthur Waley: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*.

Arthur Waley: *More Translations from the Chinese*.

Arthur Waley: *The Book of Songs*.

Arthur Waley: *The Temple and Other Poems*.

Liu Yih-Ling and Sahid Suhrawardy: *Poems of Lee Hou-Chu*, rendered into English, with Chinese texts.

Lin Yutang: *My Country and My People*.

Lin Yutang: *Wisdom of China and India*.

Sophia H. Chen Zen: *Symposium on Chinese Culture*.

Rabindranath Tagore: *Talks in China*.

—O:—

NUTRITION PLAN

By DR. T. H. RINDANI, M.D. (Bom.)

Now that we have declared ourselves as a Sovereign Democratic Republic, we are in a position to review and fashion all our policies independently. No doubt several aspects of our national life need reorientation and reorganisation, but nutrition can easily claim top priority, for man is what he eats. The first problem, therefore, to be tackled on a national level is that of nutrition; and since we either plan or perish, it is time that we plan our nutrition forthwith.

The problem of nutrition can be viewed from at least two angles—the quantitative and the qualitative. While much emphasis is laid by the lay public and even politicians on the former, equal, if not more

emphasis must be put by us on the latter. Today our source of nutrition—food—is scarce both in quantity and quality. While leaving the former to be made up by the agriculturists and the economists of the country, we may attempt to plan out the latter so as to improve the nutritional state of the Nation which is far from satisfactory today.

The best-fed nation today is the United States of America. The science of nutrition and its application on a national scale is most advanced in the United States of America. It, therefore, appears that nutritional standard goes hand in hand with the advancement of the science of nutrition. An attempt, there-

fore, to raise up the nutritional standard of our nation, should be on a scientific basis and can be organised on the following lines:

(1) A statistically correct nutritional and dietetic survey held simultaneously in all the States together with a census of the data regarding age, occupation, residence, income, etc.

(2) An analysis of the nutritional status according to age groups, residence, occupation, income, and dietetic habits of the people.

(3) Standardisation of the minimum cost of optimal diet and its relation with per capita income.

(4) Finalisation of the methods of raising the nutritional status to the normal level.

These four points may now be considered in detail:

(1) Nutritional and Dietetic Surveys are being held in some States at present, but these are not carried out on a national basis and are often haphazard. These surveys must be carried out by a trained personnel and must be on a method standardised for the whole country. The survey should endeavour to embrace a total cross-section of the nation, and not restricted merely to groups like schools, camps, employees' associations, etc. The survey should also include an examination of the easily available articles of food and their classification into three heads (Mottram): (a) purpose of foods (i.e., whether for energy production, etc.), (b) chemical nature and (c) source of obtaining them; the three classes representing the attitudes of the physiologists, the chemists and the caterers. Towards this end personnel training centres must be opened up in all the existing medical, public health, and social welfare institutions. Even training courses for dietetics may be introduced into the universities as is being contemplated in some of the foreign universities.

(2) In order to assess the influence of different factors that affect nutrition, data obtained in (1) should be subjected to an analysis. This would help us in two ways. It would indicate the important operating factors, and it would also indicate the various age groups, occupations, etc., which need our particular attention most.

(3) On the basis of the accepted standards of the optimal diet, and prevalent prices, minimum cost of the diet should be worked out. It is likely that in a large number of cases the cost of such a diet may fall too much outside the per capita income. This would indicate that rather than merely asking people to plan their diet according to their income, we may have to consider the fixation of the minimum per capita income to ensure an adequate diet to all. This may be difficult on economical ground but if we are to improve our national nutrition, even a substantial or a drastic readjustment of our economical plans should be undertaken.

(4) Having obtained the necessary data from the above three, we may proceed to work out the methods

of raising the nutritional standard to normal level by working on the following lines:

(A) *Preparation of samples of optimal diets* suitable for the needs of persons of different age groups, dietetic habits, income and residence from the most easily available articles of food.

(B) *Education*: Every social welfare centre and hospital, whether private or State-owned, must be equipped with a nutrition centre. This centre would function both as a research and as an advisory centre in hospitals and only as advisory centre in the welfare institutions. Large-scale measures to popularise these centres should be undertaken and people should be induced to attend these centres regularly. Here each family or individual would receive detailed instructions regarding the optimal diet so as to be within the means. Prepared samples of diet can be put before those that attend the centre giving them a wide scope of selection of suitable dietetic combinations.

(C) *Ensuring adequate supply of certain articles*:

(i) Nationalisation of key industries may wait, but nationalisation of dairy cannot. In fact, for ensuring an adequate diet for all, nationalisation of this industry must be immediate. No amount of compensation required to be paid in terms of money should be considered too high to achieve this end. Adequate supply of milk and its products must be within the reach of all. If foreign processed milk and its products are available in India at prices that are competitive with the price of fresh milk, no argument can be advanced against nationalisation of milk in our country. The initial expenditure and organisation may be heavy, but the reward would be more than anticipated. Milk colonies on the model of Arey Colony of Bombay should be the rule rather than exception in all States. Free movement of processed milk to parts of the country where fresh milk is not available in sufficient quantity can be easily done from such centres. Milk supply to the special groups like children, women and older persons would be facilitated by the development of the milk industry on national basis. Suffice it to say that adequacy in diet in India would not be possible unless a good supply of good milk and/or its products is assured by the States to be within the budget of all. Supply of quantities of milk far in excess of the dietary requirement to the haves at the costs of the have-nots is a sad anachronism in a democratic state, and must be abolished as early as possible.

(ii) Amongst the other articles of diet, introduction of eggs in the vegetarian groups would go a long way. This can be only done by education. The fishing industry in our country also needs a fillip. Once we are assured of the adequate supply of such important articles of diet at cheaper rates, adjustments of optimum diet would be easier.

(iii) A significant proportion of our malnutrition is attributable, particularly in urban areas, to a

lack of facilities for getting wholesome food on the premises of employment. Every institution whether educational, social, industrial or otherwise, must be asked to maintain canteens, catering for the members having the two different principal dietetic habits—vegetarian and non-vegetarian. The foods supplied here must be always on the basis of optimal diet and in strict accordance with the cost that can be borne by the members. Luxury foods in such establishments must be disallowed, as these often tend to increase the cost unnecessarily.

(iv) Distribution of vitamin preparations in institutions looking after children and youths should be a routine measure.

(D) Ensuring Wholesome Food—Food Hygiene:

—:O:—

SIKKIM

The Corridor between India and China

By SHIBDAS BANERJI

SANDWICHED between Tibet and India is Sikkim, strategically an important State north of Bengal, inside the enigmatical Himalayas. Death-defying zigzag roads amidst stupendous mountains, blue and green, grey and mauve, engulfed the toyish Land-Rover in which I travelled from Kalimpong, and within only a few hours I was at Gantok, the capital of Sikkim.

It was evening, but it was a kind of evening the like of which I had never seen before, not even in Assam; that land of colours. The crimson of the sun hedged by the greenness of the pines and wind-swept valleys made me feel like a man travelling in the moon—possessed.

The people around me were different. The plants and the vegetation were different. The flowers too were different from the ones I am used to on the hill stations in India. The rhododendrons of blazing colours—red, blue, velvety green and pink—made Sikkim a garden in the Himalayas. Later I knew Sikkim really is known to the visitors as the "Garden of the Himalayas," its second name being the "Land of Lightning." I could not think of an apter name, for it thunders here all the time from May to September. Sikkim's elevation is 7000 feet above the sea-level and five of the world's highest mountain peaks are mapped in this state. These snow-capped mountain peaks and their smaller satellites present a mighty spectacle. Their dreadful avalanches of rocks and ice-blocks frequently toppling down, tearing violently from their dizzy precipitous slopes thundering into a gale . . . who dares to describe them . . . not me!

Sikkim to the Sikkimese is "Den-Jong"—meaning locally the "Land of Rice." The 2,818 square miles

Enough care is not being taken at present to respect even the elementary laws of food hygiene. This subject has to be looked upon both from national and personal aspects. Centralisation of food production and education in personal hygiene for the caterers and others handling foods should help to promote a better sense of food hygiene, helping thus to ensure safe food.

It will thus be seen that the problem of national nutrition has manifold aspects and if all these are tackled systematically then only can we hope to reach our goal of raising the nutritional standard to normal level.*

* Paper submitted to be read before the Nutrition Section of the 2nd Bombay Provincial Physical Education Conference, Ahmedabad and forming a part of the proceedings of the same.

of the State's area gives no idea as to the land cultivable, for most of these so many square feet are just hard rocks and depthless forests. Only the valleys in between the rocks make wonderful cultivable land where plenty of rice, millet and maize are produced. Yak, the four-footed, strange animal that ploughs the land is a beauty to be admired. It has a pair of long horns, silky growth of hair all over its being and a beautifully shaped muscular body. The yak's milk is like the cow's milk but very tasty and full of vitamins. You have to look at any Sikkimese (they are 1,60,000 in number) male or female, to believe in the vitality of the yak's milk. The yak is the ship of mountains—a la ship-of-the-desert, the camel.

I went right up to Yatung in the Chumby Valley of Tibet. On my way back I followed a Tibetan caravan carrying merchandise to Kalimpong, the Indian gateway to Lahsa. Their yaks and mule carried wool and musk. Most of the wool exported to Kalimpong goes to the United States of America. The Chinese Government, I learnt at Yatung, will shortly be banning the "shipment" of wool to Gantok.

At a friend's house in Gantok I saw the Lepcha dance which is unique in its brilliancy and grace. Its charm and perfection was undeniable. The dance was mostly allegorical but expressive and effective. It is form of worshipment to Mt. Kanchanjangha, "whom they regard as their God and for whom their fear and bewilderment is unending. The dance in its real form continues for three days and the dress used for the occasion is very colourful, costly and resplendent with gold and silver.

Sikkim has a history which is mostly unknown to the outside world. Till the end of the 18th century the State was a dependency of Tibet. Pamionchi was its capital for long. The Nepalese made several attacks on Sikkim. In one of their biggest invasions they plundered Gompas, which is Tibetan for monastery, and after insensate barbarism deprived the Sikkimese of their treasure that they had been accumulating for centuries. Till the end of the 18th century the present Indian towns of Darjeeling and Kalimpong belonged to Sikkim. But the conflict between Nepal and Sikkim gave the British their much-awaited opportunity and in the Pact signed in 1861 they drew the final boundary of Sikkim depriving the Sikkimese of Darjeeling and Kalimpong which, of course, then was but a tract of mountain—barren and inaccessible.

John Claude White was England's first Political Officer in Sikkim. It was White who made Gantok what it is today. And it was also due to him that Sikkim is negotiable from either way—China or India. John Claude White, according to current report, carried a bagful of valuable jewels pillaged from Gompas in Sikkim.

After Britain's withdrawal from India the present Maharaja of Sikkim sought for a merger of his State with India. This was not agreed upon by India. In 1950 a Treaty was signed between India and Sikkim. The said Treaty entitles India to post a Political Officer at Gantok and also to station a garrison of 6000 army there. Sikkim's annual revenues are Rs. 6 lacs. Because of the Treaty she also receives Rs. 3 lacs annually from India, gratis. The Treaty gives the Sikkimese a dual nationality, which no doubt is a great boon to them.

Before proceeding to the present problems of the State, as I understood them to be, I would briefly give the outlines of the people who inhabit this country:

Lepchas are the original inhabitants of Sikkim. They are of mild, quiet and indolent disposition. Given to sentimentalism they are shortish but stout people. Their womenfolk are bright, vivacious and equally hard-working as their menfolk are. A load of two maunds and a mountainous zigzag road is a child's play for them! From birth they are great lovers of Nature. They are natural botanists and have a love for entomology. They have their own names for every flower, plant, moth and animal of Sikkim. And you should know there are thousands of varieties of animals, moths and butterflies in Sikkim. And the varieties of flowers are almost unlimited. Each of them has a name in Lepcha. As people, the Lepchas are very trustworthy and they make excellent friends.

The Bhutias are of Tibetan origin, and now they form about one-fourth of the total population in Sikkim. They are mostly Buddhists and their language is a dialect of Tibetan language. They inter-marry with the Lepchas. The women are rather amazonish. Very gay, hard-working but slipshod and untidy they are also fond of flowers and moths.

The Nepalese poured into Sikkim with alarming rapidity and today they form the bulk of the population. They are the richer class of people in Sikkim.

Walking over the narrow, dirty rain-soaked leech-plastered street of Gantok I came across many Marwaris from Rajasthan, some of whom are said to be here for generations. I often heard it said at Gantok that though Sir Tashi Ramgyal is the crowned King of Sikkim, the uncrowned King of the State is Jaitmal Bhojraj, who by the way is a Marwari.

With the advent of freedom in India the people of Sikkim also became restive. They had heard of the epic struggle for freedom in India, and they also had heard of the unique message of Mahatma Gandhi. But to them all this knowledge was of no avail, for the mere talk of freedom was a red rag to the authorities. The result was the continual suffering of the people, a suffering which seemed to have had no end.

A spark, only a spark, of movement was seen in 1949 after centuries of abject submission by the downtrodden people. And by May 12, 1949 a people's government was formed for the first time in Sikkim's history. The cabinet was formed with Tashi Tahering, a retired Government Officer, as its Chief Minister. That Ministry was, however, dissolved within 28 days of its formation. Since then the Maharaja is ruling the State with the help of a loaned officer from India. He is called the Dewan of the State.

Sikkim, strategically an important State on road to Lahsa, will shortly have a new Government—government by the people, chosen from amongst the people. Within a few weeks from now a new Cabinet nominated from the existing three political parties of the State will be formed. But since no party with any tinge of democracy is allowed to function in the State it is very doubtful if the would-be government will have the backing of the people.

As a political observer I believe, and this belief is born out of my intensive study of the problems of Sikkim on the spot, that unless a truly democratic Government is formed in Sikkim anything might happen here. Sikkim's proximity to China which is marching ahead with its progressive experiments makes it imperative on New Delhi also to see that they do not bungle at Gantok.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

By S. P. SHOME

ONE of the most picturesque and purely humorous of human beings is the American Negro. Everything he says or does seems to be interesting—it is in him—and there is never any getting away from it.

The chuckle in their laugh and even in their speech is alone sufficient to make one take a delight in hearing them. They insist and keep on insisting that the emancipation of the American Negroes must come from within. The trumpet call of self-advertisement and the thrust and parry of political battles is

of America. They were regarded as highly profitable form of labour. Ingle estimates that in 1850 there were 2,500,000 slaves on the plantations of the South, of whom 350,000 were employed in growing tobacco, rice 250,000, sugar 150,000, hemp 60,000. The remainder, 1,690,000 men, women and children were at work in the cotton fields of the 'black belt.' This vast army of slaves represented fully one-third of the total population of America. Washington, Jefferson, and many other statesmen repeatedly expressed their con-



A Negro marine officer with his wife

not the solution to their problem. They are all one in their cry that the breastplate of their armour must be a broad and liberal education, if they set forth to battle for liberty and equality. They are claiming Africa as their natural home, and the interests of the African tribes, they consider, are inseparably bound up with those who are in America. It is a fact that between 1808 and 1860, 1,270,000 Negroes were smuggled into the United States of America as slaves. These importations of African slaves increased the population of the Northern and the Southern States



A Negro woman cooking her food, Harlem, New York

viction that slavery should be abolished. It is needless to mention what President Lincoln did for the emancipation of slaves. In 1861, the slave-holding classes were directed to set free their slaves and to provide for their education and maintenance at public expense.

Today the Negroes are protected by social and political laws, but their standard of living has been artificially lowered by the whiteman. In his private dealings with the Negroes, the whiteman has never

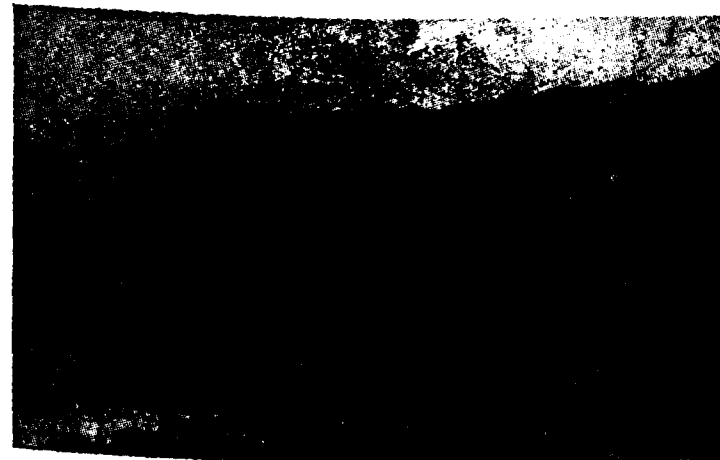
allowed them the rights and treatment to which they are entitled, and considers them to be 'inferior beings' or objects of contempt and exploitation. The American Negroes cannot dine in the restaurants where the 'whites' go. Of course, there is no legal objection to their going to any of these restaurants. But if they did enter any of them, no waiter or waitress would take their orders, and so they would have to go home

'white population' assembled to enjoy the cries of the poor Negroes when they were lynched on 'live coal.' The Negroes are given very few facilities for education. In Florida, the 'Whites' are actually punished for teaching anything to the Negro children!

The modern American Negroes are conscious of the "inferiority complex" which labels them as though they are members of another and a lower, almost a

subhuman species. They are therefore welding together by a common desire to rise above the ignominious race-segregation. They are using all their educational influence, their extraordinary powers of racy, convincing oratory and their wit and wisdom as Committee men—in fact, their whole life to secure opportunities for self-development, self-expression, and self-determination. Marcus Garvey, the creator of the Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League with the *Negro World* as its organ, hurled the following sentences at an audience of 25,000 Negroes:

"What is good for the whiteman is equally good for the Negro, namely, freedom, liberty, and



Some farm houses near Richmond, Indiana

hungry. You hardly meet Negroes and Negresses for tea or dinner at the houses of your friends. A white barber would not shave a Negro. In the Southern States, Negroes have special parts of the tram-cars assigned to them. They live in special quarters of the cities all over the country. For example, the Negroes of New York live mostly in Sen Chuan Hill and Harlem. The Negroes are every now and then lynched for certain offences. It has been estimated that 480 Negroes were lynched for rape during the last twenty years in the United States of America. A few months ago two Negroes were burnt to death in Chicago by a mob of white men. They were suspected of having

killed their landlord and his son. It was afterwards discovered that one of the two Negroes was absolutely innocent; the other's guilt was not proved but there was considerable doubt as to it! Sometime later a mob of Americans 1,000 strong dragged out of jail a Negro under-trial prisoner and hanged him from a tree; the charge against him was the murder of a white woman. In 30 years (1901 to 1930) the white mobs in America have murdered 3224 'Negroes' in the United States of America alone! In many cases large crowds of the



The China Town at San Francisco, California

equality. We have no apology, no compromise to offer. If the Englishman claims England, the Frenchman France, the Italians Italy as their native habitat, then the Negroes claim Africa and will shed blood for their claim. We shall draw up a Bill of Rights for all Negro races, with a constitution to govern their destinies."

Then he clinched his argument with the following words:

"The bloodiest of all wars is yet to come, when Europe will match its strength against Asia, and

that will be the Negroes' opportunity to draw sword for Africa's redemption."

The fact is that the wisest minds are still groping for the knowledge as to how this confronting problem of 'colour' may be solved on a world scale. In an interesting interview the late Dr. Sudhindra Bose, of Iowa University, once asked of Captain Amundsen, the famous Antarctic explorer, "What do you think of the theory of race superiority?"

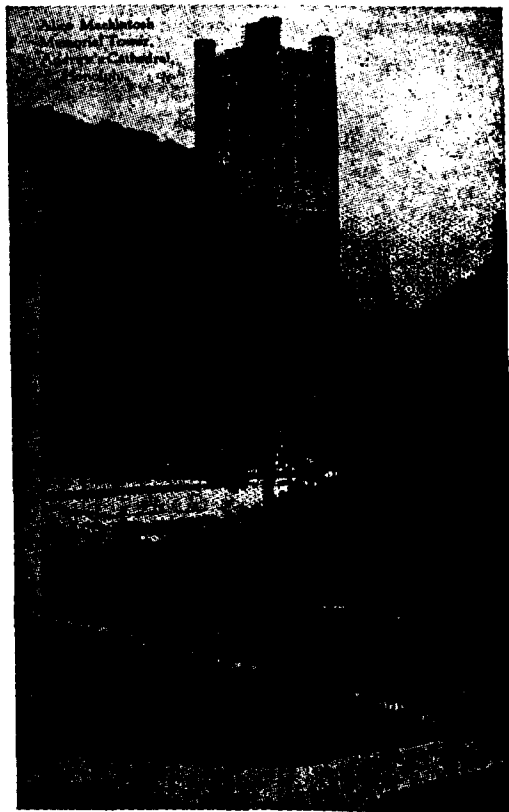


A Negro woman enjoying her smoke

the famous Antarctic explorer, "What do you think of the theory of race superiority?"

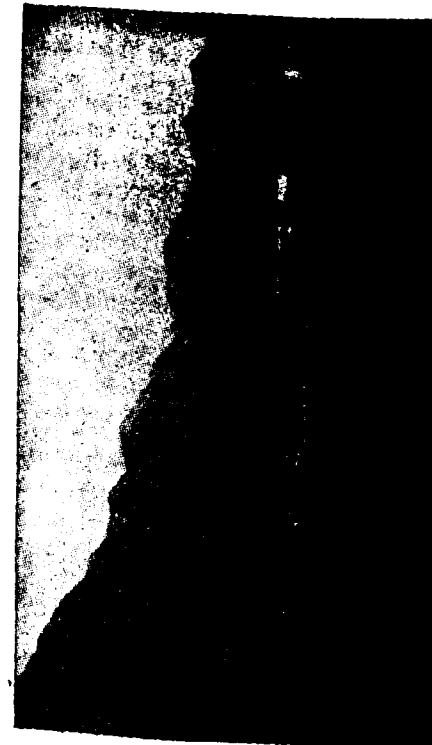
"Science," said Captain Amundsen, "does not recognise any such fable. It is the age of the laboratory; it is the newest development in the scientific research. Careful investigations are exploding the myth of the superiority of skin colour and are constantly emphasizing the importance of latent individual powers hidden beneath the skin. Intelligence, scholarship, mentality have no relation whatever to complexion. The Western world, which is now apoplectic about the white superiority, will some day come to see that racial colour is only skin-deep. Progress is a matter of opportunity, freedom and environment. There are unused, undeveloped possibilities within each individual of all races of all countries. The latent values can most certainly be stimulated to activity through education and other factors of environment. To put it in another way: complexion—white, brown, red, yellow or black, signifies little or nothing in regard to intellectual ability."

The average whiteman in America possesses very little knowledge of the American Negroes and their affairs and in particular about the great changes, social and cultural, that have taken place among them during the last twenty-five years. He knows something about their agitation for social and political equality; but knows nothing or almost nothing of what they are



St. Andrew's Cathedral, Honolulu

doing to promote their social, educational and economic progress and to develop the national spirit among them. There is hardly a whiteman in America who does not look upon the Negroes with the same eye as he does in the case of Asiatic labour immigration. He knows nothing of the good qualities of the American Negroes. The whiteman's house of cards which he was trying to build through centuries, came down with a crash after World War II. Thousands of African and American Negroes went to Europe and took part in the war. They saw the barbarous and cruel deeds of whitemen perpetrated against whitemen in the different scenes of the war. There was widespread disillusionment. The whiteman and his civilisation came under universal criticism. When they came back to their own countries, they showed symptoms of the growing spirit of nationalism. They were unable perhaps to represent fully their case to the United Nations



Country Club, Honolulu



On the beach at Waikiki, Honolulu



Park entrance to city park, Portland, Oregon



Moanalua Gardens, Honolulu

Organisation, but they were able to demand for (1) an international code of laws for the recognition of their rights to control and guide their own destinies; (2) an international code of laws for the recognition of their rights to do high-grade industrial work in America and other countries at just wages and under fair conditions; (3) and what is of the greatest importance, freedom from the perpetual ostracism and degradation



The clover-field, Santa Monica, California

they are subject to as though they are members of a lower species. They stood however disillusioned, when the actions of the United Nations Organisation gave the lie to those lofty and noble principles which it so persistently enunciated before the world. It is not the American Negroes alone that are feeling the pricks of political thorns. The Asiatic Immigration Law, the Alien Land Law, the Exclusion Law have all been sponsored to humble the pride of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians alike in America. The Ku-Klux Klan, a powerful secret society in America, is not only at war with the Negroes, but with all the Asiatics and even the Jews in the country.

The American Negro is absolutely unlike an African Negro, in appearance, manner, and in speech; the one being naturally deferential and the other naturally insolent. The American Negro is one of the quickest of wits. He is never at a loss for a reply, no matter how unlooked-for the query, or how deficient he may be in information on the subject under discussion. An American Negro is a born mimic, even to the little piccaninnies, who can imitate the walk, with the most killing exaggerations, and speech and

attitudes of all the white folks in the neighbourhood

The American Negro is sometimes very superstitious, and believes in all sorts of strange "possessions" of both animate and inanimate objects. If he has ever met with any mishap, such as falling from a tree, sliding into a ditch, or being hurt by an animal, he ever after regards this particular thing as having some special designs upon himself, and will never pass it

he can help doing so; or, if obliged to do so, will repeat some long prayers whereby he hopes to conciliate the devil therein.

A wedding in the Negro quarter of the United States of America is a festivity never to be forgotten. Everyone, from the parson down to the grinning children holding the huge bouquet of field daisies, are objects to be for ever stored in the memory. The extreme gravity of expression on all faces during the ceremony, and the stately solemnity of the procession, together with the strict observance of rules and customs of the occasion, make up a scene that nothing else in one's experience ever quite equals. I still



South-east corner of the forests of Louisiana

recall one such wedding, where the parson, a grizzled old man, with steel-grey, stubby hair and a most imposing pair of horn spectacles, setting way down on the end of his nose, called out in the most concerned tones to the bride, "Honey, do you love your man?" while she answered quite as seriously, "I surely love my man!"

Next to a wedding, a christening is one of the most impressive of ceremonies among the American Negroes. The parson's hands presenting a sort of pantomime truly fascinating to behold, even the sur-

prised infant is deeply impressed by it which is manifest from the way it stares at him during this rather trying ceremony. To the parents, at any rate, all babies are objects of beauty and wonder; but the baby of an American Negro is, to the unprejudiced onlooker, a really fascinating little creature, with its

unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the 'White World' cease. The 'Dark World' is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not a moment longer."

The American Negro is no longer to be quieted by a few concessions; he is seeking the recognition of

those rights of humanity which have been withheld from him for ages. He demands law and liberty, independence and union. Divided, dismembered and oppressed he has neither a name nor a country. The Negro Improvement Association may not be a fully representative body in the sense its title suggests, but its voice has always been the voice of the unhappy Negroes of America (and Africa)—the expression of the collective thought of the Negro youth who are the initiators of the future. The Negro youth is no longer content to be kept tied to the leading strings of the white-man. Their revolt is inspired no doubt by genuine patriotism, but the desire of personal advancement on the part of great numbers



A forest near the Delaware River, Pennsylvania

great dark eyes showing the whites so plentifully. Negro babies are never very promising in colour when young, but sufficiently so to show a marked difference between themselves and a white infant, and a dark baby is so much more 'humorous'-looking, seeming to be perfectly conscious of the ridiculous side of the life he sees going on around.

Yes, the American Negroes have a sense of humour of the pleasantest kind. But they are flaming with a sense of injustice that may result in burning resentment at any time at their exclusion from all social privileges, at their omission from high grades of industrial and political life, and at the inhuman murder of their men, women and children by white-men that has led to a great reduction in their population in many parts of America. Burghardt Du Bois, the brilliant Negro writer and orator whose *Darkwater* has stimulated a movement among the Negroes of America as well as of Africa to make the Negro-consciousness stand out defiantly against the white-man's domination, said (after the war):

"Wild and awful as that shameful war was, it was nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which the Negroes of America must and will make



The Radio Broadcasting Station at Portland, Oregon

of them, whose education has fitted them for higher posts in the American States, greatly aggravates the feeling. Add to these inspirations the influence of Socialism, Communism, Nationalism, and you have the main element of the American Negroes' ambitions. It is an inevitable growth of years of oppression of the American Negroes, but it has undoubtedly made a great progress since the end of the World War II, both in the extent of its demands and in the number that embraces the movement. That America would keep her present hold on the American Negroes is not open

to question. But there is a violent spirit of revolt against the oppression and highhandedness of white people. It may not be difficult to find men of education to fill the high offices of State, if only America is sincere in her good intention to help the American Negroes to stand on their own legs. And little has really been done to encourage the American Negroes to accelerate the pace of their political progress.



The mountain-side of Navarro River, California

It is not my purpose to deal in detail the various wrongs which the American Negroes have suffered at the hands of their 'bosses' in America. I just stop at the threshold of the great Negro awakening. The American Negroes have already claimed of the American Government for the recognition of their equal rights with the white population. Self-determination is their motto as it is the motto of the other races of the world. The *Negro World* has hurled the following sentences to the white people of Canada, the United States, and Mexico:

"You cannot treat the American Negroes as helots year after year, generation after generation, without ultimately provoking retaliation. You cannot boot a Negro off the sidewalk when he is in your way, throw him out of his compartment in a railway train because you want it to yourself, beat him unmercifully as if he is still a slave, and

smash up his head because he demands equality with you, close the public halls and hotel dining rooms to him just because he is a Negro and though he is born in America! But even a 'black' man will turn. And when he will do so, then you will come up for reckoning!"

In the opinion of many American whitemen to give social and political equality to these Negroes is absolutely absurd. But the American Negroes have



The Municipal Office at Port Worth, Texas

not gone under as many think they have. They live and their spirit lives and will live as long as the spirit of liberty lives. The important fact about the American Negroes is that they are rapidly consolidating themselves into a united front for the purpose of breaking away from white domination. This patriotic feeling has not been artificially hatched by a few Negro leaders or Negro politicians. It has come to include the whole Negro World, from the primitive African tribes to the highest layer of educated Negroes. The Negro leader of the future, who holds the destiny in his hands of all Negro races, must realise his responsibility and privilege. May he inspire all Negroes to break away from all evil habits, and to surrender individual interests to the larger interests of all Negro people for liberty, equality and prosperity!

VAJRESHWARI

By M. K. KRISHNAN

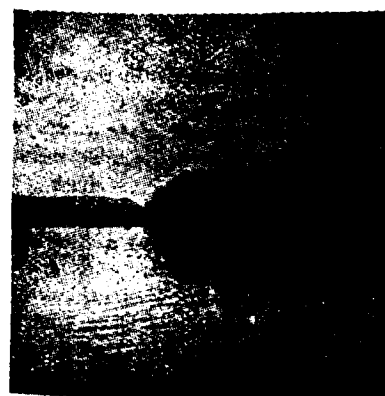
NATURE is the mother of beauty. One cannot copy her in perfection. Artists are only imitators. We feel that to commune with Nature is to make one with God.

"Steep and lofty cliffs,
That on a wild secluded scene impress
Thoughts of more deep seclusion; and connect
The landscape with the quiet of the sky."

One of the beautiful spots I saw in Bombay is

pressure, skin diseases and rheumatic complaints. Every Sunday thousands flock around Vajreshwari to have a dive in ponds, especially in winter. It is strange to note that the water remains always pure and clear.

Another attraction of Vajreshwari is the presence of Swami Nityananda, a *yogi* of unusual psychical powers. Swamiji has built some *satrams* and *dharma-salas* and local-board authorities use some of them as



Sunset at Vajreshwari

Vajreshwari, a hamlet of hills and valleys, ravines and springs, temples and *satrams*. It is an enchanting holy place for pilgrimage. An eighteen miles' drive from Basin station through the thick forests was an ex-



A child watches the hot spring

dispensaries and schools. This uncommon little man of silence is fond of Harijan children and plays with them. He hails from a poor family of Malabar and is the disciple of the late Swami Sivananda of Malabar.

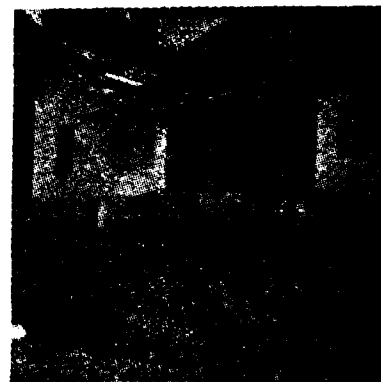


People bathing in the spring

hilarating trip to us. How sweet it was to roam from field to field and to taste the beauty of the green world that vastly stretched before us. We sat on the beds of the river that glides through the valley like a silver screen that glistens through the green canopy.

"And I made a rural pen,
And I stained the water clear,
And I wrote my happy songs,
Every child may joy to hear."

The novelty of this landscape is the existence of hot springs with medicinal properties that have the curative value for all those suffering from high blood



Village hospital at Vajreshwari

Today Vajreshwari is springing up as a little town. It can be improved as an ideal village to attract tourists from far and near. It can also serve as a model village for country folks. Nearly two hours we roamed all over the valley and enjoyed this sojourn in the heart of this beautiful place where the holy and healing waters of the hot springs of Vajreshwari ever bubble up.

"Here amid solitude and shade we wander
Through green aisles, or stretched upon the sod
And awed with silence, reverently ponder
The ways of God."

HOPI INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

By WALTER COLLINS O'KANE

Eighty miles from the small town of Winslow, in the southwestern State of Arizona, lie the lands of the Hopi Indians, which cover an area of more than 60 square miles and encompass the 12 Hopi villages that nurture the traditions and culture of one of the oldest communities of American Indians.

To reach this American Indian community one travels over a desert road which, in dry weather, is smooth, well-packed sand with round stones paving the washes—the wide cuts in the desert floor through which muddy water tumbles in time of heavy rain.



A sun-drenched street in Shungopavi, one of the 12 Hopi Indian villages in the American South-west
Courtesy: University of Oklahoma Press

The fact that it is easily reached in good weather but almost inaccessible in bad has been one of the principal reasons why the Hopi country and its people have remained unchanged and unspoiled—this and the further fact that there is no tourist center anywhere in the community. Isolation has meant preservation of customs and values that might otherwise have been lost.

The Hopi Reservation, established by executive order of the President of the United States in 1882, is a rectangular area extending about 57 miles from east to west and about 68 miles from north to south. Its southern boundary is 35 miles north of Winslow, Arizona. The Indian lands lie in the high-altitude region of northern Arizona, where the height above sea-level varies from 5,000 to 7,000 feet. In climate,

vegetation, and topography the country is different from that of southern Arizona. The land which the reservation occupies is tilted up from south to north. The southern part drops down toward the Little Colorado River, which drains the entire area. The northern part, encompassing the Black Mesa, is 2,000 feet higher.

The surface of the country is deeply carved. In the southern part black buttes (flat-topped isolated hills) rise from the broad and often sandy plains. In the northern part the elevated tableland of Black Mesa, with its dark growth of pinons and cedars, has been gouged out in places to a distance of many miles, leaving long, irregular, knobby fingers reaching out toward the south. On these fingers or near their ends lie 11 of the Hopi villages. The twelfth, Moenkopi, is situated outside the area, 40 miles to the west.

The villages are not conspicuous from a distance. The houses, mostly one-story, are of stone and are much the same color as their surroundings because the stone came from the nearby hills. The dwellings are well built, for Hopi men come from a line of builders who have used native stone for their houses for a thousand years. Nine of the Hopi villages are situated on top of Black Mesa, out near the tips of the fingers. From the valley, 600 feet below, it is not easy to distinguish these villages unless one knows what to look for and where to look. In the broad

valleys, called washes, which separate the Mesa fingers, lie most of the Hopi agricultural lands and orchards. The fields and gardens, like the villages, have a way of being inconspicuous. They give little indication of their productiveness, but these areas, skillfully farmed as they are, produce good crops. They do not look like farm lands elsewhere. By comparison they are unimpressive. But corn plants, growing no more than three feet tall, bear more ears of corn, some of them as much as 12 inches long. The yield of beans and melons and peppers is heavy, and the peach and apricot trees bear excellent fruit.

In crops and food supplies, in roads and transportation, the sun in the sky is paramount in Hopi life. Equally it plays a leading part in the ceremonies and mythology of the Hopi people. Its rising and

setting, its seasonal advance and retreat, are both vital and symbolic. Each day, in the clear air of the high country, the unhampered sun pours its warmth on the land. Each night the earth loses that warmth to the starry spaces of the sky.

The principal roads into the reservation approach from the south, although the Hopi country also can be reached either from the east or from the west. However, all of these roads pass through parts of the Navajo American Indian community. Each of the

approaches to Hopi lands leads through vast areas of scanty vegetation. Some of these areas, covered with shifting sand or denuded by destructive erosion, are completely barren, or nearly so. Others belie their appearance and bear useful vegetation, although it is sparse.

Whatever the route of approach, an east-west road that zigzags through the reservation gives access to the Hopi villages. Farthest to the east, down in the valley near the road, lies Polacca. Its houses seem to have been placed helter-skelter on knolls and in hollows. The settlement represents overflow from the ancient villages on the Mesa that rises steeply behind it, the migration of families who wished to be nearer to water supply and to the highway. The villages



The vegetable gardens of the Hopi Indians

In November and December as the sun sinks lower, the temperatures, day and night, drop steadily. Hopi ceremonies celebrate the advent of the period when the sun makes ready to swing back toward the north and toward warmer and more fruitful days. Midwinter brings temperatures of zero Fahrenheit and below, also snowstorms.

In March the winds begin to blow and sometimes there are sandstorms. Windstorms often sweep across the country in persistent violence. It is during this period that crops are started and the ingenious Hopi farmer sets up windbreaks to protect his plants.

In early July the period of thunderstorms and cloudbursts arrives, but these may not bring rain to the right places. So, in August, two impressive Hopi

ceremonies take place which are prayers for rain as high up on the Mesa are not easily discerned from the well as for a bountiful harvest. By September the valley, and a visitor gazing up toward the tableland thunderstorms are usually over and another period finds it difficult to believe that there are three separate of little rainfall begins, extending through October and communities there, Walpi to the left at the tip of the November. This is the glorious time of year for travel long ridge, then Sichomovi after a gap of a few yards, in the Hopi country—clear days, warm sunshine, cool and then Hano. The long rocky finger on which these settlements are located is called First Mesa to distinguish it from two more fingers to the west.



A Hopi Indian examines a corn plant.

Courtesy: Walter Collins O'Kane

A road, starting back of the trading post, climbs diagonally to the top of the Mesa, coming out in the midst of the houses that crowd its restricted area. Hano and Sichomovi can be reached safely by automobile but one must walk to Walpi which is separated by a narrow neck of bare rock. Walpi has occupied its present site for about 250 years. Sichomovi is newer, dating back to about 1750, when apparently some of the inhabitants of Walpi felt crowded and moved across the short gap to unoccupied space. Hano was settled about 1720 by a group of Tewa Indians who emigrated from their ancestral homes in the valley of the Rio Grande River, 14 miles northwest of the New Mexico city of Santa Fe.

Beyond First Mesa the highway crosses a broad flat area, where Wepo Wash sweeps down toward the southwest. It then ascends the flank of Second Mesa, following a route cut out of the escarpment walls. After it has attained the level top, a branch leads to the village of Shungopavi. This is an attractive town with white houses built on a smooth rock surface that is almost white. The Mesa top here is broad and ample. The remaining two villages on Second Mesa—Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi—lie to the northeast.

Proceeding west, the highway descends from Second Mesa and crosses the broad valley called Oraibi Wash. On the farther side a branch road leads into the village of Kiakochomovi, often called New Oraibi. Nearby is the Hopi High (secondary) School with its modern stone buildings. Kiakochomovi is an offshoot of Old Oraibi, which is on top of the nearby Mesa. As with Polacca, some of its houses seem placed helter-skelter in the midst of short, sandy streets. The fact seems to be well authenticated that Old Oraibi

—:O:—

SERAMPORE COLLEGE

Pioneer of Scientific Education in Bengal

By TRIGUNANATH BANERJEE,
Department of Chemistry, Serampore College

SERAMPORE College holds an abiding place in the history of Bengali language and literature. It was the College House, which is still vibrant with the memories of the past, that formed the scene of the labours of William Carey, a great linguistic genius and lover of humanity and of his illustrious comrades. This is the place which is reputed to be the cradle of Bengali prose, and where the pursuit of linguistic study led to the publication of works in about forty different languages. Referring to the great impetus which the Bengali language and literature has received at the hands of Carey, Dr. S. K. De records his opinion that

"To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect to the character of regular and

dates back further than any other community on the North American continent. It was in existence, on its present site, long before any other settlement now extant, and it has been continuously occupied ever since it was founded. Just how far back its history goes no one can say, but at least to A.D. 1150.

Across Third Mesa, beyond Old Oraibi, the highway climbs to Bakabi, the newest of all the villages, dating back only 40 years. Its people were a part of the large group that split off from Oraibi when Hotevilla was founded. A short distance beyond Bakabi, the main road passes through Hotelville. Compared to Bakabi, this village seems overrun with sand. There are large dunes nearby, important in collecting and conserving moisture. Like Bakabi, Hotevilla possesses a big spring, just below the margin of the Mesa, and, also like Bakabi, a whole series of terraced gardens are watered and made fruitful by the carefully diverted overflow from the spring.

At the edge of Hotevilla the highway dives off the Mesa and descends to a broad plain that stretches to the northwest and west. Forty miles farther along it reaches the remaining Hopi village, Moenkopi. There are really two villages here, the upper and the lower. The upper is newer and its houses are modern in character. The lower dates back about 80 years, and many of its houses are built wall to wall. Its streets are narrow, and it is the only Hopi village that possesses irrigated fields.

These are the 12 Hopi villages—ancient and modern communities on the sun-baked Mesas of Arizona which perpetuate the culture of a proud people.—From *Arizona Highways*

permanent form of speech, capable as in the past, of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future."

This and various other activities of pioneer missionaries, literary and social, have served to win a place for Serampore College in the hearts of all educated Bengalis. In fact, Serampore College in the early part of the 19th century was the cynosure of all eyes, especially of distinguished scholars all over Bengal.

BOTANY

The literary and social activities of Serampore College loom so very large in the eyes of historians and students of Indian culture that its importance in other aspects has sometimes been overlooked. In the

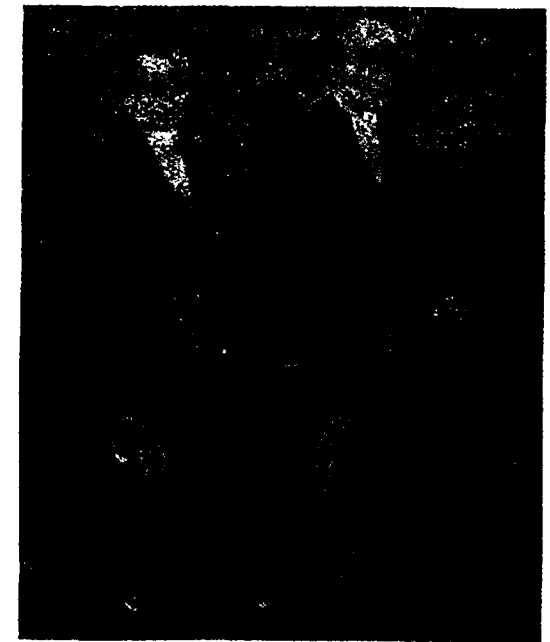
field of Science the activities of Serampore College in its early days have been no less important than those in any other field. Carey was a distinguished Botanist. The Serampore College Botanical Gardens, founded by Carey, could then vie with the Government Botanical Gardens at Sibpur for excellence, and had received much admiration from eminent scientists of the East and the West. "Many plants to be found in Bengal today," it has been said, "came of seeds first bird-borne or wind-sown from Carey's garden." Dr. Carey from his boyhood had been fond of natural history, and from the time of his arrival in India he had been making collections of mineral ores and other specimens, which at the time of his death had become very extensive. The study of Botany was his constant delight and one of his chief occupations. On his settlement at Serampore he enclosed a portion of ground consisting of several acres in extent and planted in it the rarest plants and trees which he could obtain from different parts of the world. His fondness for his garden remained with him till the end of his days. No one was allowed to interfere with the arrangements of his garden which was his favourite retreat. The arrangement followed by him was based on the Linnaean system, and to disturb the bed or border of the garden was to touch the apple of his eye. It is here that he enjoyed some of his most happy moments of private devotion and meditation. Carey's garden formed the best and rarest botanical collections of plants in the East. On the Science of Botany he frequently gave lectures, and his publication of Roxburgh's *Flora Indica* made it a standard work for botanists. In the Asiatic Society and the Agricultural Society of Calcutta he took an active interest and for many years assisted both, by his suggestions and writings. The services of Dr. Carey for the Asiatic Society were so greatly appreciated that on his death, which took place on the 8th June, 1834, the following resolution was placed by the Bishop of Calcutta himself before the Society and was carried:

"The Asiatic Society cannot but note upon their proceedings the death of the Rev. William Carey, DD, so long an active member and an ornament of this institution, distinguished alike for his eminent services in opening the stores of Indian literature to the knowledge of Europe, the natural history, and botany of this country, and his useful contributions in every branch towards the promotion of the objects of the Society, without placing on record this expression of their high sense of his value and merit as a scholar and a man of Science; their esteem for the sterling and surpassing religious and moral excellences of his character, and their sincere grief for his irreparable loss."

CHEMISTRY

In the study of Chemistry Serampore College can rightly claim to being pioneer in creating an interest in the subject throughout the province of Bengal. The activities which manifested themselves in popularising

the study of Chemistry first originated in Serampore College and subsequently spread throughout the province, and this was due to the untiring efforts of John Mack (1797-1845). John Mack was a distinguished scholar in Chemistry as Carey was in Botany. We shall briefly review his career at Serampore College as a professor of Chemistry and also as one who was responsible for introducing the study of Chemistry not only in Serampore College but in the province of Bengal generally.

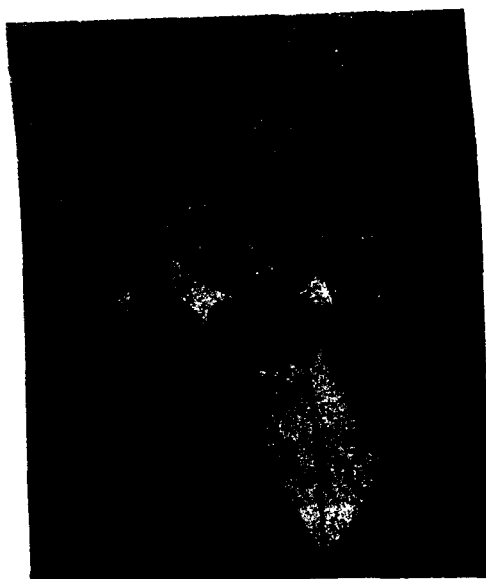


William Ward (left), Joshua Marshman (right) and William Carey (sitting)

William Ward, one of the principal coadjutors of William Carey, returned to India from England in November 1821. Before he left England he had heard about the scholarship and the brilliant career of John Mack, and thinking that his services would be of great help to Joshua Marshman in managing the affairs of the College, Ward invited him to the College staff and came back to Serampore accompanied by Mack. Mr. Mack was then a distinguished scholar of Edinburgh University and was only twenty-three years of age. In the University of Edinburgh he acquired proficiency in Science along with that in the Greek and Latin classics. He obtained certificates from professors Christison, Dunbar, Ritchie, Brown, Leslie, Playfair and Hope in flattering terms for his attainments, and attended a course of Chemical lectures at Guy's. He exhibited the depth of his scholarship also in higher Mathematics and other branches of Science. But among all these different branches of Science Chemistry was his chief favourite. He came to

Bengal as a representative of the Baptist Missionary Society.

On reaching Serampore, Mr. Mack joined forces with his co-workers and undertook teaching in the college in right earnest. He entered upon his duties in the Scientific department of the College, and undertook the general superintendence of classes. The number of students at the close of the year 1822 was fifty, of whom fifteen were in the preparatory class, and thirty-five engaged in the higher studies of the College. Along with his teaching work he began to learn Bengali, and became gradually associated with the other activities of the Mission. Now an opportunity came to him for introducing the science of Chemistry as a subject of study in the College. On



John Mack

the eve of his departure from England James Douglas of Scotland made a gift of five hundred pounds for the purpose of establishing a chemical laboratory in the Serampore College. In acknowledging his indebtedness to the donor Mr. Mack wrote in the preface to his book of Chemistry, "To James Douglas, Esq., of Cavers in Scotland, to whose enlightened generosity Serampore College is indebted for its well-furnished laboratory of Chemical apparatus. He devoted £500 to this purpose, just at the time when I was selected as its first European teacher." With this sum the laboratory was very soon established and the requisite apparatus and chemicals were procured. Mr. Mack used to deliver his lectures at first in English, but after he had learned Bengali sufficiently well, he utilised his knowledge of the local language in his regular teaching. He also used to illustrate his lectures with scientific experiments. "Mr. Mack was also encouraged to give a course of chemical lectures in

Calcutta by the gentlemen who were attached to Science; and Lord Hastings, on the last occasion of presiding at the meetings of the Asiatic Society, proposed that its rooms should be placed at his disposal. The attendance, which varied from eighty to a hundred, was greater than could have been expected in a community very slenderly imbued with scientific tastes. Among the attendants were ten native gentlemen. The series of lectures produced about £105, which Mr. Mack generously made over to the Mission funds (1822). There was hardly any arrangement then for the teaching of Chemistry in any of the colleges in Bengal. His lectures were always highly educative and interesting and his writing elegant and powerful." He was pre-eminently distinguished for his eloquence, which has seldom been equalled, and has never been surpassed in India. On one occasion, having been prevailed on to speak at a meeting of the Auxiliary Bible Society in Calcutta, he electrified the audience by his address to such a degree, that the late Bishop of Calcutta, who presided at the meeting, involuntarily exclaimed, "Why was that man a dissenter?"

"As a public writer, Mr. Mack had few equals in India. His compositions bore the exact impress of his mind, and were remarkable for their purity, clearness and vigour. He cultivated his style with no little assiduity, and was remarkably happy in clothing his thoughts in the strongest and most appropriate expressions. When the *Friend of India*, a weekly journal published at Serampore, was commenced in 1835, he took an active share in its editorial management, and as long as he could command leisure enriched it with his contributions."

Soon after his arrival in India, as we have already observed, he gave a series of lectures on Chemistry in Calcutta, the first ever delivered in the city. His fascinating mode of delivery made the subject extremely popular, and in consequence the study of Chemistry, which had been begun at Serampore College, extended to Calcutta and also to other parts of the province. The study of Chemistry was thus introduced in Bengal.

Mr. Mack did not rest content with teaching a few students. He used to keep notes of his lectures and at a later period, prepared an elementary treatise on this science, and translated it into the Bengali language for the use of native pupils. Thus he is credited to be the first author of a book in Chemistry written in Bengali entitled *Kimiya Vidya Sara* and published from Serampore Mission Press in 1834.

For some time past attempts are being made to find out appropriate equivalents in Bengali for scientific terms. It has now been decided that the terms having an international form should be also incorporated in Bengali without any change. More than a hundred years ago Mr. Mack also thought about this problem and gave his opinion on the same lines. It

the preface to his book of Chemistry he noted down the following arguments supporting his views:

"First, that our European terms have been taken from our ancient languages for the very purpose of preventing the confusion which must arise from as many different names being applied to the same thing as there are languages, in which it is spoken of; and secondly, that it is a mistake to suppose, that any good will be done by accurate translation of scientific names, since as many of them as far as their derivative import is concerned, are totally misapplied, and the translation of them, therefore, would only be giving currency to error. Thus the word oxygen might have been very neatly rendered *umlujan* (the producer of acidity); but the result would have been, that the exploded idea of oxygen being necessary to the production of acidity, would have been embodied in the new word."

Mr. Mack died on the 30th April, 1845, at Serampore. "Few men have ever come out to this country who appeared to be so eminently fitted for public

—:O:—

usefulness, by extraordinary endowments of nature and personal acquirements. He was a well-read classic, and an able mathematician, and there were few branches of natural science in which he was not at home, and in which he did not succeed in keeping himself up to the level of the Science of Chemistry which he had cultivated with success under the most eminent professors in London." He created the nucleus of a chemical laboratory in Serampore College, the first of its kind in Bengal, which has grown in the course of years and has been trying to maintain the traditions of the past.

In preparing this article references have been made to:

- (1) *Oriental Christian Biography* by W. H. Carey, published 1850.
- (2) *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* by John Clark Marshman, published 1859.
- (3) *Sey Juger Bijnan Sadhana* by Jogesh C. Bagal (published in *Prabasi*, Kartik 1357).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY BY THE LATE AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA

By KSHITIS CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A., B.L.,
Varendra Research Society

THE valuable contributions made in the field of research by the late Akshay Kumar Maitra, B.L., C.I.E., one of the founders of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi (now in East Pakistan) is still acknowledged with gratitude by all antiquarians of the day. He died on the 10th February, 1930, and February, 1952 completes the 22nd anniversary of his demise.

Educated sons of Bengal should yet recall to their minds with admiration the contributions Srijut Maitra had made to the reconstruction of the history of Bengal and its culture as a pioneer. He first took up as his special subject of study, the period of the last days of the Mughals immediately before the British conquest of Bengal. The patriotic spirit which induced him to make his debut with *Sirajuddaula*, *Mir Kasim* and *Fringi Banik* gradually attracted him to the history of ancient Bengal. His *Gaudalekhamala* as the first collection of important inscriptions of the Palas of Bengal will always rank among the source-books of the history of Bengal.

Sree Brajendra Nath Bandopadhyaya has done a great service to the cultured Bengal and to its future generation for having compiled a catalogue of references to Akshay Kumar's prolific writings in the pages

of the *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* (Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. 53) in a chronological order which had appeared on varied topics in various journals through the medium of Bengali.

Akshay Kumar's versatile talent was not confined to the language of his mother tongue alone, for which he already earned the reputation of a distinguished litterateur and a historian for his unique style and cogency of reasoning in the presentation of the materials before him.

His contributions to Art and Archaeology through the medium of English in the current and defunct journals were also great indeed.

Sree Banerjee's laudable enterprise in this direction has encouraged me to cull the captions of the contributions which had appeared through the medium of journals in English, principally in the pages of *The Modern Review* and *Rupam*. All these writings are a standing tribute to his scholarship and versatility, and the publications of such valuable materials might in future be constituted into a volume to afford a permanent value to the future scholars who might utilise the resources with profit.

The most important contributions are enumerated below as far as practicable in a chronological order.

A supplementary list may be forthcoming by others interested in them to complete the series if there be any error or slip in the present compilation.

Subject	Reference	The year of publication
1. A new copper-plate Inscription of Lakshmanasena. (Anulia copper-plate).	<i>The Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal</i> , pp. 61-65.	1900
2. Two Buddhist images from Malda	<i>The Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal</i> , pp. 621-623.	1911
3. The Stones of Varendra.	<i>The Modern Review</i> , June, pp. 618 ff.	1912
4. The Stones of Varendra.	<i>The Modern Review</i> , September, pp. 244 & ff.	1912
5. The Fall of the Pala Empire. (Calcutta University lectures from 21st to 25th January.)	A course of four lectures in the Calcutta University. (unpublished)	1916
6. The Black-Hole debate	<i>The Bengal Past and Present</i> , (proceedings) pp. 156-171.	1916
7. The Monuments of Sanchi (a scholarly review of Sir John Marshall's guide book.)	<i>The Modern Review</i> , August, pp. 137-148.	1918
8. Taxila—a meeting ground of nations (a review)	<i>The Modern Review</i> , September, pp. 478-482.	1918
9. Garuda, The Carrier of Vishnu in Bengal and Java.	<i>The Rupam</i> , January, pp. 2-7.	1920
10. The River Goddess Ganga.	<i>The Rupam</i> , April, pp. 2-10.	1921
11. Aims and Methods of Painting in Ancient India.	<i>The Rupam</i> , Jan.-June, pp. 19-27.	1923
12. Sculptures of Bengal (Introduction with a note on Varendra Research Society's collection by Dr. Stella Kramrisch.)	<i>The Modern Review</i> , January, pp. 57-62.	1923
13. Studies in the Sculpture of Bengal.	<i>The Modern Review</i> , pp. 194-197	1923
14. Studies in the Sculpture of Bengal.		
15. The Lotus of Life.	<i>The Modern Review</i> , pp. 478-482	1923
16. Studies in the Sculpture of Bengal.	<i>The Rupam</i> , July, pp. 85-88.	1923
17. Historical Antiquities in Rajshahi.	<i>The Modern Review</i> , pp. 446-450	1924
18. Principles of Indian Painting. (The six limbs of Indian painting.)	<i>The Bengal Past and Present</i> , pp. 37-41.	1924
19. A Forgotten Capital of Bengal.	<i>The Rupam</i> , July-Dec. pp. 130-131	1924
20. Indian Architecture According to the Silpasastra (a scholarly review of Dr. P. K. Acharya's book on Architecture— <i>Manasara</i>)	<i>The Bengal Past and Present</i> , pp. 172-175.	1925
21. A Rejoinder to Mr. Saksena on Dr. P. K. Acharya's works on <i>Manasara</i>	<i>The Rupam</i> , July-October, p. 39	1928
22. "Panchadevata" (or Siva, Ganesh, Vishnu, Surya and Sakti.)	<i>The Rupam</i> , pp. 90-91.	1929
23. An illustrated lecture note in the Indian Museum, Calcutta delivered on the 18th March, 1927.	Translated by Dr. Stella Kramrisch and published in <i>Ostasiatische Zeitschrift</i> beginning with Vol. IV, half. 3, pp. 109-119. Published as Monograph No. 7, (The Ancient Monuments of Varendra, posthumously edited by Kshitis C. Sarkar, Varendra Research Society with Introduction and six Appendices.)	1949
24. A Note on Paharpur Mound.*		

* I am thankful for the facility I obtained in utilizing the libraries of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Asiatic Society, Bengal and the library of Mr. O. C. Ganguly in drawing up this list and checking up the references in Calcutta.

POPULATION CONTROL IN RELATION TO FOOD IN INDIA

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

FROM the dawn of civilization when man first started to live community life he found that by continuous cultivation the same piece of land gives poorer returns. He also learnt that there were some soils that were not good for cultivation and there were some that gradually became poor. The land was not limited, hence he had not to revert to his former nomadic life. Thus the eternal question of resources began to trouble his mind from that time. When his resources in that particular locality was exhausted he migrated to richer soils. Gradually he learnt the technique of manuring and thus his migration stopped to some extent.

Today we have advanced far in the technique of land-utilization and we know better the requirement of soil in relation to a particular crop and thus can enrich the soil. We can get better yields today from the same land which was giving poor yield. But still we should consider that the population of the world has vastly increased through centuries. The present population of India is an increase of 13.4 per cent in a decade over the 1941 figure with almost a net increase of 42,000,000 yearly. The figures are staggering indeed because the country is vast. The present production of food is far below our requirement, and there are menacing natural calamities, such as famine and flood.

To get out of the tentacles of the octopus of food shortage and large increase in population a two-pronged drive is required. Let me draw up my scheme.

The immediate programme is a short-range one and we have already made some headway in this line. As an immediate necessity we are to increase the production of food through reclamation of waste land that is culturable and through cultivation of the fallow land. We are to increase production by increasing the yield per acre of the lands already under cultivation through better practices and by stopping the wastage of the food thus produced through plant protection and other measures.

The following is the classification of areas in India issued by the Economic and Statistical Advisor of the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India:

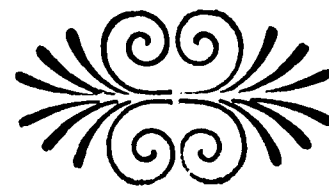
Classification	Average 1936-37 & 1938-39	1945-46
(In thousand acres)		
Area according to village papers	401,860	403,044
Area under forest	62,426	62,491
Area not available for cultivation	63,256	62,413
Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	68,806	68,556
Fallow land	36,008	37,937
Net area sown	171,365	170,806
Irrigated area	35,395	9
Area sown more than once	26,781	

The figures may have altered a little due to the activities of the last half decade but still the data speak for themselves. We cannot, and no starving Nation can, afford to waste such resources untapped. Already every province has started to reclaim the waste lands and small Co-operative Farms are cropping up with young enthusiasts as workers and organisers. But the main handicap is man-power. There is shortage of agricultural labour, and the Indian cattle is almost useless and uneconomic in agricultural operations although it quickly multiplies itself and is competing with us in the consumption of the nation's food. The condition of the cattle population should have to be improved by breeding. Hence, what is wanted is partial mechanization of agriculture in our country and heavy tractors should be wholly devoted to reclamation work to save time. But unfortunately we do not manufacture them and are to depend solely on import. For this we need dollar and we must not waste it on luxury goods which today are eating away a large portion of it.

Land reclamation should be done in a pre-planned way with simultaneous settling of displaced persons who will be given the sole authority over the lands thus settled. 'Produce or perish' should be the motto and none of these displaced persons should be allowed to quit as this will break the morale of others.

Lands are in most cases kept fallow for shortage of labour and draught cattle, i.e., bullock, inasmuch as all the operations, which mostly depend in our country on the vagaries of nature, become necessary in a specified time. This can be solved by partial mechanization which though difficult for individual cultivators may be done by co-operation. Even today our villagers are not co-operative-minded. There should be State-sponsored units of co-operative farms, etc., which will act as demonstration centres or rather eye-openers to the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. Our cultivators are conservative and always desire to remain within the snail's shell due to age-long sufferings but still they will drive onwards if definite impressions are created on them.

Though we solely depend on cereals as our main food, our production per acre, as is evident from the statistical table, is at the bottom of all other countries of the world. A comparative chart from the *International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics* (1947), Vol. I, as given below, shows the average yield per acre (in round numbers) of some of our most important crops and their highest yield obtained in other countries.



Rice: India	1,100 lbs.	Australia	4,100 lbs.
Wheat: India	700 "	Denmark	2,900 "
Maize: India	800 "	New Zealand	2,800 "
Ground-nut: India	700 "	Mauritius	2,200 "
Sugarcane: India	14 tons	Jamaica	30 short tons
Potato: India	4 short tons	Ireland	9 short tons

The figures show where we are. That our cultivators sometimes lack initiative or rather incentive to grow more may be true, but we give them advice from our ivory towers. That they are not bad growers has been proved through the two important all-India crop competitions in rice and potato held sometime ago. As regards production of rice, Bengal certainly lags much behind Australia, but there has been an increase of more than 600 mds. in the production of potato in Bengal and in other provinces. If only a few prizes of a few hundred rupees can give so much incentive, then can we not take them into confidence through other amenities given to them? And here lies the defect in the policy hitherto pursued. We always want that the cultivator will produce enormous food for us so that none can starve. But never do we consider what in return we are giving to the toilers of the soil. What he produces is taken away to the last grain, but do we try to look to any of his comfort? The Kumarappa Report (*Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, 1949*) gives the following as the income of agricultural labour in different regions in our country:

See Table (A) →

We do not want to compare it with any other foreign country as it will bring shame to us, not to the agricultural labour. It is difficult to imagine how with that small income they can manage their family, overburdened with too many children as they are. The children do not get milk or medicine and are left to the mercy of the gods. Even cruel accidents occur due to this poverty. A P.T.I. news from Shillong dated 27.7.51 states:

"1,722 persons died in Assam by drowning in the last two years. Of them 951 were children and 285 women. This figure does not include the persons who lost their lives as a result of floods . . . Want of proper care and attention on the part of parents about little children while left at home during their busy hours outside is the primary cause of these sad incidents."

This is only a solitary example among many more such incidents.

Our food producers are toiling hard but the rising price indices are making it harder for them. Prof. Sridhar Misra of Kanyakubja College made sample surveys in U.P. about the rise in the rates of wages and rural cost of living enquiring of 60 families about their budgets on the basis of 26 essential commodities selected, the year 1939 being taken as the normal year. Instead of taking some of the details into consideration let me give the comparative summary.

District	Lag in Agricultural Wages and Prices			
	1939	1945	1948 (Jan.)	
	Wages Prices	Wages Prices	Wages Prices	
Azamgarh	100 100	214 300	214 448	
Gorakhpur	100 100	214 340.7	214 448.3	
Unao	100 100	125 400	125 426	
Meerut	100 100	212 425	.. ..	
Jhansi	100 100	215 335.3	.. ..	
Almora	100 100	360 318	.. ..	

And after 1948 the price index of the essential commodities has gone still higher up without any increase in the income of the agricultural labour. Moreover, an agricultural worker has always an unbalanced budget due to the unequal income earned by his wife and children. Let me quote Kumarappa again:

"We do feel that the practice of the U.S.S.R. in making no distinction in respect of pay for men and women should be followed while fixing the rates of wages at least for some operations. The rates of wages for children should have reference to their essential needs, as members of a family. In the Soviet Union all employed youths over 16 receive the same wage as adults performing the same work in Agriculture while young workers are trained without any cost to themselves and receive pay while learning. This unique achievement of the U.S.S.R. should be a beacon-light to all countries fixing fair rates of wages for labourers agricultural as well as industrial."

Our system of land management is ancient and primitive. The weak bullocks have generally forced cultivators to depend on shallow ploughs which is a hindrance to good cultivation. In an attempt to force cultivators to grow green manure crops before growing sugarcane it was found that they prefer money for cow-dung, etc., to the free supply of the legume seeds. Green manuring is difficult because the shallow plough cannot quite invert the soil and properly cover the legume for rotting in the soil during the rains. Similarly soil operation before rains is difficult in dry regions as it becomes too hard for the weak bullocks and shallow ploughs.

From time immemorial we are cultivating the same soil without fertilizing the replenished earth. Our age-old neglect to mother earth is unparalleled. We broadcast the seed and want to harvest a good crop. We do not have proper rotation, growing the same crop in the same land year after year, nor do we grow any legume to plough down as green manure. The sources of other organic manures are absolutely limited. This led to the use of inorganic fertilisers in large quantities by the progressive nations of the world. The advocates of inorganic fertilizers are not blind and they do not want to replace the existing sources of organic manure. We advocate a well-balanced manurial schedule of both organic and inorganic manures taking into consideration the resources and the soil climatological factors. The following comparative chart (taken from U.S.D.A. Misc. Pub. No. 593: Pre-war world production and

POPULATION CONTROL IN RELATION TO FOOD IN INDIA

TABLE (A)

Province	Daily cash and kind wages of Unspecified work		Agricultural labourers in various Provinces.		Weeding	
	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind
Assam	No data available.					
West Bengal		Re. -/12/- plus 1 meal		1/8/- to 2/8/-		2/- to 2/8/- both one meal and tiffin.
Bihar	-/12/-	3 seers food-grains (1½ to 2 seers paddy) plus ½ to ¾ seer sathu pailas paddy plus breakfast	-/8/- plus 2 meals 2½ pucca srs. food-grains & 1 bigha land; 3 srs. food-grain & 10 of land.	-/12/- for men and -/8/- for women.		1 bundle for 16 bundles.
Bombay	1/4/- to 1/8/-	1 meal, 2 tea, 5 srs. paddy (in lieu of 8 annas cash and 4 seers paddy, tea and morning tiffin*)				
C. P. and Berar	1/2/- to 1/4/- for men, -/12/- for women.					
Madras	1/- to 1/8/- for men, -/10/- for women.	2/- to 2/8/-			8 to 10 as. 5 M.M. paddy and 1 or 2 M.M. with meals and 1 meal; even 2½ 4 M.M., M.M. 1½ M.M. (Madras, paid by Measure) Mirasdars. and 2 meals 1½ seers cholam (men), as. 5 to 6 and 1 meal, 2½ M.M. (women) Inamdars measure at Mirasdars place.	
Orissa	1/- to 1/8/- for men, annas 8 for women.	4 seers of paddy.			Nearly 3½ to 4 seers paddy.	Nearly 3½ to 4 seers paddy.
U. P.	As.12.		Re. 1/-			1 bundle -/8/- for 16 plus bundles of grain harvested (men), 1 bundle for 12 bundles of grain harvested (women).

* This applies to Hails also.

consumption of plant food and fertilisers) on the use of chemical fertilisers by us in India and other countries speaks for itself.

Consumption of Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Potash together per acre of land

India	less than 1 lb.	France	33 lbs.
Netherlands	300 lbs.	Egypt	33 "
Belgium	169 "	Peru	28 "
Belo Luxemburg		Eire	28 "
Economic Un.	150 "	Portugal	27 "
New Zealand	125 "	Italy	24 "
Germany	96 "	Australia	20 "
Japan	87 "	U.S.A.	9 "
Switzerland	64 "	Un. of South	
U. K.	52 "	Africa	8 "
Denmark	47 "	Canada	3 "

In our country the main sources of organic manures are yet to be tapped. Even now we are not utilizing the night-soil and other refuse in the municipal towns by composting though instead of costing anything it brings an extra revenue. Not only that, simple dumping brings dust and disease in the locality, it is a haven for feeding flies and other carriers, whereas composting keeps the locality clean. People have now started to appreciate sewage sludge of cities. They are also giving attention to the enemy of waterways, the byacinth, by utilizing its manurial properties by composting. Here at least the people and the Government are moving together in West Bengal.

The question of improved varieties and strains and the replacement of poor yielding varieties by them is drawing the attention of all thinking people. But there are only a few seed multiplication farms throughout the country and in the present context it will take decades to replace them. It is necessary that almost all the districts of all the provinces in India should have one general seed multiplication farm and its working should be supplemented by a chain of registered growers in widely scattered localities who will again multiply them.

Land utilisation which covers a wide domain should come to the forefront of all agricultural prospects. The checking of erosion of the soil created through ages, its proper utilization, flood control and maintenance of the equilibrium of the soil should get top priority. But this planning of agriculture should always be preceded by the preparation of a very good soil-map of the country, so that proper cropping schemes can be undertaken or suggested.

Last, but not the least important, is the fact that we are not giving proper attention to those particular non-cereals that give the maximum yield in the same unit of land. And this high yield is in no way low in food value compared to any other crop. The sudden increase in population due to industrialization and the high standard of living in the European countries led to their search for the high-yielding non-cereal food crop that can replace cereals from their main item of food and in this way potato made its headway and is now the staple food of many a nation. It will be

observed from the following comparative table taken from Choudhuri ("Problem of Food Production—the Role of Potatoes," *Bull. Bot. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. 4, No 1, page 64) that potato as a non-cereal crop yields a very high amount of Carbohydrate and is the source of a much higher unit of calories than the two most important cereals, Rice and Wheat:

	Rice	Wheat	Potato
Estimated yield per acre (Maund)	10*	10*	100†
Protein yield (Kilograms)	31	43	58
Carbohydrate yield (Kilogram)	284	258	832
Calories per acre (in thousands)	1280	1260	3850

The question of Tapioca may also be considered in this context.

Today plant-protection measures are drawing the attention of authorities and gradually we are having the co-operation of the cultivator to protect his crop from diseases and pests by dusting and spraying protective chemicals. Diseases and pests are eating away a large portion of the nation's food and in addition rodents are a menace to mankind and unless one is very serious it is almost impossible to control them.

We should now consider the question of our bi population and its control through long-range practices. We know that in this vast sub-continent an increase of one per cent over the present means some million and already we are overburdened with crores. It is true that we will have to exert all our energies immediately to augment the present production to stop a imports of food from foreign countries, but how can we ignore the vastness of our population? It is a gigantic problem and we will have to proceed step by step.

The increase in world population every fifty years during the period 1650-1950 shows that the growth has not been uniform and has tended to rise rather by geometrical progression. Also it has been found that in agrarian societies with the approach of industrialization there has been a rise in the standard of living along with the immediate lowering of death rate and the automatic rise in the population. Then came the next phase. With declining fertility came a further decline in mortality resulting in a stable population. Then the last phase—with mortality more or less constant, fertility has declined further, and there is a decline in population. Europe and America are passing through the last phase today.

In our country we will have to implement our promise of compulsory and free primary education to all. It is long overdue and the promise should be implemented at once. Education should be basic and practical making people conscious of the value of the land and its good management. Also they should be made conscious of themselves, and free themselves

* Slightly above the all-India figure but slightly below West Bengal average which is 12.17.
† Slightly below the all-India and West Bengal averages which are 109 mds. and 102.75 mds. respectively.

from wrong exploitation. This will raise the standard of living at once with a tendency of a sudden rise in population. Here we will have to educate our countrymen, particularly those who have family and have attained maturity, to pass over the two phases of industrialization and come to the final phase through a policy of scientific population control. And this scientific population control or birth control may have

some repercussions in our country a large section of whose people is conservative and not enlightened by education. Here is the need for a long-range policy of education in family or population control to keep the population in equilibrium with the production of food. A check is necessary so that the nation may not be starved.

—:O:—

PANINIAN ANALYSIS OF ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

By ASOKE CHATTERJEE

PANINI, by far the best Grammarian of the world, has shown, along with the display of a true grammarian-cum-scientific spirit, a tactful handling of various geographical data. His grammar being older than the two great epics of India should be seriously taken into consideration for the knowledge of ancient geography of India as the two great epics are often sought for.

He often speaks of the Eastern countries or *Prachyadesa* (e.g., 2. iv. 66, 4. i. 160, 4. ii. 120, 4. ii. 113, 4. ii. 123, 4. ii. 139, 8. iii. 75, etc.). What he exactly means by that term is not known. Taking him to be an inhabitant of the Punjab or Kashmir, perhaps Benares and its surrounding territories is meant. Hence he purposely omits the name of Kasi, the greatest of the sixteen Mahajanapadas of India. The same darkness prevails regarding his use of the term *Udichya* (e.g., 4. i. 109, 4. i. 157, etc.).

Some countries are mentioned indirectly by him. *Kacchagri Vakra Vartottarapadat* (4. ii. 126) speaks of Bhrikukaccha, etc. Another Sutra *Kopadhadan* (4. ii. 162) also suggests the name of some countries which were known at the time of Panini. Moreover, although many of his Sutras do not throw light on the realm of geographical interest of the country, still the illustrations of these Sutras, given by Kasikakara and Bhattoji are much helpful in rediscovering India's ancient geography (e.g., 2. iv. 6, 4. i. 171, 175, 4. ii. 127, 2. iv. 62, etc.), the Sutra *Kastirajastunde nagare* 6. i. 55 indicating a town having a small coastline, really proves nothing). But here we are concerned with Panini only not even with Katyayana or Patanjali, not to speak of Vamana Jayaditya or Bhattoji Diksita.

The predecessors of Pushyamitra were known to Panini as he mentions their names in one of his Sutras, i.e., *Vikarnasungachagaladvatsabharadvajatriu* (4. i. 117). If not the rulers of some territory of the North-western part of India, they at least were a powerful nation. In *Vikarnakushitakat Kasyape* (4. i. 114) we find the name Vikarna. It is interesting to note that Bhasa in his *Dutavakyam* ascribes an

elevated place to the Lord of Vikarna. (cf. *Arjyau Vaikarnavisvadevau*). Is there any connection between "Chagala" of this Sutra and the King Chagalaga of inscriptional fame? Chagala is also mentioned in 4. iii. 109. Vatsa is one of the sixteen Mahajanapadas. Its capital as evinced from the Jatakas was Kausambi—modern Allahabad—4. ii. 36 also speaks of its name. This Kausambi has no connection with Kausambi of Rajshahi district, mentioned in Sandhyakarnandi's *Ramacharita*. The Sutra, *Bhargattraigarte* (4. i. iii) directly speaks of Jalandhar district, e.g., *Jalandharastraigartah Syum* 4. ii. 137 also indirectly suggests its name. It is of much interest to note that Sindhu and Sauvira are not mentioned together, although the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman mentions their names together, for the former is mentioned in 4. iii. 93 and the latter in 4. i. 48. Although Vitabhaya as named by the Jaina is the capital of the two still it has been settled that west and east of the lower Indus are understood by these two respectively.

The Sutras from 4. i. 169 to 4. i. 178 excepting *Tetadraja* (4. i. 174) and *Atascha* (4. i. 177) deserve a special scrutiny, for the following names of the countries are mentioned by those, e.g., *Salvas*, associated with the *Matsyas*, *Gandharas*, too well-known to be further identified. It was situated on both sides of the Indus. Kashmir also was included in it; *Magadha* (South Bihar), *Kalinga* (Orissa), *Kosala*—one of the four great kingdoms according to Dr. Roychoudhury. It was situated on the east of Gumti and west of Videha. *Asmaka* was situated on the banks of the Godavari. Its capital has been identified with Bodhan in the Nizam's district, by the scholars; *Kamboja*—one of the sixteen Mahajanapadas—is close to Gandhara, *Avanti* roughly corresponds to the Ujjain region, *Bhargava* is a dependant of the *Vatsas*, *Yaudheya* is mentioned in the *Allahabad Prasasti* of Samudragupta, the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman and other inscriptions. According to the Puranas, it lies between the *Bitasta* and *Sindhu*. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar locates them between the *Sutlej* and the *Jumna*; *Kuru*, mentioned

twice, is a famous Mahajanapada. Suramasa, mentioned with Magadha and Kalinga in 4.i.170, has not been identified.

Kekaya of *Kekayamitrayupralayanam* (7.iii.2) is definitely identified with the western Punjab between Gandhara and Beas. *Kaschadivyscha* (4.ii.133) speaks of modern Cutch in the north of Kathiawad, the country of the Madra-s is mentioned in 4.ii.108 and 6.ii.91. It comprises the central part of the Punjab. 4.iii.93 speaks of Takshasila which is nothing but the modern Taxila.

So much is stated about the North-western part of India. The names of Usinara (2.iv.20; 4.ii.118)

and Andhaka and Vrishni (4.i.114, 6.ii.34) produce evidence that the Madhyadesa was also known to Panini, for Usinara is the northernmost part of Mid-India and the two others are closely associated with *Dhruva Madhyamadis*. Dr. Roychoudhury's statement that they were defeated and pushed southwards and eastwards by the Kuru-Panchalas cannot be supported; the evidence of Sat. Br. is too meagre to be relied upon.

Thus, in conclusion, it can be safely remarked that the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini even without considering the *Ganapatha* or others, is a great source of investigation for the ancient geography of India.

—:O:—

SRI AUROVINDO'S PHILOSOPHY

A Review

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

A number of books on the philosophy of Sri Aurovindo have been published by the Calcutta University, Banaras Hindu University and by other publishers. Numerous articles on the subject have been appearing in the leading journals of India, Europe and America. While reviewing *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Sri Aurovindo** by Dr. S. K. Maitra, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Banaras Hindu University, let us try to understand the excellences and limitations of Sri Aurovindo's Philosophy.

According to Dr. Maitra, Sri Aurovindo is the most creative thinker in the Modern East.

"He is a seer," observes Dr. Maitra, "with the same prophetic vision and the same explosive power of truth as the great sages of our land in the past such as Manu, Yajnavalkya or Vyasa. His place is by the side of these great seers, *Mantra-drastarah*."

The learned professor concludes his book under review with these words:

"We may say that if the bridge of thoughts and sighs which spans the history of Aryan culture, as it has evolved so far, has its first arch in the Vedas it has its last in Sri Aurovindo's *The Life Divine*."

Sri Aurovindo's magnum opus *The Life Divine* is in the opinion of Sir Francis Younghusband the greatest philosophical religious work which has been produced in India for centuries. Sri D. S. Sarma compares this massive product of the present Hindu Renaissance with Dante's *Divina Comedia*, the Italian Epic. Besides the three volumes of *The Life Divine*, the two volumes of *Essays on the Gita* is another outstanding work of Sri Aurovindo. Excepting Tilak's *Gita Rahasya* no modern commentary on the

Gita can stand comparison to it. In this voluminous work the sage of Pondichery explains at length the new Gosrel of synthetic Yoga. Not only these two but also his *Bases of Yoga*, *Mother* and several other books have to be considered for a comprehensive and critical survey of his philosophy.

In order to fully fathom the depths of Sri Aurovindo's mind it is very necessary to peep into his educational, professorial, political and literary career. Sri Aurovindo was born in Calcutta in 1872 and passed away in 1950 in Pondichery. He was educated in London and Cambridge for fourteen years from the seventh to the twenty-first year of his life. While in England he became a scholar in Greek and Latin, and also learnt French, German and Italian and could read Dante and Goethe in the original. After his return from England he served for thirteen years from 1893 to 1906 in the Baroda State where he worked as a professor of English in the local college. It is there that he studied Bengali and Sanskrit. While in England he could not speak well even in his mother-tongue, but composed poems in English. In Baroda he happened to meet Sister Nivedita, the renowned English disciple of Swami Vivekananda. Sister Nivedita presented to him a copy of her Guru's *Raja-Yoga* which he read carefully. In order to study Indian thought in the original he began to learn Sanskrit there. Political activity of Sri Aurovindo lasted for four years from 1906 to 1910 A.D. During this period he started his literary career and edited three journals, *Bande Mataram*, *Karmayogin*, and *Dharma*. The last forty years of his life was spent in Pondichery where from 1914 to 1921 he started and published the *Arya* and wrote thought-provoking articles in it. His *Life Divine* and many other books, brought out later, appeared serially in this philosophical monthly. So

these fifteen years from 1910 to 1925 may be called the intellectual period of his life when he wrote his philosophy. In 1926 he attained Rishihood and since then remained buried in the silence of meditation for the last twenty-four years of his life. He is, therefore, more a seer, a prophet, a Rishi than a philosopher. Sir S. Radhakrishnan rightly calls him a scholar-mystic.

On account of foreign education the influence of European thought was so deep-rooted in his mind that his philosophy has become an amalgam of Western and Indian thought. This has not escaped the keen observation of his admirers and expounders. Dr. S. K. Maitra whose book is under review, rightly speaks out thus:

"When I say that Sri Aurovindo belongs to our Aryabhumi the last thing which I have in mind is to underrate the influence of European thought upon him. The influence is there, very clearly visible . . ."

In another place the same author says that Hegel perhaps comes nearer to Sri Aurovindo than any other philosopher either in the West or in the East.

Sri Aurovindo's originality consists in the powerful restatement or reinterpretation of the Indian thought in the light of the West. His greatness lies not in revealing new truths, as Prof. D. S. Sarma of Madras rightly observes in his *Renaissance of Hinduism* (p. 337), but in reinterpreting old truths according to the needs of the times and making them dynamic once again. Like Swami Vivekananda or Rabindranath Tagore or Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurovindo is a bold interpreter and exponent of Indian thought in this age. In 1918-19 when William Archer hurled his infamous attack on India and her culture in his book *India and the Future* Sri Aurovindo rose equal to the occasion and made a forceful protest in a series of very thoughtful articles. In those articles he pointed out some of the salient features of ancient Indian culture. He said therein that the Indian genius is characterised by an exhaustive many-sidedness and ingrained spirituality. In another place while appreciating the spirit of India he said that a national awakening is always preceded in this land by a religious renaissance. In the course of pointing out the dominant note of the Indian society he remarked that Rishi is the ideal man of the Indian society and attainment of Rishihood is the goal of Indian life. These are some of the excellences of Sri Aurovindo's profound thinking.

While expounding the philosophy of the Gita Sri Aurovindo establishes the doctrine of Purusottama, the Supreme Spirit. According to him, the Supreme Spirit is neither One nor the Many but the One in, through and beyond the Many. Thus, according to him, multiplicity is as real as unity. Here Sri Aurovindo differs widely from Sankara and evinces a strong Hegelian bias. It is regretted that he commits the grave error of saying that Sankara teaches illusionism. To call

Sankara an illusionist is nothing but to misunderstand his philosophy. Even Sir S. Radhakrishnan, who is the distinguished author of the *History of Indian Philosophy*, has misunderstood Sankara and misinterpreted him while trying to explain his philosophy in the light of Western thought. It is very very difficult to clearly understand the standpoint of Sankara. Paul Deussen of Germany and Rene Guenon of France have made it quite clear in their masterly works on Vedanta. Unless one strips his mind of all Western influences and bathes in the crystal-clear water of the Vedic thought one can never grasp the true view-point of Sankaracharya, who alone of all Indian exponents holds the key to the soul of Vedic wisdom.

The most important concept in Sri Aurovindo's philosophy is that of super-mind. Borrowing a suggestive Vedic expression he gives the name of Rit-chit or Truth-consciousness or simply supermind to the divine power dormant in each soul. He says that when Supermind dawns one becomes a Superman and leads the Life Divine. Supermind in his view is the connecting link between the two hemispheres of Being and Becoming, of the Absolute and the Relative, of Knowledge and Ignorance. When the Supermind descends an individual becomes a gnostic being and then all beings would be to him his own selves and he would feel the presence of the Divine in each thought and action. Is not this conception of a Superman a modern restatement of the Vedic ideal of a *Jivanmukta*?

In the Gita the Wise One is called the *Sthitaprajna*, *Gunatita* or *Yogaruda*. Sri Aurovindo's description of a gnostic being or Superman is not at all different from that of a Brahmanjani given in the Gita. When Sri Aurovindo says that personality and impersonality, individuality and universality are quite compatible in the divine life he merely echoes the voice of the Gita and Upanishads.

When Sri Aurovindo dreams of forming a gnostic community on earth and producing a race of Supermen he voices the idea of a Christian millennium. The Christians dream of establishing the kingdom of God on earth. Is not all this a mere Utopia or moonshine? Let us conclude the short survey of Sri Aurovindo's philosophy by presenting the readers with what a Western has said about this. Mr. Vincent Sheean, an American visitor, met Sri Aurovindo in February, 1949 and wrote in the September issue of *Holiday* (Philadelphia, U.S.A.) an article entitled "Kings of the Yogis," in which he says, "Immensely complicated, heaven-storming arrogance of Sri Aurovindo is understood by nobody but himself when he says that the Supreme can be brought down into human life and is now about to be brought down thus achieving an immensely forward step in evolution." For want of space we are unable to discuss other points in Sri Aurovindo's philosophy that are alien in character to the orthodox tradition of India.

* Published by Banaras Hindu University. Second edition. Pages 112. 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.

Editors, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE CHARKHA: A collection of some of Gandhiji's speeches and writings on Khadi. Compiled by Shrikrishnadas Jaju. Sarvodaya Pracharalaya, Tirupur, Madras. Pp. vii + 112. Price fourteen annas.

The compiler has brought together some of the more important sayings of Mahatma Gandhi relating to Khadi. Spinning is an ancient art in India. By itself, it can no more assure us freedom than any other mechanical device can. Gandhiji gave Khadi a new meaning, for his plan was to build up a new life in the villages of India which would be based upon self-sufficiency in regard to the basic needs of life. That life was to be free from exploitation and inequality, and where all built up a co-operative community life. Although the spinning wheel became popular through Gandhiji's personal influence at some periods in course of our national struggle yet the social content of his new emphasis on the revival of spinning was often lost sight of. Readers will, therefore, be thankful to the compiler for having once more called attention to these aspects of Gandhiji's thoughts on the subject.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES: THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITION: By Mohinder Singh, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. 1947. Pp. xv+213+xl. Price Rs. 7-8.

Caste and untouchability form two of the most urgent problems of India's social life. It is however unfortunate that although the Government of India has a Department of Anthropology and several of our Universities teach the subject up to the post-graduate standard, yet the scientific treatment of the subject has been left to untrained social reformers, and science has not been adequately utilized to prevent wastage of much well-intentioned effort.

We turned therefore with a great deal of expectation to the book under review; but have to confess that our hopes have not been wholly justified.

The author of this book on the 'Depressed Classes' has devoted as many as 137 out of 213 pages to a detailed consideration of the 'economic servitude' under which these classes labour in North India, ranging from the Punjab in the west to Bengal in the east. The disabilities described, or the economic information given by him relate, however, not merely to the depressed classes as such, but all other castemen also who are exploited by owners of land and of capital. It is well that he supplemented the information obtainable in official reports by personal field investigation but unfortunately, here again, the number of families studied is not given except in one case, and

we are presented merely with percentages of different grades of income or of indebtedness, without being able to check up whether the sampling was adequate or not, and without again, being able to compare the figures for 'depressed' with that of poor 'higher castes'.

In regard to the customs, beliefs and cultures of the 'depressed classes,' the author has made use of much undigested, anthropological material with the result that the picture of the depressed classes, as such, has become obscured by being mixed up with the superstitions and ignorances of those who do not definitely belong to that class.

This is particularly unfortunate, because, the author is gifted both with human sympathy as well as the necessary, academic qualifications for undertaking such a study. Perhaps, he has been in a hurry in his crusade on behalf of the down-trodden; but such an attitude must not be allowed to vitiate the scientific rigour of social investigations.

It would perhaps have been much more fruitful if Dr. Singh had tried to find out if the depressed classes do actually form a separate ethnic group now, as they obviously did in the past; how their own, blind efforts at self-improvement have led to further fissions in the caste, without being able to weaken the roots of that system itself; what have been the quantitative results in sample areas or sample communities, and so on. A clear, objective presentation of the facts regarding untouchability, and of their sociological roots, determined by comparison with like economic groups belonging to higher social grades, would have helped us much more than the present study, even when it is inspired by the noblest of passions.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee has furnished a brilliant introduction, which we would recommend all social reformers and legislators to read. We can also say that they will materially profit from a reading of Dr. Singh's essay as well, because what he says holds true of the down-trodden in our country, whether Harijan or otherwise.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, Vol. II: By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 408. Price Rs. 10.

It is fortunate for the history-loving people of the world that they are getting the second revised edition of the first three volumes of the *magnum opus* of Sir Jadunath Sarkar—*The Fall of the Mughal Empire* done by the savant himself. The fourth and the last volume is a recent publication, but this Vol. II first came out just seventeen years ago in 1934. The re-

searches and discoveries of Sir Jadunath himself made it imperative that a revised up-to-date edition should be brought out. That has been achieved in the volume under review. Its uniform format with the new fourth volume and the revised other two volumes completes a lovely set. An authoritative book like this needs no praise from a reviewer. We are only indicating the additions made in this edition. They are: (1) the bibliography of the Panipat campaign has been recast and brought up to date, (2) the Durrani invasion of 1764-65 has been expanded from a short paragraph into a full section, (3) Shah Alam's exile in Allahabad has been newly described, (4) exact dates and details in the account of Jawahir Singh's last years, and (5) a description of the topography of the environs of Panipat with a map, to help visitors.

ASIATIC JONES: By A. J. Arberry, Litt. D. Published for the British Council by Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd. Forty pages and ten illustrations of which one is a tri-colour portrait of the great savant. Price not mentioned.

The work of Sir William Jones, the pioneer of Indian studies, in making the real India known to the Western world, had been great and it was he who influenced Colebrooke, Wilson, Muir and a host of others to pursue Oriental studies, thus establishing a tie between the East and the West. He was in Bengal in the latter half of the 18th century. He was born in 1746 and this neat brochure has been published to commemorate the bicentenary of his birth. We must admit gratefully that that has been befittingly done. The book mainly deals with Sir William's Asiatic deeds and researches.

INDIA: By Swami Vivekananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-12.

In this decently produced volume the publishers have placed before the public some of the writings of the great Swami on India. None was more competent to speak on the subject for he knew her hopes and aspirations, her joys and sorrows. His knowledge was first-hand. He also knew about the cultural heritage of India and the readers of this selection will also know it, such is the fervour and appeal of his writings. The reader will also admit what Sister Nivedita once said about her master—"The thought of India was to him like the air he breathed."

B. N. B.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE: By J. T. Parikh. The Popular Book Store, Bombay. 1949. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 3.

This little monograph has been prepared by the author as a text-book for the first year classes in the Bombay and Poona Universities. Of its ten chapters, the first two are more or less of an introductory character, the third deals with the pre-historic period, the fourth and the fifth (constituting its longest portion) with the Vedic period, the sixth and the seventh with the rise of Magadha culminating in the Maurya empire, the eighth with the period intervening between the Mauryas and the Guptas, the ninth with the Gupta Golden Age and the tenth and last with the post-Gupta period down to c. 1000 A.D. This short survey of its contents is enough to show how it suffers from a want of proportion, too much space being given to the pre-historic and Vedic periods at the expense of the later times. In his introductory chapters the author gives good descriptions of the distinctive features of our culture (p. 3 f.), the physical

characteristics of our land (p. 6 f.) and the racial composition of our people (p. 9 f.). Again, his accounts of the pre-historic Indus Civilisation (p. 14 f.) as well as the civilisation of the Vedic Aryans (p. 34 f.) are sufficiently full and accurate. On the other hand, some of the author's statements are open to criticism, as when he speaks of Chandragupta Maurya's conflict with Seleucus towards the end of his reign and the subsequent treaty of his marriage with the latter's daughter (pp. 174-5), or of Asoka's sending missionaries to Tibet (p. 177), or of the independence of the "Bhoja Kingdom of Berar" following Asoka's death (p. 199), or of Hindu colonisation of Burma, Malay, etc., during the period from 600-1000 A.D. (pp. 250-51). The translation of Rajukas as "law-surveyors" (p. 182) is strange. So also is the description of the period from 200 B.C. to 250 A.D. as marking "the beginnings of Hindu power" (p. 198). The author's judgment that "Hindu imperial power disappeared" after Harsha's death and that "there was absolutely no political peace" between Harsha's accession and Sultan Mahmud's occupation of Kanauj (pp. 250-51) errs grievously on the side of exaggeration. The rendering of Sanskrit *anarya* as an-Aryan (pp. 36-7, 66, etc.) is inaccurate and unnecessary.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GROUP PREJUDICES IN INDIA: A SYMPOSIUM: Edited by Sir Manilal B. Nanavati and C. N. Vakil. Published by Vora and Co., Bombay. 1951. Pp. 225. Price 16s. 6d.

The title of this book led the reviewer to think that it probably consisted of the findings of the various projects for sociological research which have recently sprung up throughout the country. But she was soon disappointed. A book with such a title may be one of two things. Either it may be the study of specific problems relating particular facts, or it may be the presentation of general theoretical discussions based on such facts. But this book does not seem to have either of these characteristics.

Besides the introductory material by the editors, twenty-nine different articles are presented in the book by thirty-one writers, (two being joint authors). Each article is written independently and separately without any seeming plans of co-ordination between the writers. Besides, as they do not come to any discussion with one another, and as there is no semblance of continuity from one chapter to the next the reviewer fails to see the basis of calling the book a "symposium."

The book is encyclopaedic in its outline in presenting six sections with titles, such as "culture and prejudices," "religions and prejudices," "social prejudices," "politics and prejudices," "minorities and prejudices," and "miscellaneous." The majority of the articles seem to present the view that there ought not to be any prejudices towards members of various groups in the Indian communities, and then each presents its own solutions for obliterating such prejudices. The views presented are usually supported by common observations and beliefs and historical knowledge. These elements are indeed important in social studies, but mere minglings of historical facts and common knowledge do not produce scientific social research.

The reviewer, therefore, wonders about the purpose of this book. In not presenting a scientific viewpoint or new facts the book can hardly expect to gain the attention of social scientists. And even the layman will find many of the articles repetitious, and the mode

of presentation of some of the articles, as those on the caste system, as rather archaic. Moreover, the majority of the articles are not documented, and so a serious student will not be able to use this book for references to other works.

JYOTIRMOTEE SARMA
THE MAKING OF MODERN HOLLAND: By A. J. Barnouw. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8s. 6d. net.

The Netherlands emerged as a distinct political entity with the Dutch revolt against Philip II of Spain in 1581. The Act of Abjuration passed by the Dutch in that year was the first spasm of a revolutionary tremor destined to revolutionise the body politic of Europe. The Union of Utrecht (1579) completed the process of gradual contraction of the Low Countries by drawing a line of demarcation between Belgium and the modern Netherlands, which has been known as Holland from the days of the Bonapartist regime in the late 18th century.

Mr. Barnouw gives a bird's-eye view of the history of Holland from the beginning of the Christian era down to the modern times. He faithfully records the succession of changes—evolutionary and revolutionary—that turned the Dutch people, once enslaved by the Vikings into a free, prosperous and self-confident nation.

The volume under review, meant primarily for beginners, may be read profitably by the advanced students of Dutch history as well.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI
UNTIL BENGAL (Poems in War): By Harry Milner. Introduction by John Gawswordh.
FIFTY MODERN POEMS: By forty famous Poets.

Both published by Sushil Gupta, 1, Wellesley Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3 each.

The British Royal Air Force, which was stationed in India, for waging war in Burma and the Far East had some members in it who were poets of considerable merit. Of them were Harry Milner and John Gawswordh. By publishing some of the works of these poets and writers Sushil Gupta, an Indian publisher, has surely won some distinction among his fellow-traders in India. Many of the poems of *Until Bengal* concern India and Ceylon as seen and understood by a foreigner. About Bengal, the poet sings:

"O freed from red Delhi, so spaced and so clean,
Let me swim in Bengal's haze of virulent green."

The words "virulent green" are so much expressive of Bengal's sweetness and strength, harmoniously balanced.

From Tennyson down to 1936, the best specimens of English verse during that period were collected by W. B. Yeats, that Irish poet of renown whose name we adore because it was he who could first appreciate the greatness of Poet Rabindranath. The collection by Yeats is entitled *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse*. In 1938, John Gawswordh prepared his *Fifty Years of Modern Verse*, with 230 poems representing 110 poets.

Fifty Modern Poems is an abridgement of the *Fifty Years of Modern Verse*. The publisher's intention lies in "giving pleasure to those readers in India who have been dissatisfied with the one face of the Janus-head of British poetry." Among the poets who have found place in the collection have been Havelock Ellis, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, Arthur Symonds, Lascelles Abercrombie, John Drinkwater, Siegfried Sassoon and others who have already been known to us for writings other than poetry. So, *Fifty Modern Poems* is an interesting publication from this aspect alone.

SANTOSH KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE ROLE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIAN ECONOMY AND ITS FUTURE: By Prof. K. C. Bhandari. Published by Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Hospital Road, Agra. Pages 133. Price Rs. 4-8.

The author discusses the subject-matter of this book in eight chapters and the three different stages in the history of the foreign capital are described as "Merchant Capital" (1600—1850), "Industrial Capital" (1850—1914) and "Finance and Loan Capital" (1914 onwards). Various estimates of the foreign capital invested in India made from time to time by distinguished authorities are discussed and examined and the author is of opinion that £500 millions is the correct figure of foreign capital invested in India as at 31st December, 1947. A chapter has been devoted to so-called "India" Companies which have foreign share-holders—these being Indian counterparts of English Companies operating in other parts of the world. The Government of the Indian Republic have announced in no uncertain terms that the investment of foreign capital in industries in India is welcome in the interest of the country's economic advancement. They have further declared that within the next ten years there shall be no programme of nationalisation to affect the activities of capitalistic undertakings. In spite of this the investment of American capital is negligible although the investment of British capital is not so disappointing. The reason is that U.S.A. has ample opportunities to invest its own capital within its own borders and the British surplus is not so large as it was before the war. Independent India can with safety import foreign capital without any fear of foreign political domination provided such investments are economically sound. The author has a word of 'caution' for such capital import.

A. B. DUTTA

INVESTIGATION OFFICER'S POCKET MUFFASIL LAW GUIDE: By D. Das, IPS., Cuttack. Pp. 288. Price Rs. 4.

The investigating police officer in the mufasil often commits error of judgment due to his ignorance of law. For ready reference he can not carry all the bare Acts even; for him the relevant extracts, with short notes from different Acts, selected by the author, himself an experienced police officer, will be found to be extremely useful.

J. M. DATTA

STANDARD ESSAYS: By Prof. N. M. Kulkarni, M.A. Published by Students' Friends, Allahabad and Banaras. Pp. 507. Price Rs. 3-8.

The book is intended for college students of Arts, Science, Agriculture and Commerce in the Indian Universities and for candidates for all competitive examinations in India. The number of essays are nearly 200 and the subjects selected for the essays are varied and miscellaneous, and deal with all the important current topics of our country and the world which every modern student ought to know. In the beginning of each essay are set forth outlines of ideas on the subject to be discussed upon. The essays are brief, but they are suggestive and written in a lucid style, which will serve as good models to be expanded upon by students with their own ideas and expressions. The writer deserves thanks for bringing out this excellent help-book for college students.

B. K. SEAL

SANSKRIT

RATNADIPIKA AND RATNABASTRAM: Edited with Introduction by Sri P. S. Rama Sastri, Professor, Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore. Madras Government Oriental Series, No. LXXVIII. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Price Rs. 2-4.

We have reference in different places to a good many authors and works on *Ratna-sastra* or literature dealing with jewels. But unfortunately quite a small and insignificant portion of this literature has so far been published. An idea of the subject may be formed from two Bengali works, e.g., *Ratna-rahasya* by Ramakamal Sen (Calcutta 1894) and *Ratna-pariksha* by Jogesh Chandra Roy (Calcutta, 1904). The *Ratna-pariksha* in Sanskrit, attributed to Agastya, is published in the former under the title *Agastimata*. In the volume under review we have editions of two works by Chandeswara and Buddhahatta based on two solitary manuscripts found in the Madras Oriental Library. The learned editor has made laudable attempts to correct the defects met with in the manuscripts by suggesting emendations which, however, are not always appropriate and free from doubts. And there still remain many cases where it was not possible to suggest any emendation. It is to be regretted that no other manuscript was available for collation. It has been pointed out that attempts to secure manuscripts belonging to the Venkateswar Institute proved unsuccessful. It is not known if enquiries were made in other quarters, especially in the big manuscript libraries of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona where manuscripts of the *Ratnadipika* are known to exist.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

GITAY SWARAJ: By Sri Trailokyanath Chakravarty. Published by Sri Gauranga Press, 5 Chintamani Das Lane, Calcutta 9. Second edition. Pp. 279. Price Rs. 3.

The author is well-known for his extraordinary incarceration in the Indian Struggle for political freedom. He suffered and rot in the British Indian jails for a very long period of thirty years. The pathetic story of his prolonged imprisonment has been recorded by him in an interesting Bengali book. He was suspected of a conspiracy to wage war against the British Government and banished to the Andamans for a full decade. Thence he was brought to the Alipore Jail at Calcutta where he managed to write this translation and annotation of the Gita.

The book under review contains the Sanskrit text of the whole Gita with literal renderings and simple explanations. Though no traditional commentary is followed yet the explanations are up-to-date and instructive. The Gita is such a wonderful scripture that it supplied necessary inspiration to the revolutionaries of Bengal to die for the country's freedom. Now that we are politically free it is high time for us to establish Swaraj on the stable foundation of the Gita. The author is constrained to observe that cowardice, immorality, indiscipline, dishonesty and the like that run riot in the country as the result of long foreign rule can never be uprooted from the society unless the Gita-ideal is lived collectively. As the author rightly wishes, if the Indian Swaraj is built

● RESULTS SPEAK

HINDUSTHAN'S 1950 Valuation

for the four years ended 31st. Dec. 1950 discloses a **SURPLUS** of over Rs. 1 Cr. 25 Lks. as a result of which **BONUS** has been declared in respect of all with profit policies (per Rs. 1,000/- sum assured per annum) on

Endowment Assurance }
Whole Life Assurance } **Rs. 8**

The results have been obtained after strengthening the reserves by reducing the interest basis by 1½% and providing for depreciation and all contingencies.

In spite of having to work under several adverse factors such as low interest earning, high costs and depreciation the results prove once again Hindusthan's economical management, unimpeachable security and strong financial position in all respects.

● Policies in force	Over Rs. 73 Crs. 16 Lakhs
● Life Fund	Rs. 15 „ 97 „
● Premium income	Rs. 3 „ 40 „
● Claims paid	Rs. 7 „ 20 „



HINDUSTHAN
CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE
SOCIETY, LIMITED.

4, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA

upon the Gita it is sure to develop many unique features that would be imitable to other free nations.
SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HINDI

(1) BAPU KI JHANKIAN: By Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar. Pp. 123. Price Re. 1.
(2) BAPU—MERI MAN: By Manubehn Gandhi. Pp. 55. Price ten annas.

(3) HAMARI BA: By Vanmala Parekh and Sushila Nayyar. Second edition. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 2, All published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Kaka Kalelkar, the renowned raconteur and litterateur, has given varied glimpses of Gandhiji's mental myriadsidedness in his *Bapu Ki Jhankian*. They are authentic anecdotes recorded by the author with all the precision and pungency, delightfulness and descriptiveness of his style. The book is informative, interpretative and instructive; as such, it brings out Gandhiji's idealism, practicality and humanity more richly and revealingly than a dozen "essays" in the study of his character by library-dominated scholars.

Bapu—Meri Man is a collection of extracts from the private journal in Gujarati of Manubehn Gandhi who was one of Gandhiji's constant companions towards the end of his life, translated into Hindi carefully and correctly by Kurangibehn Desai. These

extracts, covering the period of his Noakhali pilgrimage, "show up" Gandhiji in the role of a tender-hearted mother to the young, to the suffering and to the sorrowful, though at times his love looked like a menacing mentor, too!

Hamari Ba is a fascinating study of the life of Kasturba, that loyal and loving life-long partner of Gandhiji in his experiments with the love of truth and the truth of love. Indeed, Kasturba's soul had the hidden musk of the truly, and yet terribly meek. The translator Shri Kashinath Trivedi has preserved successfully the simplicity, spontaneity and sincerity of the Gujarati original.

GUJARATI

KABIR SAHIBNUN BIJAK (Second Edition): By Manilal Tulsidas Mehta. Published by the Swayamved Office, Baroda. 1948. Thick Card-board. Pp. 544 + 12. Price Rs. 10.

Beejak, an account book, is Kabir Sahib's well-known work in Hindi setting out his philosophy, where he has discounted on the differences of various creeds and beliefs, described the real significance of Jiva, and commented on the Religion of Truth. Its translation into Gujarati with explanatory notes has proved so popular that a second edition has been called for. The original Hindi text as well as the text of the Guru Mahsina is also printed for the convenience of the reader.

G. M.

K. M. J.

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

IN EIGHT VOLUMES OF ABOUT 3,800 PAGES

The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda now comprises Eight Volumes with the publication of hitherto unpublished matter under Vol. VIII

Contents for Vol. VIII

Discourses on Jnana-Yoga	Six Lessons on Raja-Yoga
Five Lectures	Writings—Prose and Poems—IV Series
Notes of Class Talks and Lectures	
Sayings and Utterances—III Series	
Questions and Answers	Epistles—IV Series

Excellent get-up and Printing. Pages : 577

PRICE : Board-bound, Each volume Rs. 6-0

Cloth-bound, Each volume Rs. 7-8

For details write to :

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE

::

CALCUTTA-13.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Plight of the Writer Today

George Godwin writes in *The Aryan Path* :

When economic processes militate against cultural activities, the loss to the community is inevitably real though unmeasured and unfelt save by those adversely affected. This is the situation in which the writer finds himself today, for since the war the material end of his business has undergone radical economic changes and these have all been to his disadvantage.

In the first place the cost of manufacturing books has gone up steeply. Then the wages in the printing trade have advanced. Lastly, paper, now costing four times its pre-war cost, is in short supply. A large proportion of writers who could anticipate publication of their work with some degree of assurance know today that, unless a publisher's readers and other experts in such matters assure him that a proffered manuscript is probably sure of a sale of 10,000 copies, their work will be returned with regrets.

Since writers who aspire to live by the production of original work must live from the royalties of their books, many now find themselves driven from their chosen craft in order to secure enough money to pay their way.

Economic factors are exerting a breaking effect upon cultural activities, and the flow of creative literature is being dammed at its source.

I recently offered a full-length manuscript, an odd story, admittedly, since its central theme was Plato's theory of reincarnation, to Mr. Victor Gollancz. In reply came a charming personal letter to the effect that he found the book very much to his liking—the actual word was "delightful"—but that he could not see a sale of more than 2,000 copies, which would not be economic.

Stories like that may be heard wherever writers today discuss the economics of their craft. Yet—and here is the curious anomaly—while the publishers are pleading these increased costs as defence for (a) proposals to cut down royalties and (b) increasing the price of books, leading firms are making greater profits than ever before. The price of paper has increased fourfold since 1938. Printing costs are more than double, and all overhead costs have correspondingly gone up; and yet profits are not only maintained but increased.

No increment falls to the writer, however. He faces increased cost of living, increased cost of secretarial assistance. A good secretary was within the reach of a moderately busy writer before the war. She asked 3 to 4 guineas a week. Today, a girl with like qualifications can demand seven guineas. The paper upon which the writer writes may appear as a trifling overhead in his trade. Before the war it was. I could then buy quarto at under 3s. a ream. Today, it costs 15s. to 18s.

Let me give an example of the sort of financial return a writer may anticipate today for the labour of writing a non-fiction, 80,000-word book. Three years ago I signed a contract for a book of that length upon the subject of religious revivalism. I delivered my MS. within a year. Nine months later, after several applications, I was paid £50 as advance on royalties. Nearly three years after writing the book I have the manufactured article in my hand. From the American edition of 2,000 copies my share on a percentage basis is £28-10-0. But that is not paid to me, since the sales of the English edition are said not to have earned the £50 advance!

The writing of a book of that kind involves two separate labours. First, preparation of the material—the reading and note-making; next, the compilation of the actual book—a heavy task, since the typing of 80,000 words in itself is real work.

Now contrast that with what the writer may expect when he turns to the periodical market. For a 3,000-word article in the lately defunct *Strand Magazine* I was paid by its liberal and kindly editor the sum of fifty guineas—and that for the first British serial rights only.

The periodical press in Britain has advanced its rates well since the war. Why, then, cannot the writer of books turn to this lucrative market to supplement the dearth on the book side of his activities? The answer is simple. The continued shortage of newsprint has so limited the periodical press and the daily press that the space available for the outside contributor is exceedingly limited. But newspaper proprietors, and the proprietors of weekly and monthly magazines, faced as they are with increased costs, are contriving to make increased profits. (This may have something to do with the ratio between the number of pages and the advertising rates. I do not know).

It is apparent that the only worker who is suffering economically is he without whose labour none of the others could exist. For it is contestable that, no authors, no books, and no books, no publishers.

In this brief paper I do not attempt to indicate the causes which have brought about this sorry state of affairs for the writing man; nor do I offer any solution for it. I merely attempt to set forth the facts as they touch myself and hundreds of other writers who are not best sellers, but merely men sufficiently competent to live by the pen.

One positive proposal has recently been put forward by a writer, John Brophy. He suggests that the writer might be given a fairer financial deal if those who read his books paid for that privilege. His is no crack-pot scheme for state subsidies, but a matter-of-fact businesslike proposal that a person who reads an author's book should pay for it.

Let me contrast for a moment the sharp distinction between the monetary rewards of the composer

of music and the writer of books. When a composer publishes his work he receives a royalty on every copy of sheet music sold to the public. So far the composer fares on terms of financial equality with the writer, deriving his revenue from the sale of his sheet music as the author from his printed book.

But after that the comparison ends. The composer has a further source of profit, namely, from the public performance of his work. This comes to him generally through the Performing Right Society, which efficient organization collects, in units of one-tenth of a penny, a further fee for the public performance of musical compositions.

Nobody can enjoy the public performance of music by living composers without such payment, whether the performance be by radio, a great orchestra or simple village-hall amateurs. The question that is now being asked is this: Can some analogous scheme be devised to increase the meagre returns of authorship? Mr. John Brophy, himself a successful author, in a lucid article in *The Author*, the organ of the Society of Authors, considers that it can.

In so brief a paper there is no space to set out Mr. Brophy's scheme in detail, but I will quote one paragraph from him:

"Commercial libraries are maintained by period subscriptions paid in advance, and public libraries are subsidized out of the rates—it is a misleading euphemism to call them 'free' libraries. The scheme I am putting forward would in no way alter either of these methods of defraying the cost of stocking and running libraries. The innovation would consist of a borrowing fee to be paid by the reader each time a volume is 'taken out.' The fee I suggest is one penny, and, after certain deductions, it would go wholly to the author of that volume."

As a class, writers are not particularly articulate about the economics of their work, and only within living memory have they possessed any sort of organization to afford mutual protection—the Society of Authors.

Today there are, in Great Britain, at least, many authors of established reputation who are living on the border line of want.

This is particularly true of present-day poets. It may be that the periods when a man might hope to live by poetry occur infrequently in history, and that in no period has the lot of the poet been financially rose-strewn. Today, it is certain that barring one or two men who have become fashionable, as Roger Montgomery became fashionable in the Victorian era, poets are under the necessity of turning to some secondary occupation in order to live.

One of the saddest commentaries upon our present civilization is the contemptibly mean allocation in the Civil List for pensions for men of outstanding literary talent who are unable to live by their work. The most a man may hope for, after the humiliation of making application for financial help to a state department, is a starvation pension seldom above £150 a year and more often less than £100.

The great public, knowing of authors only by their reputations, has, and can have, no idea of the economics of literature as a profession. It is true that there are writers with names known throughout the Western world who are barely above the economic level of penury. Surely, it is obvious that if the production of scholarly works and of works of literary merit is halted

by adverse economic burdens, the flow of ideas and the dissemination of thought throughout the world must be thereby impeded? A civilization that penalizes the creative elements in its people must decline and must face the danger of eventual eclipse.

Today, in Britain, the decline in standards of taste are everywhere notable, and it is significant that the slick journalist, producing worthless ephemera, can live at the economic level of the manufacturer of chocolate or the maker of munitions while scholars such as the late Sir James Frazer suffered want, and living poets, such as Herbert Palmer—to name but one—face the inexorable pressure of business economics.

In this brief and fugitive paper I have made a personal contribution to the problem for the sufficient reason that I have none to offer. But such as I see them, and as I experience them myself, I have state facts that are no longer in dispute. Times may be hard for the manufacturer of paper, for the publisher for the bookseller, for the printer. But one thing is incontestable, they are hard for that seldom considered creature, the author, upon whom paper maker, publisher, bookseller and printer depend for their existence. Nor are there anywhere signs the conditions are likely to improve in the future. On the contrary, the craft of authorship faces a future that the writer may well approach with deep apprehension for his survival.

DIABETES CURED IN SEVEN DAYS

No matter how severe or long standing Diabetes can be completely cured by VENUS CHARM, the latest scientific Discovery. Some of the main symptoms of this disease are Abnormal thirst and hunger, excess sugar in urine and itching, etc. In its serious form it causes Carbuncles, Boils, Cataract and other complications. Thousands have escaped from the gallows of death by using "VENUS CHARM". The very next day it eradicates sugar and normalises specific gravity. Within two or three days you will feel more than half cured. No dietary restrictions. Ask for Free literature. Price per phial of 50 tablets Rs. 6-12-0. Postage free. Available from VENUS RESEARCH LABORATORY (M.R.), Post Box 587, CALCUTTA.

Abanindranath Tagore's Art

Interview with D. P. Roy Chowdhury

The following report is taken from the *Andhra Patrika*:

I have come to see you on behalf of *Andhra Patrika* to know something about the late Dr. Tagore, the great artist. Could you throw some more light on his life and the masterpieces he created than what have already appeared in the local dailies? Of course, "I can," came the ready answer from Sri. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, Principal, School of Arts and Crafts, Madras. He continued saying:

I have been amused to read certain qualities of pictures painted by Sri Abanindranath. The matter appeared in the leader of one of the leading dailies of our country. The qualities that have been dumped on the creations of the master-thinker, were confirmed as having the influence of the Japanese and Chinese Art. It is indeed a revelation. Leave alone his pupils, I do not think Tagore himself was aware of the existence of such an influence as has been referred to in the leader. The captions of the masterpieces were also announced probably with an idea to substantiate the contention. However, the fact is that there was no trace visible of Chinese or Japanese pattern, technique or the method of filling up of the space in Tagore's works. The last point concerns a vital characteristic of Chinese or Japanese school of painting, since they often use vacant space, names and description of the pictures as essential parts of the composition.

For information's sake, I would like to point out that all the assets that he had from the Japanese or Chinese were a few brushes in flat and round which were used only to give wash to soften the gradation of tone or hand lines. Merely using Japanese or Chinese brushes which are nothing else but tools, does not mean that the influence of the specific pattern or technique had come to stay on his works. The statement that appeared in the leader is not only wrong, but also an unkind reflection on a great master who lived to create and made a gift of the same to cultural cause, any civilised nation could be proud of. He was too great to borrow in the manner as he had been presented. It is a pity that such ignorance should flourish as authentic statement of facts. Let us hope for the peace of the great soul that the public will not take the appreciation very seriously even though the false statement found a place of honour in a distinguished daily.

Proceeding on this point of influence, I may be permitted to say that if there were any, it was that of the West, the science of which was utilised in the composition for filling up of the space. Whereas, the forms that built up the pictorial theme were visualised in his dreamland where no one had any access excepting the creative mind of the artist. Slight hints of the pattern motives of the Moghul school and occasionally Rajput as well were present in the arrangement of drapery, but this little adaptation could not go further to encroach into his sphere of imagination where his individuality ruled. His colour harmony is a thing which will baffle any master artist of the West practising decorative art. The achievement of Sri. Abanindranath has gone beyond the scope of a scientific analysis and assumed a stature that demands Bhakti.

Question: What was your relationship with him, I mean was he very much attached to you as a man?

Answer: I do not think such personal questions will be helpful for the purpose you have come. However, I can tell our relationship was that of Guru and Shishya. It was distinct from what is expected from a strong disciplinarian head of a modern academic institution where students are manufactured in mechanical manner to meet the needs of mass education. Our relationship had human touch, we felt for each other. I may say in this connection that higher forms of art can hardly reach the masses. It is approachable only by a few, though no pains were spared to contact the masses in our country or in the West. In support of this contention I can cite instances of the methods applied in our country as well as in the West.

In our country the masses contacted the beautiful creations with entirely a different angle of vision and that was Bhakti, call it faith, if it suited better, since most of the works were derived from religious motifs. In the West though a very large number of citizens visit art galleries, yet the approach does not necessarily mean that the initiative was directed by a real understanding. I would rather go to the extent to say that majority of people visit such institutions merely to satisfy curiosity or to have the benefit of a social gathering in a ceremonial function of the institutions. However, there is no denying that the people of the West are more art-conscious than what we are. I do not wish to go into details in this respect for the present.

Question: What do you think is his best work?

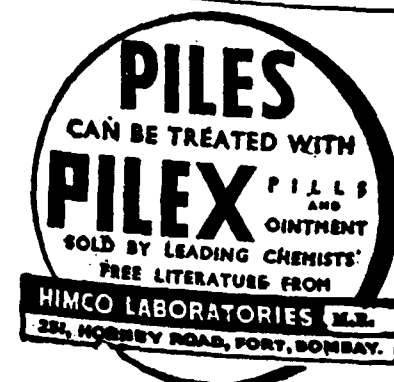
Answer: It is a very embarrassing question, as all his successful works have different values of their own.

Question: Then, why certain pictures are picked up as special?

Answer: The choice in the circumstances depends entirely on temperamental issues of the observer but a critic has no business to be led away by sentiment or any other reason associated with personal interest excepting getting into the bottom of the intrinsic values that helped to make a good picture. This means a highly developed knowledge in comparative studies of different techniques practised by masters.

Question: What are the points of a good picture?

Answer: I appreciate your inquisitiveness, but I feel the question is irrelevant at the present moment when you are concerned with a particular person's work. You ought to know that every artist has a different approach towards the subject and also there are different methods of interpretation. In the circumstances if I were to satisfy you, I shall have to



satisfaction the time was usually overestimated (80 per cent of the cases), the maximum being 2 hrs. 17 min. Correlation between estimation of time and quality of sleep was found to be 0.63, with the standard error of 0.09.

RECOVERY

The functions of sleep as a process, from psychological standpoint, has often been overstressed. Lack of sleep even for a night, it is alleged, is usually accompanied not only by the physical discomfort felt during the next day, but, also, results in decreased output of work, and instances from industrial psychology are freely quoted in this connexion. But factual evidences gathered with due caution would lead one to conclude that such presumptions are rather overrated and too generalised if not hasty.

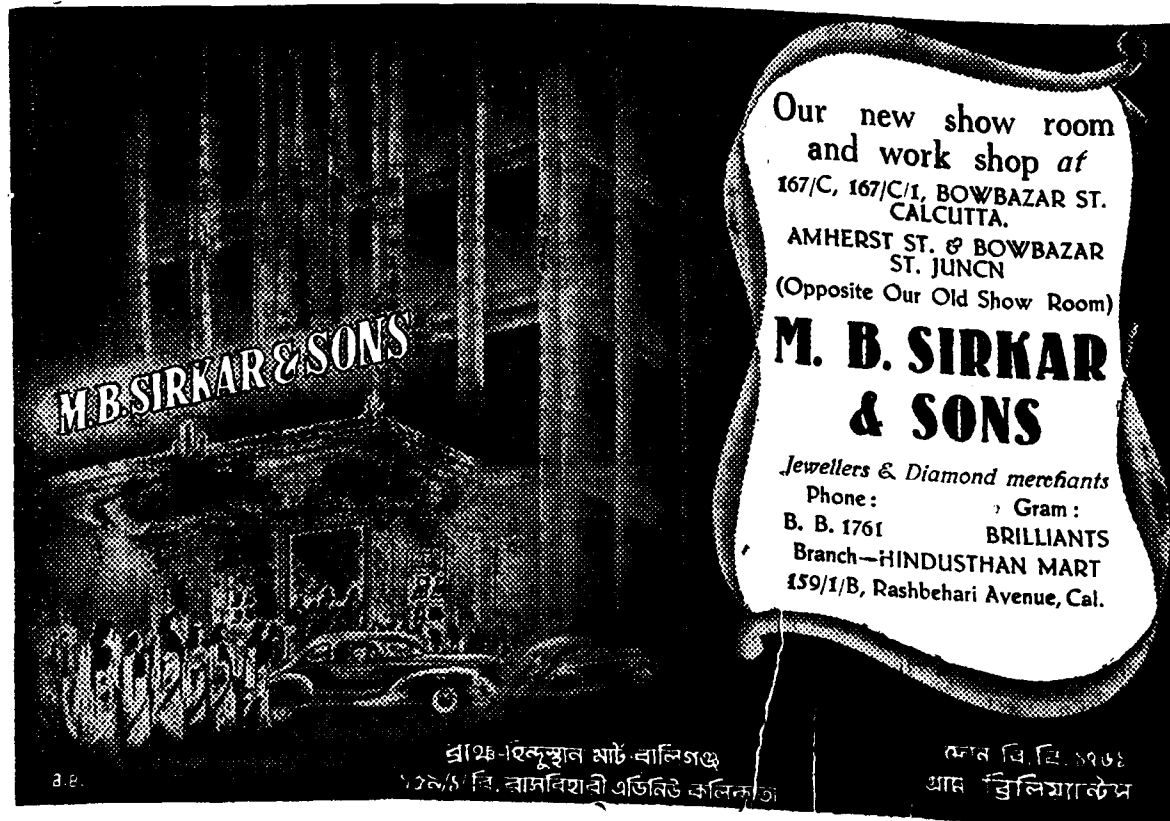
To mention one of the latest investigations, Edwards gave a large number of psychological tests, and measures of physical function to 17 students in whom insomnia was artificially induced. The tests and measures were used two days before the experiment, at regular intervals during the 100 hours of their wakefulness, and two weeks after the experiment was over. The difference in the results due to the supposed lack of sleep when compared with 10 students of controlled group proved to be statistically insignificant. 13 out of the 17 students showed definite improvement on the intelligent tests after 24 hours without sleep, and 6 did better even after 48 sleepless hours. It was on such evidence that Bills suggested that "most of the mental work of routine

sort" after loss of sleep or voluntary insomnia, "is performed as well or better after prolonged periods of wakefulness as after normal sleep."

An attempt was made by the writer to observe the psychological effects by cutting down his normal sleeping hours. Help was taken of benzedrine sulphate, administration of which in normal doses has been observed to result in artificial insomnia; this drug is reported to have been much in use during the last war among the night fliers. It takes about three hours for the drug to show the desirable actions. After taking 10 mg. of benzedrine sulph. natural sleep failed to appear even after sixteen hours of continued activity including a considerable amount of physical work.

The drug in increased doses was taken on two successive nights so that on no single night the subject could sleep (or, rather nap) for more than two hours, whereas he was accustomed to about seven hours of sleep every night.

Tests of fluctuation of attention, prior to the experiment had started, showed the subject's fluctuation to be about 12 per minute, with the average duration of attention being 4.8 inches. During the second day (no sleep for 32 hours) the number of fluctuations had increased to 22, and duration reduced to 1.4 inches. The situation had considerably improved by the next day, and the day after that. Changes in fluctuation, however, did not affect adversely the continuity of his thought processes.



Our new show room and work shop at
167/C, 167/C/1, BOWBAZAR ST. CALCUTTA.
AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNCN
(Opposite Our Old Show Room)

M. B. SIRKAR & SONS

Jewellers & Diamond merchants
Phone : B. B. 1761 Gram : BRILLIANTS
Branch—HINDUSTHAN MART
159/1/B, Rashbehari Avenue, Cal.

১৬৭/১/বি, রাশবেহারী এভিনিউ কলিকাতা
১৬৭/সি, ১৬৭/সি/১, বোম্বাজার স্ট্রিট কলিকাতা
১৬৭/সি, ১৬৭/সি/১, বোম্বাজার স্ট্রিট কলিকাতা
১৬৭/সি, ১৬৭/সি/১, বোম্বাজার স্ট্রিট কলিকাতা

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Americans Honour Memory of Abraham Lincoln, February 12

The birth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States, is celebrated throughout America on February 12.

Lincoln is regarded not only as one of the greatest American Presidents, but also as one of the very great men of all times. He has come to occupy an almost unparalleled position in the hearts of the American people and the pages of American history.

Lincoln stands out as a champion of democracy throughout the world. His image recalls personal goodness and social righteousness; he symbolizes the world's hopes and dreams of peace and freedom.

That is why Americans pay homage to the memory of Lincoln every February 12, in Lincoln Day observances, in public meetings and in visits to Springfield, Illinois, where Lincoln lived. More than 250,000 persons go to Lincoln's home town each year.

Lincoln grew up in a little log cabin in Springfield. As a boy, he studied at night after working hard all day in the fields. All alone, without the aid of teachers, he mastered the English language, until he could speak with a beauty of words seldom equalled by any other orator. Through his own efforts he made of himself a competent scholar, a lawyer and a great thinker.

The age Lincoln lived in was one of the great eras of American pioneering. During his lifetime—1809 to 1865—immigrants were coming into the new country by the thousands. New cities sprang up. New farms were laid out. It was an era of invention and industrial expansion. Lincoln was a product of his times. His jokes and delight in deflating pomposity are the essence of frontier America. The tough frontier life taught young Lincoln to acquire self-reliance, courage and sympathy for his fellow men.

The life of Abraham Lincoln, storekeeper, soldier, lawyer, orator and President, symbolizes the right and the opportunity of the humblest citizen of a democracy to follow a path from a frontier settlement to the highest position in the land. His life exemplifies the opportunities open to all citizens of a free country, a country in which the right of every citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is both recognised and championed.

The personality and character of Lincoln are well known to every student of history. He is remembered for his great tenderness and gentleness; for his love of children; his generosity (as a lawyer he never refused to serve a client who was poor); his wisdom and kindly wit; and his great strength of will.

In addition to his qualities as an individual, Lincoln is beloved by his countrymen for his emancipation of slaves, for his belief in the rightness of freedom for all men, and for his achievement in holding together the American nation during the Civil War.

The war of 1861-1865, over the issue of slavery, was important to the life and growth of the American

nation. Lincoln pronounced it the first great trial of democracy, the test to determine "whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure." He said: "This government cannot endure half slave and half free . . . Let us have faith that right makes might . . . and dare to do our duty as we understand it."

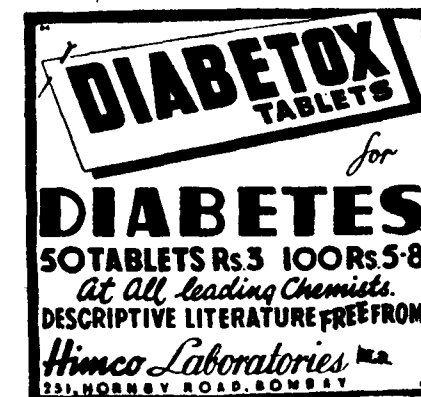
Two things were settled unequivocally by this war: slavery and state sovereignty. The United States entered the war as a confederacy with uncertain constitutional authority. It emerged as a nation.

This year, as in the past, the words of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address will be quoted at many Lincoln Day observances. President Lincoln delivered this address on November 19, 1863, at the dedication of a national cemetery for soldiers killed during the Civil War. It was a short address, but it is probably the most memorable speech in United States' history. It is famous for its forthright expression of America's ideals of democratic freedom. Its simple eloquence has inspired translations in every language of the world.

As each year passes, the Gettysburg Address takes on a new and deeper meaning—a prophetic significance in his appeal to the living for "dedication to the great task remaining before us . . . that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

Today, as in Lincoln's time, men all over the world are giving their lives for the cause Lincoln defended when he said:

" . . . We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—USIS.



DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

50 TABLETS Rs.3 100 Rs.5-8
At All leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
Himco Laboratories
231, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

The outstanding
LIVER REMEDY

QUMARESH, in addition to its being a dependable remedy for Liver and Stomach troubles, strengthens and helps the Liver in its day to day work—which covers a very wide range of activity from reproduction of red blood cells to protection of the body against attacks of diseases.

Qumaresh
ENSURES A HEALTHY LIVER



THE O. R. C. L. LTD.
SALKIA—HOWRAH

CALCHEMICO'S
Quality Toiletries



MARGO SOAP HIGHCLASS NEED
TOILET SOAP

CASTOROL PERFUMED
CASTOR OIL

LABONNY SNOW & CREAM

RENUKA TOILET POWDER

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL - CALCUTTA

Indonesian Literature

Its Modern Development And Its Progress

Miss Sukesu Budiardjo writes in the *Indonesian Information*, July 3, 1951:

The development of modern Indonesian literature really began after the fall of the Netherlands-Indies Government, although one cannot forget that much progress had been made during the period between the two world wars. Publications in the early part of the twentieth century were not very interesting as little attention was paid to the Malay language. In the past Malay literature consisted of chiefly novels and poetry which were traditional in character.

The old novels were mostly stories with a moral tendency and those were too dull for the new generation. But the ancient poems written in traditional form were still popular.

The best known form of these poems was the "Pantun," consisting of four lines and written in a romantic vein, with the first and third and the second and fourth lines rhyming and these classical "Pantuns" are learnt by memorising.

Under Dutch influence, some Indonesians wrote poems and biographies in the Dutch language, but when national consciousness began to develop, this attitude of apeing the Dutch was given up and the Indonesian writers turned to their own language and developed it separately from Malay, which is known as the Indonesian language. Their writings were still influenced by the West. *Pudjangga Baru* aimed at finding out new forms of expression but in vain. The year 1942 really marked the end of an epoch.

During the Japanese occupation an enormous amount of literature was accumulated, but this was, of course, 'sub rosa,' as the Japanese censored everything that did not contribute to their propaganda. Thus valuable literature was not published and the novels of this period were saturated with politics.

It was not until 1945 that Indonesian literature was able to develop on a large scale and a great number of poems and novels were published along with many modern plays that were enacted with outstanding success. Most of this literature was written during the Japanese occupation and remained unpublished because of the censor. It was at once apparent that there was a great difference between the work of the 'war generation' and that of the Editor of *Pudjangga Baru* who saw everything through the eyes of national idealism and sometimes this tended to become exaggerated and sentimental. Great emphasis was laid on rhythm and rhyme, both of which were set aside by the 1945 generation.

The sorrow and distress endured during the Japanese occupation and the proximity of death, even after the Proclamation of Independence, gave a deeper meaning to life. The war generation had grown up with grief and this tended to find expression in their writings. They at once abandoned the complicated and obtrusive style of the schoolmaster and the imitator, finding it old-fashioned and clumsy, and they acquired a new style of their own in which their wartime experiences proved of inestimable value. Attention was focussed on foreign literature, such as the English, French, Russian and American authors, Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Chekov, Ilya Ehrenburg, Andre Gide, Andre Malraux, Aldous Huxley, Hemingway, Steinbeck and others, some of whose writings have already been translated into Indonesian.

Modern Indonesian Writers: Takdir—A Great

Writer: The Indonesian galaxy of literature is studded with such versatile writers as Mr. Takdir Alisjahbana, the Editor and one of the founders of *Pudjangga Baru*. He is not only a distinguished writer but also a lawyer, a poet and an essayist. His first novel—*Ta'Putus di Rundung Malang* or *Always Dogged by Ill-Luck*—was published in 1929. It is a story of two orphans—a boy and a girl—who leave their birthplace on account of ill-treatment by their uncle. After many wanderings, they meet and will have a very miserable time. The boy is jailed on a false accusation while his sister is ill and he is released after his sister's death. He then becomes a sailor and after sailing for fifteen years, he gets tired of life and longs for death. Takdir's second novel entitled *Dian Jang Tak Kundung Padam* or *The Ever-Lighted Lamp* is a love story of a poor boy and a rich girl. The boy becomes a hermit owing to disappointment in life and in the end he saves a young couple from their pursuers by giving them shelter. Takdir's one more novel *Lajar Terkembang* or *Unfurled Sails* unfolds the story of two young sisters of different characters who love one and the same man. The story ends with the death of the younger sister who requests the elder sister to marry her husband and the new couple make a pilgrimage to the deceased's grave.

Main Ideas in the Works of Takdir: To raise Indonesia to a worthy place among the nations of the world, Mr. Takdir strongly maintained in his writings the idea that if Indonesians were to play a prominent part in the affairs of the world, they must adapt themselves to the varying conditions. In his works he places at the forefront the humanistic aspect of life namely the economic contentment of the people at

The International Journal of Sexology

This Journal, with editorial boards in more than 22 different countries and under the managing direction of Dr. A. P. Pillay provides the only really international medium for the publication of authoritative articles on human relations in sex and marriage. It should be of immense practical help to doctors, lawyers, educationists, social workers and even to the "common" men and women.

Fifth year of publication.

SUBSCRIPTION: Rs. 12 A YEAR

Published quarterly from:

**WHITEAWAY BUILDING,
BOMBAY, 1.**

swerve to a different topic, which I suppose is not your objective.

At this moment there was a pause and I found Sri Chowdhury's mind was distracted from the interest I had created. I felt from his sorrowful mood that it would be better that I left him alone, because I had been told that the relationship between Abanindra and Deviprosad was tied under the bondage of affection. The affection was too deep to be disturbed by an inquisitive reporter like me.

Individual or State?

Mankumar Sen writes in *Vigil*:

With the progress of science and scientific political organizations, State has come more and more to the forefront, and individual has receded more and more to the background, so that in Modern States, including the democratic ones, individual has practically no place except as a cog to a vast machinery. Today to talk in terms of the individual is condemned as a corrupt thinking and glorification of the State is hailed as unadulterated patriotism. The result is that even Democracies have turned into lifeless machines and ideals of human life have increasingly disappeared from the society. Individuals or groups of individuals—the idealists, poets, prophets, philosophers, reformers and thinkers—built up human civilization and political, economic and social organizations; but today a mechanised monstrosity is engaged in the all-round destruction of the individual.

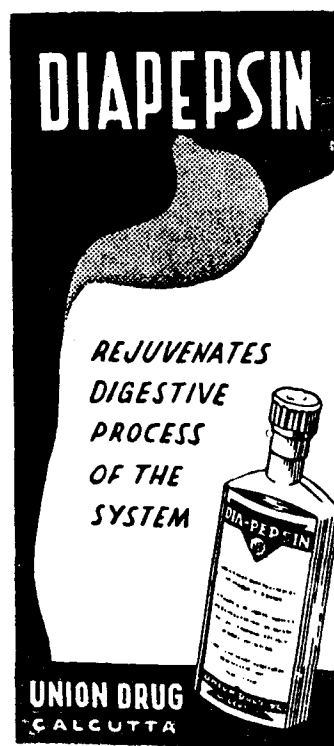
The history of civilization is nothing if it is not a chronicle of human struggle for freedom.

This basic impulse for freedom inspired human beings to conquer the wild forces of Nature, rigid social customs and the realm of diehard primitive ideals. In fact, political philosophy started from the basic truth that individual is prior to society, to State; that freedom for which individuals struggled can be enjoyed only by individuals as individuals and that the extent of freedom in a State can be measured only in terms of the real freedom enjoyed by individual constituents of the society and of the State. It was believed that once full freedom is assured to the individuals, it flowers into a dynamic spirit guiding the collective strength which we call State.

Unfortunately for human civilization, this basic principle of history has been assiduously ignored in Modern States, particularly since the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century. Revolutionary changes in economic organization, in the mode of production and distribution as a result of the scientific inventions, naturally wrought havoc on the manners and outlook of the people. Old shackles of economic slavery were wellnigh completely broken only to make way for new shackles of moral wreckage. Decentralized societies and administrations rapidly broke down and capital having been concentrated in the hands of a few, a superior class emerged with special rights and privileges of economic and political mastery. Ere long this class broke in the holy arena of culture too. An all-round internal disintegration set in with rapid centralization of economic and political power. Individual beings that made and maintained the society and the country almost disappeared from the scene and the new men of wealth with the large machines in their possession enslaved the entire nation of individuals. Thus was born what we call Capitalism today.

Democratic principles were sharply narrowed down under the new centralized system and again that dormant force of freedom-impulse began to manifest itself among the down-trodden people, the factory labour in particular.

And the Marxian doctrine which more or less was a revolt against this system was propounded duly. Marx held that all that the individuals could do was to recognise the necessity and inevitability of the violent revolution, pre-determined by the march of human history. By this violent revolution he wanted to replace the capitalist order by a new social order built upon equal rights and opportunities. And his contemplation of the gradual withering away of the State is probably proof of his urge for individual freedom. Unfortunately, however, the land of Marx, the Modern Soviet Russia, has failed to achieve this ideal so far. It has not been naturally enough able to set at rest all doubts as to the prevalence in Russia of freedom of speech and expression. Even allowing a wide margin in view of the present world situation there is still a lingering doubt in us whether the Soviet State is not bureaucratic. On the other hand, we found totalitarian States, based on rigid national and race-hatred as was evident in Hitlerite Germany. Here too individualism was unceremoniously crushed out of existence under the fanaticism of 'National' or 'Racial' superiority. Thus we see that political thought has proceeded from one fallacious doctrine to another and has failed to reconcile the freedom of the individual with the social, economic and political organizations. Modern Democracies too, founded as they are on centralized economic and political power and not on



free individuals' developed conscience and co-operative efforts, are not immune from this wasteful fallacy.

Here then, we find the emergence of a new doctrine of humanism based on complete individual freedom.

Gandhiji said: "The individual is the one supreme consideration. I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear, because, although it apparently does good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress." Unlike the determinists and the reformers who based their doctrines on the inexorable course of history, Gandhiji believed in the fundamentals of moral law; believed that "as the individual's character can be moulded so can society's by some kind of social engineering." "A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history"—this was his conviction and, we all know, his own life is symbolic of this conviction. Gandhiji's principle of decentralisation, both political and economic, based on self-sufficient village units administered by village republics, will be the only panacea in the present circumstances. The agonies of the modern world have proved beyond doubt that the concentrated might of a party or class or of the State or the devolution of power as recommended by the National Planning Commission of India cannot safeguard individual freedom and afford opportunities for the unfolding of the individual genius. Communism in Russia has no doubt bettered the lot of the people economically and socially. But what about the abridgement of personal freedom? Individual freedom and *ipso facto* the freedom of the society and the State can securely rest only on an evolution of Democracy from the lowest level—the autonomous village unit, as conceived by Gandhiji.

Sleep

Prof. Nirod Mukerji writes in *Science and Culture*:

FUNCTIONS

Warren has described sleep as "a special state of the organism, due to certain as yet undetermined physiological conditions, which is characterised by relative immotility and failure of effective response to external stimuli and (generally) by absence of observable signs of consciousness." The most significant qualification of this definition is the undetermined character of which Warren has cautioned. Truly, many more observations have yet to be made before a precise conclusion could be arrived at with regard to the analysis of the exact nature of sleep. Extreme individual variations in the every aspect of sleep hinder us from definite generalizations.

From biological points of view, the broad characteristic features of sleep are, the reduction of metabolic rate, comparative physical immotility (though a sleeper moves on the average once every 5 to 12 minutes), diminished response to external stimuli (albeit, drops of water trickling on the sleeper's forehead may cause him to dream of falling rain), and the replacement of the degenerated cells by the new-born (more spoken of than proved).

Psychologically, sleep is said to cause cessation of higher mental processes (and yet Akbar's dream

took its shape in the sleeping state). It has, further, been ascribed to possess the power of replenishing the energy man uses up in his waking hours, though it is difficult to ascertain with exactitude as to what extent sleep is indispensable for this particular purpose.

ESSENTIAL FEATURES

(i) *Duration* is a fundamental factor of sleep. A wide range of individual differences is noticed with regard to this factor. Thomas Edison is credited to have done well with 3 to 4 hours of sleep often spreading them over 3 or 4 periods of an hour each. And, Napoleon could forego sleep for days together without any visible adverse effects. Yet, children of superior mentation are said to sleep longer than those who are comparatively inferior. Terman observed in his studies of gifted children that the superior child slept 25-50 minutes more than one of intellectually medial calibre. A person of pronounced habits and accustomed to get his eight hours would in all probability feel lethargic the next day if he were deprived of his sleep even by an hour any night. He would not, however, feel it irksome to carry on his normal duties if he gradually but confidently reduces his sleeping hours. It is perhaps an act overdone to assign the hours of sleep to children or the adults; suggestion and habit play distinguishing parts in increasing or decreasing the sleeping hours without producing any striking effect.

(ii) *Motility* in sleep is a characteristic which is closely related to the cause of sleep as also its effect. As it is well known, one of the simplest ways of bringing about sleep is to remain in a passive and relaxed state. Lower animals like, chicks and rats, have been induced to sleep by keeping them in a forced quiescent condition for a while. (Sleep thus caused has often been misjudged as hypnosis and catalepsy in the animals.) Motility on the other hand appears to be an essential feature in sleep, since sleeping on the same side for a prolonged period would impair the vascular circulation on that side of the body. Usually motility increases during the second half of sleep when its depth appears to slacken.

(iii) *Depth of sleep* is generally believed to be negatively related to the duration though the most important factor in the recuperative functions of sleep. In order to measure the depth several methods have been suggested but practically all of them have proved to be rather unreliable. A prevalent procedure is to measure the intensity of the stimulus applied externally which could disturb the sleep. But, then, the relation between stimulus and reaction could not be expressed on the principles of arithmetic progression. There is no reason why Wever-Fechner law should not hold good in sleeping state as it is in the waking condition. To estimate the depth of sleep, the writer found a method, using himself as the subject, which may be further developed to determine the quantitative value of sleep. In his observations, the quality of sleep was classified into three categories according to the state of physical and mental satisfaction attained immediately after his waking up, viz., most satisfactory, usual, and unsatisfactory sleep. He had to guess at the same time the exact hour of waking presuming of course that he was aware of the time he went to bed. Out of 53 such records kept by him, the difference between the estimated and the correct time in the case of the usual normal sleep was found not to be very high (the difference was between 10 and 35 minutes). Whereas, in the case of heavy or most satisfactory sleep as also in sleep not causing

the same time laying considerable stress on the need of Western literature for Indonesians to enrich their knowledge of the world. His works, full of scenic descriptions and lively dialogues, convey the message of unity.

Another writer of the modern era Mr. Amir Hamza depicts melancholy and home sickness in his novels. In the field of "Gonnets," Mr. Sanoesi Pane's works are influenced by Western writers. His stay in India for many years made him choose India as the subject-matter of his writings in which he exemplifies his reverence for India as the country of his inspiration. He clings to the ideas of the past and does not believe in starting afresh. In contrast to Mr. Takdir, he disagrees with the idea of giving preference to the humanistic attitude in his works and believes in the notion—"Art for Art's Sake." Unlike Mr. Sanoesi Pane, his brother Mr. Armin Pane is more divorced from the past. He is the forerunner of the 1945 school of thought. His works are vivid, natural and concise.

Pre-1945 Writers: Among the pre-1945 writers in Indonesia Mr. Abdul Muis is well-known for his literary works and as journalist and lawyer. The Balinese author Mr. I Goesti Njoman wrote about Balinese people and his country. He made his writings more attractive by adding folk tales in his novels. His contribution to the Indonesian literature is praiseworthy.

Since 1942 Mr. Chairil Anwar became famous even before the publication of his writings as the same was hindered owing to the Japanese occupation of the country. He is an architect of the Indonesian tongue and his contribution of new words and new combinations of words to the Indonesian language are noteworthy. He held a burning torch to illuminate the Indonesian literature during his short life. The other distinguished writer Mr. Rosnan Anwar's poems may be described as "Snapshots," well-known for their conciseness and clearness.

In the field of short stories Mr. Idrus has made remarkable contribution. Along with him may be ranked Mr. Asrul Sani and Mr. Pramudya Ananta, well-known for their contributions.

Great development is seen in the field of Modern Plays. The growth of the modern Indonesian play is the direct result of the development of the language. Indonesia is heading towards a glorious position in the field of literature and it may be said that the day is not far off when the Indonesian literature adorns the galaxy of world literatures.

Village Administration in Java

The average Javanese village has about three thousand inhabitants. It is not a genealogical unit, and so the inhabitants form a territorial community. As the sphere of interest of this community lies within the village itself, the ties between its members are strong—a factor which favours the maintenance of law and order.

The system of administration in a Javanese village dates back to a period before the advent of the Hindus. But with the passage of time it has, of course, undergone many changes. The headman, in whom rests the executive power of the administration, is elected by all the adult members of the community. The election regulations are laid down by government ordinance. The chieftain is not only the head of the village but also he is a representative of the central government. In his work he is assisted by several persons who, at his proposal, are appointed by the government. They are his deputy (who is also his adviser), the clerk, the police, the priest and the water master (who controls the supply of water for the rice fields). These officials remain in office when the headman for one reason or another resigns or has to resign his post. The village headman and his assistants do not get salaries like ordinary government officials. Instead they get a piece of land on loan from the government. The grounds allotted to the headman comprises an area of about 8-35 acres. In cultivating his land he gets the assistance of some villagers, free of charge. In his capacity as tax collector, he receives eight per cent of the taxes he collects. His assistants receive a similar kind of income, but lesser in amount. The village headman also plays an important part in the administration of justice. He fixes the penalties in consultation with his assistants, especially his adviser. These penalties mostly include fines, deprivation of certain rights (for instance those relating to communal ownership), or placing at the bottom of the list of those who share the profits of some enterprise.

Among the inhabitants of a Javanese village, the following groups can be distinguished: (1) descendants of the founders of the village who possess houses and fields of their own; (2) people who have a house of their own but no rice fields; (3) those who have a house of their own which is built on a plot of land belonging to someone else and (4) those who have no house of their own and lodge with someone else, for instance newly married men who live with their fathers-in-law for a few weeks according to the tradition, and the aged, servants and the new-comers.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX,** Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE,** Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED,** indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **OLVITA:** MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.O.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 24297

Although the Javanese village is an administrative, but not an ethnic, unit the villagers regard themselves as members of one family. This can be judged, for instance, from their spontaneous co-operation when and where such co-operation can serve the interest of the community. The affairs with which the villagers are jointly concerned are: marriage, divorce, division of an estate, selling of cattle, hunting wild bears (which uproot the fields) and squirrels (which eat the coconuts), calling together the reapers during the harvesting season, organising harvest festivals, proper distribution of irrigation water, care for orphans, etc.; upkeep of roads, bridges, and irrigation canals and night watch are done by turns. For these kinds of work, they do not get payment in money; they regard them as part of their obligations to the village.

As the village forms a more or less intimate circle of persons who have many interests in common, not everybody is allowed to settle in the village without permission. This permit is to be obtained by the headman of the village only after giving references of two residents of the village who vouchsafe for the new-comer. Thus the villagers keep out the undesirable from entering and residing in the village.

When a member of the community wants to leave the village in order to settle elsewhere, he has to inform the headman of the village of his intention. If he leaves his dwelling place without informing the chieftain, he will be regarded as an "absconder." In the village, where everybody knows and carries out his duties, order and regularity, peace and happiness reign among the members of the community who live like brothers and sisters of one big family.—Indonesian Information.



For Sensing, Feeling and Seeing
the Pleasure—

DWARKIN & SON LTD.

11, Esplanade East, CALCUTTA

DHOLE & CO.

RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT

GUTA-TONE
for CUTS - PAINS - BURNS Etc.

NEEM OINTMENT
for ITCHES & SORES

BARNAGORE - CALCUTTA

Denmark and the Danes

Denmark! The very name brings to one's mental vision vast green pastoral fields and fine herds of cattle. It looks as if Nature had meant her to be the foremost Dairist in the world.

Well-equipped by Nature's bounteous gifts, Denmark soon became famous throughout the world for her dairy products. Not that such munificence did not bring to the fore several problems to Denmark. Numerous heads of cattle had to be milked, the huge quantity of excess milk after local consumption to be stored, their distribution arranged. Necessity is the mother of invention. Local inventive genius came upon the scene to solve these various problems. Mechanical devices for the automatic milking of cattle, cream separators for the separation of cream from milk, hygienic, sturdy and handy milk cans for the transportation of milk were the result. Demand followed growth and invention followed demand.

HOW ARE THE DANES?

"What are the Danes like, how do they live, how do they differ from other peoples? They are friendly, open, hospitable and quite diversified. There are two epithets commonly used when speaking of Danes which are absolutely misleading: flaxen-haired and melancholic. Though most Danes are more or less blond with blue eyes, towheads are very rare in this most southern of the northern countries and dark eyes are by no means unusual. And though Shakespeare's melancholy Dane has become the orthodox prototype of his countrymen for most foreigners, the truth is that they are an exceptionally optimistic, cheerful people. "Take it easy," in the sense of "don't let it get you down," is a typical Danish expression; often, indeed, the very English words are used, for the majority of Danes have at least a smattering of the language.

"They are a rather material people who set great store by comfort and good living. The result is, on the one hand, that there is almost no abject poverty in the country, where even the poorest homes are usually brightened by clean curtains and a flowering plant or two at the window; and, on the other hand, that food plays an inordinate role in their lives. Danes frankly like to eat and insist on fresh, well-prepared food. But to tell the truth, Danish eating customs are far from epicurean. Practically every man, woman or child who is forced to eat his lunch away from home carries a small paper packet of sandwiches with him to work or school. The typical hot meal of the day, in well-to-do as well as smaller homes, begins with a porridge or sweet cereal soup which is inexpensive and helps to make the second dish last longer.

"A belief in cosiness, comfort and good living is one side of the Danish character; another is a sense of humour, often identical with a love of teasing that takes on the proportions of a national vice and an inquisitiveness that to a high degree is responsible for the enlightened intellectual standing of the Danes but which can be embarrassing to more reticent peoples.

"There are no deeply defined class distinctions in Denmark. Danish newspapers carry no special society columns, as society, in the usual sense of the word, does not exist. There are almost no multi-millionaires and no "high-life" nor, at the other end of the scale, are there shameful slums or an ignorant, suffering proletariat. Albeit, this nation of democratic peers is very title-conscious and whether you are addressing the Prime Minister or the little man who repairs your boots, you call him "Mr. Prime Minister" or "Mr. Shoe-Maker Hansen," as the case may be.

"The Danes are a talkative race and love to make speeches. At even a very small dinner party the hostess' table partner is expected to—and usually does—rise to his feet toward the end of the meal and thank the hostess in the name of the guests. On more solemn occasions any number of laudatory speeches may be held and if there is a rhymster present he will probably deal out printed copies of a song he has composed for the occasion which will be duly sung by all present at the appropriate moment.

"The Dane is a friendly, helpful, courteous soul, eager to welcome the stranger within his gates and proud and happy to show him why Denmark is, in his eyes, a good place to live."—Extract from *This is Denmark* by Knud Gedde.

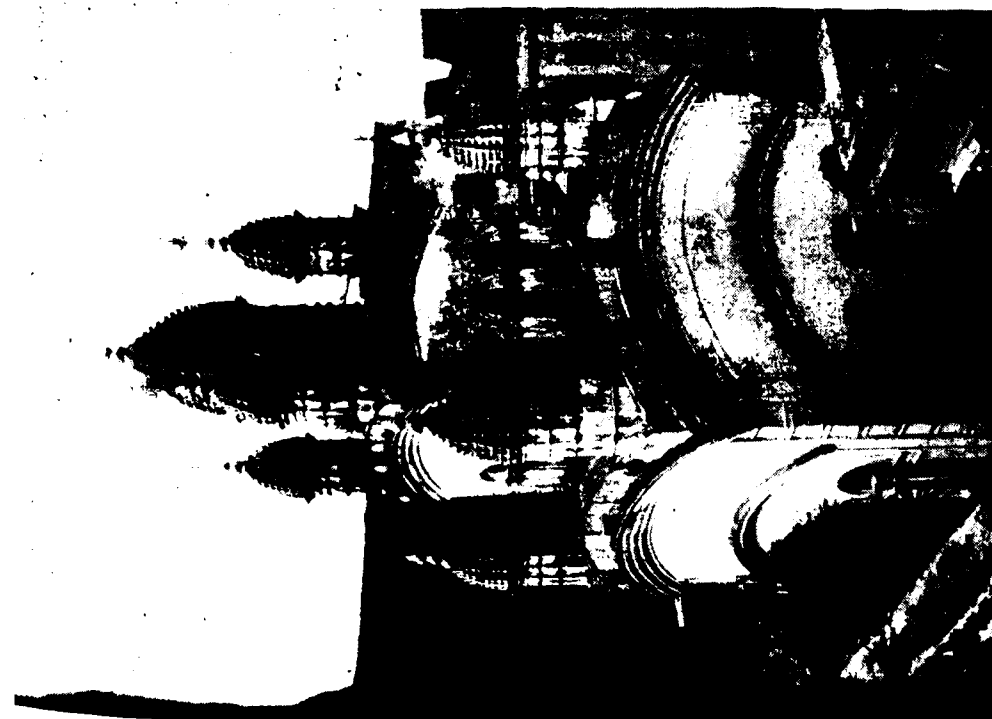
How to GET to DENMARK BY AIR CONNECTIONS

You may reach Copenhagen by air from: London in 4 hours, Paris in 3 hours, Zurich in 3 hours, Stockholm in 2 hours, and Calcutta in 29 hours. S.A.S. (Scandinavian Airlines System) maintain regular weekly flights between Calcutta and Copenhagen.

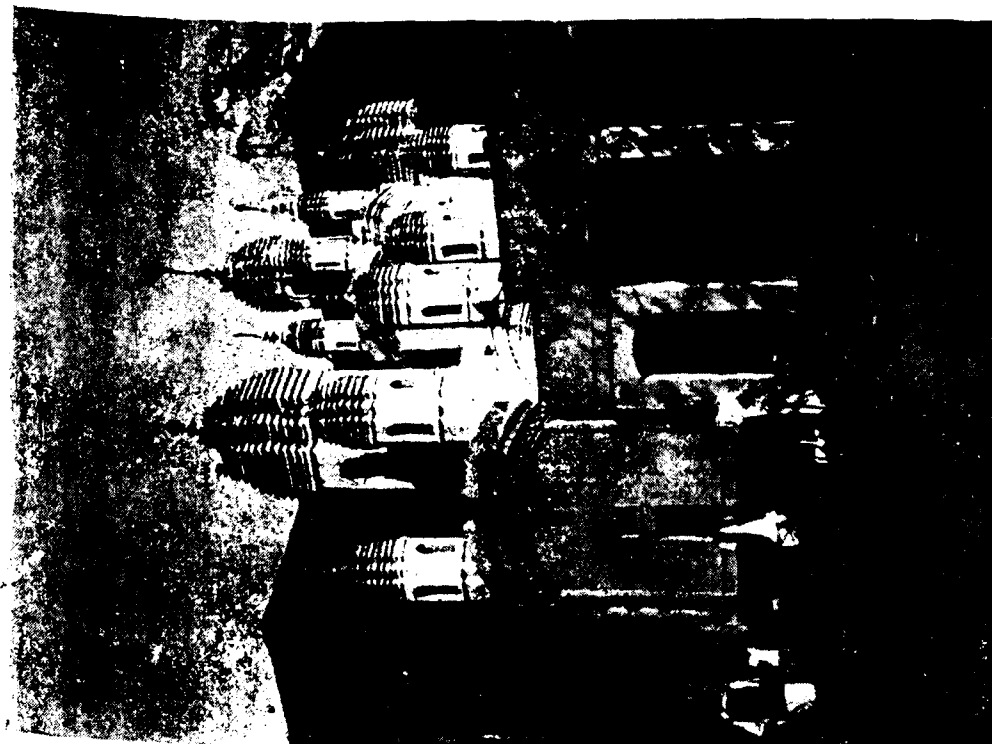
MOTORING

Denmark has excellent roads and large modern ferry boats take you across the belts. When motoring from Western Europe to Denmark you pass through Western Germany.

Soren Kierkegaard, father of "Existential" philosophy, is the topic of an interesting analysis by K. S. K. Menon in the *Bharat*, Bombay of October 21, 1951. The importance of the famous Danish writer of philosophy of religion is rapidly being recognised in many countries.—*Danish Bulletin*.



The Navaratna Temple of Bhavatarini Devi, Balam Ghose Street, Calcutta



The Navaratna Temple of Mahesvara, founded by Dewan Tulokram Pakrasi (1765 A.D.), Bowbazar, Calcutta



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



THE 'MODERN REVIEW'

APRIL



1952

VOL. LXXXXI. No. 4

WHOLE No. 544

NOTES

The A.-I. C. C. Session at Calcutta

The A.-I. C. C. session was held in Calcutta with a great deal of pomp and empty ritual. There was an air of unreality about the whole affair. Pandit Nehru's speech, of which we give an extract below, contained not a word about the purging of undesirables and the reforming of the Congress rank and file. The usual vainglorious utterances and the mistaken analysis of facts were all there. It was a paean of victory, a discordant paean on a Pyrrhic victory!

We would make no further comments. But in all sincerity we hope for an early dawning of realities for Pandit Nehru, that is, for a realisation as to the nature and quality of his satellites, and the sorry pass the Congress is in today.

Congressmen had two tasks today—to run the Congress as a disciplined and dynamic party and to show the right path to the country, said Congress President Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, in course of his opening speech at the A.-I. C. C. meeting on Saturday afternoon.

Congress, said Sri Nehru, must attract sufficient "new blood" and give ample opportunity to new people to work. At the same time it must not become a *dharamshala* of people of divergent views.

The time had come, the Congress President went on, when the Congress should enlist the support of even its opponents in nation-building activities. It might not be possible to co-operate with communal parties or the Communist party, but surely, the Socialists, the K.M.P.F. and the Congress should not fritter away their energies in mutual opposition.

Referring to the record of his Government during the last four and a half years, the Congress President said, the country could well be proud of this record. It compared favourably with the achievements of any other country during the same period.

This general election had many lessons for the nation and it was but proper that the Congressmen learnt those. The first lesson was that the country

had rejected communalism. But it could not be said that the task of combating this menace was over. Congressmen had to be vigilant lest communalism raised its ugly head again and did the nation harm.

Although communalism had been rejected, said Sri Nehru, another deplorable tendency, casteism, had appeared in the body politic of India. That was an unhappy and dangerous development which must be fought. Similarly, the Congress President continued, the provincial and parochial mentality of many was also likely to undermine the unity of India.

Another important lesson of the election, observed Sri Nehru, was that wherever the Congress organisation was functioning properly it emerged successful. But wherever the organization did not function properly it had to face serious reverses. Naturally, if Congressmen stopped working among the masses they had no right to get votes. Such Congressmen might have depended on the name of the Congress, but surely, one could not bank upon past achievements and glory for ever.

An unhappy development, the Congress President said, was that after freedom Congressmen had started scrambling for seats in Parliament and Assemblies and for other offices. In the last election itself, they had to choose 4,000 Congress candidates. No one could say that all the candidates chosen were desirable, possibly, some very desirable persons were left out. But that did not mean that such Congressmen as could not be sent to Assemblies should cease working. "If there are people who do not want to work because they have been left out, they should get out of Congress Committees and make room for others," he said.

The Resolutions

The first official resolution, couched in the usual frothy hyperbole, and possibly with the same fragile quality as of the resolutions of the past four years, was moved by Sri B. G. Kher. We give the salient points.

BUDDHA'S RENUNCIATION
By Santosh Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

"The General Election, which has just concluded in India, has cast a heavy responsibility on the Congress. The confidence that millions of voters have placed in Congress ideals, objectives and the programme of the Congress, is a matter of deep satisfaction to the All-India Congress Committee. It is at the same time a challenge and all Congressmen must realise the significance of recent developments in the country and adapt themselves to the ever-changing situation in India. India is in a process of dynamic evolution, in a world which is itself rapidly changing. *Any static and self-complacent appraisal of the situation and inability to keep pace with changing events will be a betrayal of this heavy responsibility that the Congress has to shoulder.*

For long years it was the destiny of the Congress to lead the struggle for freedom in India and that task was completed under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The next historic step is, while maintaining political stability and continuity, to harness the country's resources for economic advancement, so as to raise the living and cultural standards of the masses and remove the inequalities that persist in the social structure. To this task of bringing about peacefully and co-operatively essential changes in the social and economic structure of the country, the Congress must now address itself with all its strength.

In doing so, the Congress must function as a disciplined and well-knit organisation which works for the attainment of its objective as laid down in Article 1 of the Constitution. This objective is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful means, of a co-operative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship. This involves not only the production in ever-changing measure of national wealth but the pursuit of a social purpose in production and distribution and other forms of social and economic activities. It means the removal of such vested interests as come in the way of the nation's growth. Every member of the Congress should appreciate fully the significance of this objective and accept it for the guidance of his activities.

While the nation must advance on all fronts, the immediate task is to complete the abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and like systems of land tenure, and thus further the agrarian revolution in India. The growth of productive industry must proceed side by side with this agrarian change and the realisation of the objective of full employment.

The standards of public life and the purity of the administration must be given the highest place, because no effective progress can be made if these standards are allowed to be lowered.

The next resolution laid full emphasis on communalism and provincialism, as was only to be ex-

pected. This resolution should have been captioned "The Red Herring Resolution."

The resolution reads: "It has been the basic policy of the Congress to build up the unity of India and to combat all disruptive and separatist tendencies. In furtherance of this policy it has opposed communalism and provincialism. The All-India Congress Committee expresses its deep gratification at the overwhelming response of the electorate in favour of this policy and in rejection of communalism. This response, however, must not lead Congressmen or others to think that the danger from communal tendencies is wholly over. Communal and separatist tendencies still exist in various forms in the country and have to be constantly watched from whatever section of the community whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or any other, they might arise.

As some misunderstandings have arisen on this subject, the Committee declares that there should be no alliance, co-operation or understanding, explicit or implicit, between the Congress and any organisation which is essentially communal in character and conscience whatever its designation might be.

While the menace of communalism has been effectively countered, another danger has come to the surface and has been very noticeable in some of the elections. This is casteism. The Committee considers this tendency to be very injurious and a danger to the community. It runs counter to the basic spirit of the Constitution of India. Any furtherance or encouragement of casteism more especially for political purposes, is a violation of the object of the Congress and its basic principles and must not be permitted."

There was a pious resolution in the usual terms about War and Peace with special reference to the cease-fire talks in Korea. It hoped for the removal of colonialism in Asia and Africa and fervidly approved Pandit Nehru's Foreign Policy in the following terms:

"The Committee considers it essential in the interests of peace and human progress for all remaining forms of colonial or foreign control over the countries of Asia and Africa to be removed so as to enable the peoples of those countries to develop in accordance with their own genius.

The Committee expresses its full approval of the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India, which while avoiding alignment with any nation or group against another seeks the friendship of all countries. It trusts that other countries will also follow a like policy and thus advance the cause of peace."

There was likewise a resolution on South Africa:

"The All-India Congress Committee deeply regrets that the Union Government of South Africa have rejected the direction of the General Assembly of the United Nations regarding the steps to be taken to settle the problem of persons of Indian origin in South Africa, and have continued to implement ruth-

lessly its policy of 'apartheid.' Both in the administrative and legislative spheres fresh disabilities, hardships and indignities have been imposed on the non-white population of the Union including Indians. For many years past, the Government of India have endeavoured to find an honourable way for a settlement of this problem in South Africa. All these attempts have, however, failed because of the attitude of the South African Union Government which has consistently ignored the decisions of the United Nations.

The Group Areas Act introduces complete segregation in the whole of the Union and envisages the uprooting of thousands of non-whites, particularly Indians, from their settled localities. Its chief aim is the liquidation of the Indian community in South Africa. Other legislation is also based on racial discrimination and the domination of a relatively small racial minority at the cost of the great majority of the population of the country.

The Committee welcomes the decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa declaring the South African Government's Act placing coloured voters on a separate electoral roll to be invalid.

The Committee trusts that the South African Union Government will, in view of the high judicial decision, put an end to their policy of segregation.

The Committee welcomes the co-operation of Africans and Indians in not submitting to such legislative and administrative measures which condemn them to servitude.

The Committee, however, trusts that both the Indians and Africans will pursue peaceful and non-violent methods.

The Committee is of opinion that the interests of the Africans must have first place in Africa and Indians must not in any way associate themselves with the exploitation of Africans or seek any privilege at the cost of the Africans."

The self-sufficiency in Food resolution was short and sweet, signifying the Congress efficiency in attaining the same.

"The A.I.C.C., recognising the imperative necessity of attaining the goal of self-sufficiency in food, impresses upon every citizen to co-operate fully with every organisation's concerted efforts to increase the food production."

The most crucial and important resolution was, however, that of propping up the crazy structure of Post-Gandhi Congress. Even here the language was ambiguous enough to reassure the Humpty-Dumpties, The Fagins and Bill Sykeses, who have scrambled into or consolidated their position in office. The usual shibboleths were included.

"(A) In view of recent developments and pending full elections when the new electoral rolls have been prepared, the office bearers of every Congress committee and the executives of the various

NOTES

D.C.C.s, wherever such exist, should be reconstituted. An attempt should be made to make the Committee as representative as possible.

(B) The task before the Congress is to harness and utilise the services of hundreds of thousands of Congressmen, as well as others who wish to be associated in Congress work. The general election showed that there are large numbers of such persons who are capable of doing good work, if they are given a chance. Every effort should be made to invite their co-operation and to provide opportunities to them for this work.

(E) Congress members of the legislatures, both in the Centre and the States, should be associated with the local Congress Committees which function in the area in which their constituency occurs.

(4) No separate groups must be formed in Congress Committees or Congress legislature parties. In particular, provincialism, communalism, casteism, or any kind of separate ideological grouping must not be allowed. Within the committee or party the fullest freedom of discussion and criticism should be allowed but any decisions taken should be acted upon. Congressmen should act in a disciplined manner and should not allow personal or other differences to come up on public affairs and there should be no attacks on each other in the press or on the platform."

Two amendments to the Congress Constitution moved by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a former Congress President, to come into effect immediately, were approved.

Membership fee of the Congress has been reduced to four annas from the present fee of rupee one, by the first amendment. Active members are to pay an additional subscription of rupee one.

The second amendment has abolished the condition that a person could become an active member of the Congress only after being a primary member for two years. Hitherto, only active members—primary members of two years' standing—could vote. The amendment removes this condition also and now all primary members would have the right to vote and take part in the election of Congress Committees.

Pandit Nehru wound up the proceedings with his usual non-mathematical lecture on Statics and Dynamics. His concluding words were, however, of great significance to all well-wishers of the Congress. We hope he gets the desired answer soon.

Sri Nehru reminded his audience that they were living in a dynamic age when the world was fast changing. It was, therefore, very dangerous to have static minds.

Reiterating that the consolidation of India's unity was the paramount need of the hour, the Congress President said: "Anything that undermines the unity and solidarity of India is dangerous. It must be rejected straight away."

"The work of the A.I. C. C.," said Sri Nehru, ended. Before we disperse, I want to know what

message you will carry from here. As I sat here during the last two days presiding over this meeting, I kept on wondering whether our proceedings and resolutions had any basis and reality or were they a mere formality. Time and future events alone can give an answer to this question."

Regrouping of Railways

The Railways of India were originally built with two specific purposes. The primary object was the exploitation of India's resources and markets for the benefit of British capital. The secondary object, which came to the fore much later, was the defence of India from outside aggression. The needs of the people and the development of the countries' resources were totally ignored excepting when it suited the purposes of British capital or the exigencies of Imperial Britain.

Needless to say the reorganisation of these railways and the railways of the Native States, which were absorbed in the main system with the integration of the States in the Union, was deemed to be urgent and essential for the development of the countries' potential. For this purpose a special committee was set up in 1950 by the Railway Board.

The recommendation of that committee was given to the Parliament during the discussion of the railway budget in 1951 by Sri Gopalaswamy Ayyengar in these words:

"The Committee recommended that the different railway systems should be welded to form one co-ordinated railway undertaking, divided into six major zonal administrative units, the governing considerations being operational efficiency, economy, and what is even more important, the economic interdependence of contiguous regions."

The Committee further gave the assurance that by this regrouping overhead charges would be lowered, unnecessary delays and costs in correspondence between contiguous systems would be eliminated, difficulties of dual control at junctions would be obviated by breaking down 13 controlling units over 16 railways into 6, which would facilitate goods traffic running. Additional gains in efficiency would be obtained by longer runs of locomotives and wagons and through the rationalisation of workshops, and wastage through multiple purchasing authorities would also be eliminated.

These recommendations being accepted by the Central Advisory Council for Railways, the Southern zone, centred in Madras, was brought into being first and then the Western and the Central zones with headquarters at Bombay.

There remain three more zones, Northern, Eastern, and North-Eastern, and Sri Ayyengar gave an assurance that they would be regrouped without further delay. It was further determined that the last two, Eastern and North-Eastern, would be centred in Calcutta.

Then came political legerdemain coupled with intense provincialism, in Pandit Nehru's home State. Pandit Pant, Chief Minister of U.P., had promised during his election campaign that the North-Eastern zone would have its headquarters at Gorakhpur. And so, despite immense loss of efficiency, enormous trouble to staff and total upsetting of major traffic considerations, all the plans are being upset!

This is a major straw indicating how "Five Years" or "Six Years" Plans are going to be implemented. We would only request Pandit Nehru to redefine provincialism.

Central Budget

Sri Chintaman Deshmukh, Finance Minister of India, presented the budget estimates to the Parliament in a White Paper giving an account of the economic conditions in the country during 1951 against the background of which the budget has been framed.

This care-taker and interim Budget of Sir C. D. Deshmukh and his speech thereon deserves particular attention.

The economic condition, observes Sri Deshmukh, continued to be difficult during 1951, and the main problems before the country continued to be those of arresting inflation, increasing production and meeting a large good deficit.

The outbreak of war in Korea and the large-scale switch over armament programme of U.S.A. and other European countries gave a further impetus to the existing high price level. The causes were rather international in origin over which the Government of India have little control. But is it true that the Government had really nothing to do with this inflationary spiral? Were not some of the policies of the Government of India responsible for this higher price level? It is a realised fact today which not even the Finance Minister could deny, that devaluation of the currency was a contributory factor to give a fillip to the inflationary trends in recent years.

In regard to the measures adopted to fight inflation and high price level, the Finance Minister declared that it was the realisation of a substantial revenue surplus brought about by enhancement of customs duties, which greatly assisted the Government. Secondly, the sale-proceeds of the wheat obtained from the American loan had also had the same effect of reducing money supply within the country. Besides, the raising of Bank Rate had produced a real and psychological change in the money market. This transfer of purchasing power from the public to the Exchequer helps the Government to hold inflation in check.

In spite of good progress in agricultural production, the food situation in the country continued to be a matter of grave anxiety. This was due to a failure of rains over large parts of the country. Serious damage was caused to *kharif* crops in Kutch, Gujarat district

of Bombay; Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Ajmer by a partial failure of monsoons and this has necessitated substantial imports. We have incessantly been informed of chronic drought or floods inflicting serious damage to good crops since the Congress came to power in 1947.

The condition of our manufacturing industries is not such that it can hope to increase the quantum of export. The only manufactured goods exported are hessian and gunnybags. The jute mills are to depend partially on Pakistan for the supply of raw jute. Consequently the production and exportation of jute goods is subject to great uncertainty as the relation between Pakistan and Indian Union is not always congenial. Moreover, as Pakistan refused to devalue her currency, a large portion of the profits earned through high prices of jute goods, were wiped out to meet up the cost of raw jute.

There was some deterioration in the dollar position during 1951. India's contribution to the Central Reserves was of the order of \$71 million: and there was a net withdrawal of \$14 million. In order to halt this drainage and building up adequate reserves for the future it has been agreed in the recent conference of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers, that the sterling area as a whole should be in balance with the rest of the world in respect of the second half of 1952 at the latest. Accordingly, the surplus foreign exchange in gold and dollar earned by India will be accumulated in the Central Reserves under Great Britain and her deficit will be borne by the Central Reserve. Thus the deficit incurred by Great Britain will not be borne by herself alone but will be shared by other member countries and India being a member will have to follow the rest in spite of her surplus in foreign exchange, if there be any.

India had Rs. 781 crores of sterling balances with United Kingdom during 1951. Mr. Deshmukh had agreed under the recent agreement to realise a part of it during the six-year ending in June 1957. Thus we had agreed to block our accumulated wealth, earned with such hardships and sufferings, with Great Britain; on the other hand India has been negotiating with the World Bank of Reconstruction and Development for loans for financing some of the important projects of the country. A loan of 31 crores of rupees had already been obtained for certain railway, agricultural and thermal schemes.

While presenting the Budget, it is announced that the revised estimates for the current year had disclosed the revenue surplus of Rs. 92.61 crores. The total revenue was budgeted at Rs. 497.67 crores as against an expenditure of Rs. 405.06 crores leaving a big surplus of Rs. 92.61 crores. At the existing level of taxation the revenue for next year is estimated at Rs. 429.98 crores and the expenditure at Rs. 406.25 crores leaving a surplus of Rs. 18.73 crores.

In the Budget, the thing which strikes most is the wide gap between the revised figure for the current year and Budget estimates for the next year. Had the Budget been framed on the basis of the Revised figure for 1951-52, the actual surplus for the next year in the revenue account would have been far more than estimated by Mr. Deshmukh and even a small tax remission would not have been impracticable. But according to Mr. Deshmukh this surplus is illusory and hence cannot be a basis for tax remission. The major portion of the surplus revenue was raised from Customs—the import duties accounting for an excess of Rs. 51 crores and the export for Rs. 26 crores. As the yield from these sources can not be indefinitely maintained at this high level, the Finance Minister would not dare to estimate the future income on this basis.

The expenditure, on the other hand, has unnecessarily been increased without any substantial benefit to the country. If we analyse some of the heads of expenditure, it will be clear how haphazard the policy has been.

The expenditure under Health and Education is said to have been increased. Let us see how much of this will really benefit the people of the country.

The Causes of Increased Expenditure Under Medical

All-India Medical Institute in Delhi	Rs. 7 lakhs
Ayurvedic and Hakimi Pharmacy at Ramnagar and the establishment of a chest clinic at Delhi University in honour of Sardar Patel	Rs. 4 lakhs

Causes of Increment Under Public Health

The movement of goods on behalf of the UNICEF (International Children Welfare Fund); manufacture of B.C.G. vaccination in India; purchase of rats and rabbits in the Laboratory at Kasauli	Rs. 3 lakhs
Planning of Family	Rs. 3 lakhs
Expenditure on account of the visit of the experts of the WHO (World Health Organisation) in this country—	Rs. 2 lakhs and 50 thousands

Construction of new building for Anti-Tuberculosis in Delhi	Rs. 2 lakhs
Subscription to the WHO	Rs. 20 lakhs
Subscription to the UNICEF	Rs. 12 lakhs.

Let us examine how Mr. Deshmukh has increased the amount of general expenditure:

- Home department—Rs. 30 lakhs over previous year; of this Rs. 25 lakhs will be spent for the establishment of a detective section.
- Meteorological Department—Rs. 20 lakhs.
- Under Education extra sanction is Rs. 27 lakhs, of which Rs. 17 lakhs will be given to the UNESCO as annual subscription.

These are the directions through which the public money are exhausted.

Expenditure Under External Relation Department

The total budgeted grant under the department was Rs. 3,79,78,000 but the actual expenditure has

amounted to Rs. 4,96,37,000. The following are the heads of expenditure:

	1951-52 Budget	1951-52 Budget
Establishment charge	.....	7124000
Embassies	17344000	21589000
High Commissioners	3688000	4639000
Subscription for UNO	5982000	6670000
Miscellaneous	5542000	6004000
Charges in London	5422000	3611000
	37978000	49637000

The causes for such increment in the cost of maintaining the Embassies are the following:

1. Increased publicity in America Rs. 6½ lakhs.
2. New appointments and allowances Rs. 8 lakhs.
3. Increased House Rent and repairing charges Rs. 2½ lakhs.
4. Visit of the Chinese Cultural Mission to India Rs. 1 lakh.
5. Increment in the expenditure of the Indian team in the UNO Rs. 1 lakh.

Let us examine the nature of expenditure on national development projects. It was declared that Rs. 26 crores will be annually spent from the Central Budget for the implementation of the Five-year Plan and that the sum will be realised through economy. But instead of practising economy the expenditure has been raised by Rs. 30 crores. The actual spending under the Five-year Plan falls far below the estimated grant although Rs. 93 crores has been realised as a surplus.

Annual Grant Under the Five-year Plan		Budgeted amount
1. Improvement in civil aviation	Rs. 10 lakhs	
2. Broadcasting	Rs. 8 "	
3. Education	Rs. 270 "	
4. Scientific Research	Rs. 130 "	
5. Health	Rs. 60 "	
6. Rehabilitation	Rs. 100 "	
(In all Rs. 11 crores)		
7. Grow More Food—Rs. 8 crores	Rs. 635 "	
8. Rehabilitation of displaced persons—Rs. 3 crores	Rs. 130 "	
9. Food subsidies—Rs. 160 lakhs	....	
Grand total	Rs. 2360 lakhs	Rs. 1343 lakhs

Thus goes the Budget of the national government of India.

Indian Companies Act

The report of the Company Law Committee, submitted to the Government of India, a few weeks ago, has been published recently. It is the first comprehensive review of the working of the Indian Companies Act since 1913. The Committee's recommendations, which cover entire field of Company Law, are designed to establish sufficient control over companies with a view to preventing abuses without hampering their healthy growth.

The Committee was appointed by the Government of India in 1950 with Mr. C. H. Bhaba as chairman and with Mr. D. L. Mazumdar as member-

secretary. The recommendations are unanimous except a dissenting note from only one member, viz., Mr. Mohanlal Shah.

The Report proper is comprised of nineteen chapters divided into three parts. The problem relating to the administration of the Indian Companies Act have been dealt with in the last two parts of the report.

Joint Stock Company: The Committee observes that the general approach of the Company Law is essentially a systematization of the structure and mode of operation of a particular type of economic institution, namely, the Joint Stock Companies.

The Committee's recommendations appear to be based on the following basic principles:

(a) The law should provide for the fullest possible disclosure in prospectuses or statements in lieu of them before a company is formed and that failure to make such disclosure should be visited with effective penalties;

(b) The Company Accounts should be prepared in such a way that they disclose all facts which are material to a full understanding of the manner in which companies are worked;

(c) The meeting should be conducted in such a way that the shareholders receive all reasonable facilities for exercising intelligent judgment on the activities of the management.

The Committee recommends that in future, the capital of a company should consist of only two broad categories, viz., Equity capital and Preference capital and voting rights in respect of share capital should be strictly in proportion of the capital paid or credited as paid thereon. No other class of shares which confer any rights to dividend, capital or voting power disproportionate to the rights attaching to the ordinary shares should be issued.

As regards directors, it is prescribed that a minimum number of directors should be appointed—three in the case of public and two in the case of private company. They should be selected from those who can devote sufficient time and thought to the work of the companies. As to the relationship between the directors and the managing agents, the superior position is assigned by the Committee to the former. All powers should be reserved for the Directors and should be exercised by the managing agents if they are delegated to them by the directors.

MANAGING AGENCY SYSTEM

As the management of a large sector of Indian trade and industry is in the hands of managing agents, a not inconsiderable part of the Committee's report is devoted to the managing agency system, which has been subject to much controversy and debate in recent years. The Committee observes that under the present economic structure of the country it would be an advantage to continue to rely on the managing agent. For, in spite of many abuses and malpractices, the system may yet prove to be a potent instrument for tapping the springs of private

enterprise. And hence tightening up of the provisions of the Act relating the powers and positions of the managing agents are the primary objects of the Committee. The appointment and removal of the agents, their remuneration, their powers vis-a-vis the directors, and finally their activities in respect of borrowing loans, contracts, sale and purchases, are the main recommendations of the Committee on the managing agents.

It is declared that in future the managing agency agreement should be limited to fifteen years and an ordinary resolution of the company should be sufficient to dismiss a managing agent in case of fraud and breach of trust. As regards the transfer of managing agency, the Committee recommends several restrictions to remove the current evils of cornering managing agency rights.

The remuneration of the managing agents should not in any case exceed 12½ per cent on "net profits"; no office allowance would be admissible to managing agents and in case of absence or inadequacy of profits, the managing agents would have such minimum remuneration as is considered reasonable by the company in general meeting subject to a maximum of Rs. 50,000 per annum.

The managing agents should act only under the general control and direction of the directors and their powers and duties should be clearly laid down in advance. The specific approval of directors would be required to certain acts enumerated in a schedule. As regards the inter-investment of funds in different companies under the same management, the Committee recommends that the limit on such investment should be 10 per cent of the subscribed capital of the company in which the investment is to be made. The managing agents should not be entitled to any commission on purchase made on behalf of the company.

Besides, the Committee suggests extensive amendments of the provision relating to audit of the accounts of the company.

A CENTRAL AUTHORITY

Analysing the defects and deficiencies of the existing system, the Committee pleads for a complete reorientation of the present administrative machinery. For the present the Registrars of Joint Stock Companies are under the various State Governments and their main functions are to act as filling authorities with little or no executive powers. As such the Committee suggests to form a Central Authority with important executive and supervisory functions under the designation of Corporate Investment and Administrative Commission. The Registrars will be placed directly under the Central Authority and should carry out the functions statutorily imposed upon them under the proposed act. The Central Authority, composed of one chairman and four members should be invested with wide administrative powers. It will keep

the investment market under constant watch and the present function of the Controller of Capital Issue will be taken over by this body. The authority will also exercise the function of inspection and supervision of companies, the accounts and balance sheets and also the supervision of the winding up proceedings. In short, the authority will supervise the working of joint stock companies according to the provisions laid down in the report.

These are the main recommendations of the Company Law Committee, to reform the existing system of business organisation. But, however, scientific and rigorous the approach to the problem may be, it is hardly expected that any real and lasting effect will follow from the reform as envisaged by the Committee, so long as the managing agency system is not abolished completely. It is an established and widely acknowledged fact today that the managing agents are, in the main, the root of all the evils from which the present industrial and commercial organisations of India suffer. Hence unless and until the provision for their complete abolition is accepted as an official creed by the Government, whatever attempt is made, it is bound to be vitiated with foul prospects. The Committee, giving its decision in favour of the managing agents will fail to satisfy informed public opinion of the country which has been pressing for their ready and immediate removal. Its abolition was also the avowed policy of the Congress and even a resolution was accepted in this regard in the A.-I. C. C. Conference shortly after independence. But later on with extension of control of the capitalists over Congress, it has gradually dissuaded from that principle. And even the committee has not the moral courage to recommend its abolition.

The greatest evils from which the system suffer are long period agreement, the privilege to keep all accounts in their own hands and last but the most important, the inter-locking directorship and the inter-investment of funds, an inevitable effect of the former.

The managing agents earn a lot in several stages through purchase of raw materials and sale of finished goods. An example will clarify the point. The coal of a coal mining company cannot be sold by itself. It will have to be disposed by the managing agents. The managing agents purchase all coal from the client-company at Rs. 18 per ton and sell them in the market at Rs. 20 per ton. The shareholders have nothing to do with this. The company itself could have sold the commodity at Rs. 20 but as it is controlled and managed by the agents, it is compelled to incur this loss. But there are all "legal" perquisites, it is the illegal sources which counted much in the total income of the managing agents. A particular commodity produced by a managed company is purchased at Rs. 18 by No. 1 Company under the same managing

agents. In the next step No. 2 Company, also run by the same agents, purchase it at Rs. 20; and finally it is purchased by the client company at Rs. 22 from this second company. Thus the purchasing price of the main company unnecessarily becomes higher than the normal market price by Rs. 4. The proprietors of these two companies are the *benamdars* of the managing agents who act on behalf of the managing agents and through these people the extra income is pocketed by them. It was this unfair tactics which was detected by the Assistant Commissioner of Sales Tax in Bengal, with regard to a textile concern.

The Amendment Act of 1936 endeavoured to remove some of these defects of the system. But the ingenuity of the managing agents had found out the loopholes of the Act through which they escaped the rulings. Similar events may happen again in due course. Any modification and tightening up of the existing law will invariably fail to restrict the managing agents who will any way manage the thing and continue to exploit the shareholders and the consumers.

It has been declared by the committee that under the present condition of our trade and industry we still require promoters of new business and the managing agents perform that function excellently and perfectly. If that be the case, why should we not establish Promoters' Houses on the American model, who will give initial start to the business and when the company becomes quite well-established will leave the management to the shareholders and retire with sufficient compensation and respects!

Anyway we require complete abolition of the system and no patchwork will be sufficient to remove the evils and malpractices associated with the system. It is nowhere found except in India. If large-scale efficient organisation was possible without the help and guidance of the managing agents in other countries why they should not be possible in India. The system moreover was designed originally with a motive of exploitation. Does the Government or the Committee appointed by it think that there is any such necessity for exploitation of the resources of the country even now?

"Hyderabad and Kashmir"

Under the above title appeared an article in the *Marhatta* of Poona, dated February 22, 1952, contrasting the hostile attitude of the Nehru Government to Maharaja Harisingh of Kashmir-Jammu and the chivalry shown to Nizam of Hyderabad. The writer said that the then Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, "prevented" the former from acceding to the Union of India. This criticism is not true to facts, as we have known from Sardar Patel's speeches, and from Allan Campbell-Johnson's "Mission with Mountbatten." Campbell-Johnson says in p. 223 of his book:

"Three days before the transfer of power and the Accession time-limit, the Kashmir Government announced its intention of signing stand-still agreements with both India and Pakistan. . . . Indeed, the States Ministry, under Patel's direction, went out of its way to take no action which could be interpreted as forcing Kashmir's hand, and to give assurances that accession to Pakistan would not be taken amiss by India. The Maharaja's chronic indecision must be accounted a big factor in the present crisis. (The Diary bears the date-line of 28th October, 1947—about 6 days after the start of the raids by Pakistanis—military and tribals). . . ."

" . . . no final decision was taken (by the Defence Committee on the 25th October, but it agreed that V. P. (Menon) should fly to Srinagar at once to find out the true position."

Menon's report was "disturbing." He had found "the Maharaja unnerved by the rush of events and the sense of his lone helplessness." This led the Maharaja to accede on October 26. Campbell-Johnson further says that while Mountbatten had been urging the Princes generally, the Kashmir Maharaja and inferentially the Nizam also, to make up their minds about accession "before the transfer of power, he had all along, from his visit in June onwards, exerted his whole influence to prevent him (Maharaja Harisingh) from acceding to one Dominion or the other, without first taking steps to ascertain the will of the people by referendum, plebiscite, election, or, even if these were impracticable, by representative public meetings . . ." Kodanda Rao's words should also be quoted:

"The Maharaja was in favour of accession to India but was prevented from so doing by the then Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, while the Nizam was against it, in spite of the pressure of Lord Mountbatten. If the Maharaja's Dogra administration had its black spots, the Nizam's Razakar Government had blacker spots. India had to fight to save Kashmir from outside hostiles, the raiders and Pakistan; she had to fight Hyderabad to save it from internal hostiles, the Nizam and his Razakars! Indeed, if the Maharaja deserved to be deposed, the Nizam deserved it infinitely more. And yet the Maharaja has been deposed while the Nizam has been made the Rajapramukh! While the Government of India have been chivalrous towards the hostile Nizam who defied them they have been mean towards the friendly Maharaja who sought their protection."

The latest report (March 28) says that Doctor Frank Graham, the U.N.O. representative in the matter of Kashmir, has not yet given up hopes of holding a plebiscite under the U.N. auspices. So we are still at the same impasse.

Kashmir and the Moslem World

Prof. Abdul Majid Khan, former Indian Consul in Saudi Arabia, said that the conference of twelve Muslim countries called by Pakistan is "a diplomatic stunt calculated to overawe and terrorise Dr. Graham,

who is to submit his final report on the Kashmir problem in the near future."

"In political parlance," he said in a statement, "it is impossible to define a Muslim country. If population is the only criterion then Lebanon is not a Muslim country as 52 per cent of its inhabitants are Christians by faith. The followers of Islam who live and enjoy the full rights of citizenship in India are greater in number than the Muslims of the eight Arab States put together."

"Why should the Prime Minister of India be then excluded from a conference which is being convened with the avowed object of considering the establishment of a system of consultation on questions of common interests," he asked.

Prof. Majid Khan said that the 12 Muslim countries constituted "a sort of crazy-quilt or a fascinating nedley." Turkey had adopted to modern life, "Syria and Lebanon are Republics, Egypt is a limited monarchy, Saudi Arabia, an absolute monarchy, Indonesia—a secular democracy and Pakistan a dominion."

Compulsory Military Training in U.P.

In September last an announcement was made that twenty thousand college students in 17 districts of the Uttar Pradesh were being given compulsory military training. The scheme, we were told, was first taken up in July, 1948. We welcomed this project, and thought that finance should not handicap it. But except these announcements no direct report has been issued up to date to show what progress has been made, the number of young people trained, and the future possibilities of the scheme. The proposed 100 hours' training each year in drill, map reading, platoon drill, musketry and signalling should be good enough for the beginner.

In West Bengal, Shree Bhupati Mazumder, the Irrigation and Defence Minister was in charge of this work which was known as "Home Defence"—the training of village young men for the defence of their particular areas. Now that he has to give up that post, it would be in the fitness of things that a report should be published of this work so that we may know where we stand in this matter. The new Ministry in West Bengal is not yet formed, and we would like to know who is going to take charge of his work—as important as any. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy cannot do all things himself as he loves to do.

Grow More Food in West Bengal

The outgoing Food Minister, Shree Profulla Chandra Sen told the members on the 17th March last that Rs. 4 crores 30 lakhs and 67 thousand have been spent on the G.M.F. campaign. He gave the figures of production of rice in the State from year to year, excluding Cooch Behar, as follows: 1947-48—4,06,400 tons; 1948-49—32,98,800 tons; 1949-50—

35,37,800 tons; 1950-51—37,82,300 tons. The forecast in respect of rice crop for 1951-52 has not yet been published.

The annual requirement of cereals in West Bengal was 38,70,000 tons at normal pre-war per capita consumption rate of 4.25 maunds per year as suggested by the Indian Statistical Institute on the basis of the results of several pre-war diet and family budget surveys and on the basis of a total population of 247.9 lakhs as revealed by the 1951 Census. The normal annual wheat requirement of the State is estimated to be 250,000 tons and the annual consumption of cereals other than rice and wheat was estimated to be about 50,000 tons. The rice requirement accordingly came to about 35,70,000 tons.

These figures do not help us in any way. On more than one occasion we have said that we do not believe that we are so short of food in West Bengal. Parliamentarians like M. Sidhwa, now a Central Minister, have long expressed their scepticism of such deficits. The recent letter of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy on the food situation in the Contai Subdivision of Midnapore specially is a sample of the whole controversy. He is reported to have written that the shortage is of the magnitude of about 8 lakh 85 thousand maunds in that area. These figures he got from the report of the office secretary of the West Bengal "Jana Sangha." Sample surveys are generally wide of the mark and when one can talk of crores of maunds of things, one's imagination generally plays tricks with facts.

It is notorious that food has become a part of power-politics. Our Communist friends are ever ready to boost the fact that the Soviet Union and China are eager to help India tide over the food difficulty. The inside story has been given in summarized form from Madras in the 26th March issue of the *Swastika*, a Bengali paper. A Communist member of the Madras Legislature brought forward this topic. In reply Mr. J. P. Roche-Victoria, Food Minister, said that the Indian ambassador at Peking has been informed that this year there would be no export of food from China.

The record regarding the Soviet Union was still more curious. It offered food to India as a gift—as a token of friendship. The Nehru Government was grateful. But when it learnt later that the price of Soviet food was double that of other countries, the order was cancelled. But by that time 50,000 tons had arrived, and our Government had to pay through the nose this inflated price.

Election of Rashtrapati

The Delhi correspondent of the Nagpur *Hitavada* reported on March 20th last that another "chance" of Babu Rajendra Prasad's being made President of our Republic was being considered. Now, the Congress Party has decided that he should be the

President and Prof. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President. These two choices are unexceptionable, though some would have liked as Vice-President a person other than a Hindu. We are glad to notice members of Kashmir's Legislature have decided to take part in this election which will be held in October next, the final date of filing nomination papers being May.

Rules in this behalf passed by Parliament on February 28th last have been published in the *Gazette* on March 20th last. Here they are:

"According to the Rules, nomination papers duly filled in, together with certified copies of the entries relating to the candidate in the electoral roll for the Parliamentary Constituency in which he is registered, should be delivered either in person by the candidate or by his proposer or seconder to the Returning Officer by 3 p.m. on the last date for nomination. While a candidate may be nominated by more than one nomination paper, the Rules ban any elector subscribing whether as a proposer or seconder, more than one nomination paper at any election.

"Rejection of a nomination paper may be on any of the following grounds:

1. That the candidate is not eligible for election as President or Vice-President (as the case may be) under the Constitution;
2. That the proposer or seconder is not qualified to subscribe a nomination paper under the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Act;
3. That the signature of the candidate proposer or seconder is not genuine or has been obtained by fraud;
4. That the nomination paper has not been duly completed and the defect or irregularity is of a substantial character; or
5. That the proposer or seconder has subscribed, whether as a proposer or seconder, another nomination paper received earlier by the Returning Officer at the same election.

"The poll in respect of the Presidential election will be held in the Parliament House, New Delhi, and in the premises of each State Legislative Assembly. For the Vice-Presidential election, the place of poll will be Parliament House, New Delhi.

"The Rules require that every Government should intimate to the Election Commission at the appropriate time the names and other particulars of electors at a Presidential election who are under preventive detention. Such electors will get postal ballot forms on the day of the poll and their votes will be sent to the Returning Officer before the time fixed for the counting of votes.

"Counting of votes will be done at the office of the Returning Officer in New Delhi on the day and time fixed by the Election Commission. Each ballot paper of an elector at a Presidential election will have a value assigned in accordance with Article 55 of the Constitution. The procedure for the counting and transfer of preferences and the determination of

results is set out in the schedule to the present rules."

In this connection the nomination of Governors of States is being considered. Shree Kanhayalal Munshi and Shree Girija Sankar Bajpai are almost sure to get these posts. The Governors of West Bengal, East Punjab, and Assam are to continue. There may be other nominations.

The Language Controversy in East Pakistan

The tragedy at the Dacca University on 24th February last, the shooting to death of 8 students followed by curfew order, and the expulsion of some 900 students, affecting another 1,400, is sure to raise questions in the minds of people who desire peace in East Bengal. We are not philosophic pacifists. But we have the fear that the agitation for Bengali language and script in East Bengal may be cleverly turned to anti-Hindu activities. The arrest of three Hindu members of the East Bengal Assembly and of two Muslim members is proof that peace is in jeopardy. The most sinister symptom of the phenomena that more than ten of the leaders have gone underground.

In Karachi itself, we have had a denial of the East Pakistan Government's charges as the following news-item shows:

"Karachi, March 20: The charges of the East Bengal Government and East Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. Nurul Amin, that the language agitation in East Bengal had its support and inspiration from the Communists or agents provocateurs from outside were strongly repudiated in Pakistan Parliament by a member of the Muslim League Party from East Bengal.

"Mr. Hamid (East Bengal) said that 99 per cent of East Pakistanis would vote for Bengali if there was a plebiscite.

"Claiming that language agitation was spontaneous, Mr. Hamid said: 'No one can say that these people (agitators) were influenced by Communists or agents provocateurs from outside. To say that this has been done by somebody from outside is not true.'

"Mr. Hamid thought that the very fact that the Chief Minister of East Pakistan, Mr. Nurul Amin, came out with his statement alleging that the Communists and agents from outside were behind the agitation after the incident, shows that the allegation is clearly wrong. If it was so, he should have told us so long before. If the Chief Minister believed there were people from outside, then the proper thing for him should have been to send for the Vice-Chancellor of the University, a few students and a few leaders of public opinion and to tell them the facts, but he did not do that."

Our own Government's reaction as yet is not clear. A few terse announcements like the following news-item are all that have been made public:

"The Central Rehabilitation Minister, Sri Ajit Prasad Jain said in an interview on March 19 that Pakistan Government's attempt to turn the so-called language controversy in East Bengal to a communal question has failed."

In the East Pakistan Assembly, the whole matter was sought to be threshed out.

Replying to queries by Mr. Basanta Kumar Das, leader of the Congress Opposition, the Speaker said that no information had been sent to him regarding the arrest of MLA's. As regards prorogation of the Assembly, he had been informed that this was going to be done.

The main interest of proceedings lay in the statement made by the Premier, Mr. Nurul Amin, on the recent language disturbances. According to him, what appeared on surface to be an innocent and legitimate agitation in favour of Bengali was in fact a device to cloak "a determined attempt to overthrow the Government by force." Evidence in possession of the Government and the methods employed "prove conclusively that a handful of Communists and other foreign agents and political malcontents had conspired to subvert the State from within."

"Long and detailed preparations had been made and for many months past subversive elements had been active in the University, misleading the boys."

The measures taken by the Government to deal with subversive elements had saved the province, he claimed, from disaster and "democracy from a most insidious threat."

Certain lawless elements were still at large and may attempt to create similar situations again. "We can never afford to be complacent," he said.

The most vigorous criticism of the Premier's statement came from Mr. Sharifuddin Ahmed, a prominent member of the Muslim League, who said that University students and staff were sons of East Bengal. Nobody could believe that after February 21 and 22 they had all of a sudden become enemies of Pakistan and saboteurs. If the Government were in possession of evidence to prove their allegations the men arrested should fearlessly be placed before courts of law. Otherwise people will not be satisfied and "swallow this." They will gradually lose confidence not only in the administration but also in the Ministry. Police reports were no evidence in law, he said.

Mr. Nurul Amin's attempt to confuse issues was clearly exposed by the youth of East Pakistan as the following news-item shows:

"The East Pakistan Youth League has decided to observe March 27 as 'Youth's Demand Day' and directed all its branches accordingly."

"This decision was arrived at a recent session here of the Working Committee of the organization which noted with 'abhorrence the heinous propaganda carried out by the Ministry and the Muslim League against the workers and leaders of the State language movement in general, and the East Pakistan Youth League in particular, with a view to misleading the people.'

"The meeting demanded the release of all persons arrested in connexion with the State language movement, including Mr. Ali Ahad, General Secretary of the organization. The committee criticized the Govern-

ment decision to hold the inquiry into the recent police firing in Dacca in camera."

Mrs. Roosevelt in India

Mrs. Roosevelt has left behind her a very pleasing memory of a most sincere and charming personality. Her views on the rights of humanity are too well known to need further presentation. We hope she would be able to convince her own people to accept her impressions about India. She gave the following message on the eve of her departure:

"I am very much impressed with the dignity of the people of India, with their great hospitality, of their goodwill which they have shown to me and towards my nation," she said.

"I was also greatly impressed with the courage of your women and the manner in which they are tackling social services and problems of a magnitude which prevail nowhere else in the world. Their task is extremely difficult as their sphere of work covers a numerous number of people. The very great courage with which the Government and the people are trying to find solutions to numerous problems appears to me to be extraordinary and very remarkable," she added.

"Apartheid" Illegal

Dr. Malan's racial policy of segregation of the non-white voters of South Africa has received a sudden check. But Dr. Malan is trying to adopt the dictator's remedy for all opposition, in an attempt to solve the present impasse.

South Africa's highest court, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, declared invalid the Act placing coloured voters on a separate electoral list. Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister, told the House of Assembly this afternoon that the Supreme Court's judgment "has created a constitutional position which cannot be accepted."

"Neither Parliament nor the people of South Africa," Dr. Malan said, "will be prepared to acquiesce in a position where the legislative sovereignty of the lawfully and democratically elected representatives of the people is denied and wherein the judicial authority assumes the testing right, the right to pass judgment on the exercise of their legislative powers by the elected representatives of the people—particularly since that judicial authority does not or is not obliged to act consistently."

"The situation which has now arisen creates uncertainty and chaos where certainty and order should exist. There are now two conflicting judgements of the Appeal Court in regard to a constitutional issue which is of the very greatest importance. So also there is no certainty that a subsequent Court of Appeal may not perhaps reverse the latest decision just as at present the Appeal Court has reversed its previous decision of 1937."

"It is most undesirable that decisions of this kind should vary with a change in the composition of the Court because this would certainly bring with it the danger of a 'packed' Bench as has happened in other countries.

"It is thus clear that the situation which has now arisen is an intolerable one and the Government would be grossly neglecting its duty towards the people and towards a democratically elected Parliament if steps are not taken to put an end to this confusing and dangerous situation.

"It is imperative that the legislative sovereignty of Parliament should be placed beyond any doubt in order to ensure order and certainty.

"The Government will take the necessary steps to do its duty and will at an appropriate time announce such steps after the reasons for the judgment have been studied and considered."

The Separate Representation Act is one of the cornerstones of Dr. Malan's apartheid policy. It removes coloured voters from the common electoral roll and provides that they shall vote only for special members of the House of Assembly, who will specifically represent coloured people.

Four coloured (mixed race) voters of Capetown appealed to the Court to upset the Act by declaring that the so-called "entrenched clauses" of the Act remain in force.

The Full Bench of the five Judges who heard the appeal, presided over by Chief Justice Centlivres, were unanimous in their verdict.

The reaction to Dr. Malan's crude attempt at dictatorship has been unfavourable in Canadian liberal circles.

Mr. David Croll, a member of the Liberal (Government) Party, told the Canadian House of Commons on March 24 that the South African policy of apartheid was "straining" Commonwealth relations. Canadians had "the right and the duty to examine our relationship with South Africa before the appropriate tribunal," he said.

He was speaking in a debate on a resolution calling for a written Canadian Bill of Rights moved by a Progressive Conservative.

He said: "I find it difficult, if not possible, to understand how the Commonwealth can sustain friendly relations while that statute is in effect."

It was a very serious question how "democratic" Nehru can find common ground with Fascist Malan. It was splitting South Africa into "racial areas" and setting up a "ghettoland which we must deplore."

Mr. M. J. Coldwell, leader of the (Socialist) Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, said Canada should make it clear that "we will not be silent on South Africa's move." He felt that if Commonwealth countries had made their views on this point clear a year or two ago, Dr. Malan would have had much

more difficulty in putting forward his "incongruous" policies.

Mr. Alistair Stewart, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation member for Winnipeg, said: "A million people in the Cape territory have been refused the right to vote merely because their skins are coloured. That is going to be used against the democratic world all across Asia as another example of the hypocritical tactics of the Western world, and therefore we have to condemn it."

In the South African Senate too, the opposition has not taken this attempt to disregard constitutional law in a tame fashion.

Senator G. Heaton Nicholl, leader of the United Party Opposition in South Africa's Senate, accused the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, of precipitating a crisis more serious than any the Union has known.

He moved a motion taking the "strongest possible exception" to the Government's declared intention to "overrule the unanimous judgment" of the Supreme Court, which ruled invalid the Act placing coloured voters on a separate voters' roll.

The Opposition motion called on the Government to resign unless it would give an undertaking that it would act in accordance with the Constitution.

In the House of Assembly, yesterday Mr. J. N. Strauss said: "I move adjournment of the House on a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the grave constitutional crisis, to the serious detriment of the peace, order and good government of the Union, by a statement made to the House by the Prime Minister on Thursday and amplified by him in a statement to the Press the following day on the attitude of the executive in refusing to accept the unanimous judgment of the appellate division of the Supreme Court of South Africa setting aside the Separate Representation of Voters Act."

Dr. Malan has received support in his undemocratic moves from a curious quarter.

The South African Government had consulted a British legal expert, Prof. Wade, before the Appeal Court's session which declared invalid the Government's Bill to remove coloured voters from the common voters' roll.

Mr. Wade is a professor of law in Cambridge University and the author of several books on constitutional law.

He said that, in his opinion, the Union Government had full power to amend the section of the South African law dealing with the entrenched clauses.

The Union Parliament, he said, had since 1931, when it acquired equal power with the British Parliament, enjoyed complete power to amend the entrenched clauses from that date.

These clauses include the provision that the legislation disqualifying voters on grounds of race and

colour must be passed by a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting together.

The Separate Representation of Voters Act was passed through the Houses separately and with a simple majority.

Commentators cabling from South Africa have taken the gravest view of the situation that has arisen in that country during the weekend, writes a P.T.I. correspondent from London.

Not only has Dr. Malan "United all non-Nationalists against him for the first time" but he is also meeting with considerable opposition from his own party according to British Press correspondents in South Africa.

The South African Premier's decision to introduce legislation as soon as possible to "place the sovereignty of Parliament beyond doubt" has caused a crisis which is regarded "as the greatest in the country's history" said the special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, writing from Cape Town.

Dr. Malan's South Africa

The fascist standpoint of South Africa, led by the fanatical group under Dr. Malan, is clearly given by Garrick Fullerton. Writing in the February 22 issue of the *World Interpreter* he gives a complete background of the present deadlock as follows:

"Contrary to the popular belief, the world's small nations are not always paragons of virtue. Some of them possess a capacity for stubborn backwardness which is almost unimaginable. Such is the case with the Union of South Africa, where for several years a tiny group of race-conscious fanatics has defied not only three-fourths of the country's population but the rest of the world besides.

The initial question, the treatment of people of Indian origin, was first considered by the U.N. in 1946, as the result of a protest by India and Pakistan against the discrimination being applied to South Africa's 200,000 Indians. These people, originally brought to the Cape by British colonists, are denied political equality with Europeans and subject to discrimination in housing and employment opportunities, all on the basis of "apartheid," an Afrikaner doctrine closely resembling Hitler's idea of the "master race."

South Africa argues that since the populations involved are nationals of the South African Union, the affair is no concern of Pakistan or India and still less a concern of the U.N. Conveniently forgotten is an international agreement on the subject which has been consistently violated since 1943. Various efforts at conciliation have been fruitless, the most recent being an attempt by last year's General Assembly to organize a round-table conference of the three governments. South Africa refused to take part.

The second question, a great deal more complicated, is that of the territory of South-west Africa which the Union government administered as a League

of Nations Mandate between the two wars and which it wants to annex. The General Assembly holds that it should be transformed into a Trusteeship Territory like most of the former mandates.

Aside from the complex legal issues, the quality of the administration has been questioned, and extremely serious charges have been laid against the Union government. Natives have been driven from their land so that their farms could be turned over to white settlers. Those who refused to leave have had their houses and gardens burned and their windmills destroyed. The more recalcitrant communities have been bombed and strafed. Furthermore, in the areas of white penetration, by means of the *Pass Laws*, the *Masters and Servants Act*, and other discriminatory legislation, the native populations have been reduced to a status of absolute servitude and degradation, hardly distinguishable from slavery. So run the complaints, backed by impressive evidence.

South Africa's case for annexation rests upon a "referendum" conducted among the tribes of the territory in 1946. According to the Union government's figures, some 208,850 people favored incorporation and only 33,620 were opposed. These figures lose all meaning, however, when one considers the method of the "referendum." In an almost totally illiterate population (itself an indictment of South Africa's administration) there was no question, of course, of a written ballot. Actually, most of the natives did not even vote as individuals. South African officials merely called in the tribal chiefs and headmen and asked them to consider one or another of carefully worded propositions.

In 1950, the International Court of Justice, whose competence in the case South Africa refuses to recognize, furnished an advisory opinion at the General Assembly's request. Among other things it said that South Africa has the same obligations toward the territory as it had under the mandate, that supervision of the administration should be exercised by the U.N., and that South Africa could modify the status of the territory only with U.N. consent. The Assembly last year created a special committee to negotiate with the Union government about the best means of implementing the Court's decision, but no progress resulted.

Both these questions, that of the Indian minority and that of South-West Africa, are complicated by the internal political situation in the Union itself. The European population is just about evenly divided between Boers and English, and such is the rancor that still exists between the two peoples that they form entirely separate political parties.

The Boer party, headed by Dr. D. F. Malan, the present Prime Minister, was openly pro-Nazi during the war and some of its leaders served prison sentences. It demands a republican form of government and the annexation not only of South-West Africa

but also of Swaziland and Basutoland, two small territories within the Union which are still under British control. The English party opposes the annexations because the Boers predominate in those areas. During the war the English backed the Allied cause, and are of course far more solicitous of Commonwealth ties than is Dr. Malan. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that there are vital differences between the parties as far as the race issue goes.

No account of these problems would be complete without a mention of the magnificent efforts put forward by two men who have fought many long years, often without support, for the rights of the peoples involved. Among the Indian minority, the well-known son of Mahatma Gandhi carries on the heroic work his father began in South Africa and took to India. For the tribes of South-West Africa, especially the Herero people, the Reverend Michael Scott, an Anglican clergyman, has carried the fight single-handed to the U. N. and has aroused world opinion. For his pains he has been branded "a well-known, hostile, and fanatic foreigner and agitator" by Dr. Malan, and he has now been refused permission to return to South Africa.

As might be expected, the Union government found practically no support among the other delegations at the General Assembly this year. The long and bitter debates centered mainly in questions of procedure. And for the most part the South Africans boycotted the discussions. When they did participate, they confined themselves to legalistic arguments, beautifully logical but showing scant concern for justice. When the chiefs who had been invited to come to Paris and testify were not allowed to leave their territory, the Assembly's Trusteeship Committee limited itself to expressing its "regret." Further, although these same people have been demanding since 1947 that an impartial U.N. commission be sent to investigate conditions in the territory, no delegate made such a proposal.

What especially disappointed many observers was the noncommittal attitude of the larger nations. The Soviet Union opposed the re-creation of the committee on South West Africa, ostensibly on the ground that more positive action was necessary—yet it offered no alternative proposal. The United States voted for two of the resolutions and even co-sponsored one, but it could hardly be maintained that the U.S. delegation played an active role. The Commonwealth nations, India and Pakistan excepted, abstained to a man on all the important votes. Belgium did likewise. France and the Netherlands voted for only one of the resolutions.

Germ Warfare

Sri Sampurnanand brought up the question of Germ Warfare in the course of foreign policy discussions, in the A.-I. C. C. sessions.

He made a special reference to the bacteriological war reported to have taken place in Korea. Any such inhuman act must be resisted, he said.

But the U.S.A. has vehemently denied this accusation and has asked for an impartial enquiry. The U.N. has taken up the question without loss of time.

M. Trygve Lie, U.N. Secretary-General, has renewed his request that the International Red Cross be permitted to make an impartial investigation of Communist charges that germ warfare has caused widespread disease in Korea.

Acceptance of the U.N. Command proposal for an investigation by the Red Cross on both sides of the battle line, M. Lie said in a television interview at United Nations, N.Y., last week, would be "the test of the accusers' good faith." He again characterized the Communist charges as "utterly false."

The U.N. Command has agreed to the Red Cross offer to conduct an inquiry if it is given free access to both sides of the battle line, but no Communist reply has been received.

Meanwhile, strong support is developing in the U. N. Disarmament Commission for the proposal that the Red Cross be allowed to make an impartial investigation of Communist charges of germ warfare in Korea.

At the Commission meeting in United Nations last week, representatives of Greece, the Netherlands and Turkey backed the position stated earlier by the U.S. delegate, Mr. Benjamin Cohen.

"I want to ask M. Malik," Mr. Cohen said, "whether his Government will exercise its good offices to prevail on the Chinese Communist and North Korean authorities to accept the proposal of the International Committee of the Red Cross for an impartial investigation of these charges."

He added: "I think we are entitled not only to a direct and unequivocal answer but to the active help of the Soviet Government to make this investigation possible."

"Those who make such charges have a duty to assist and not obstruct impartial international determination of the truth."

Discussing the Communist charge further, Mr. Cohen said: "If there are epidemics in North Korea and Communist China, the source lies not in any bacteriological warfare employed by the U. N., but rather in the terrible carnage which has been left in the wake of an aggressive war, the starting and waging of which was aided and abetted by the Soviet Union."

"Monstrous falsehoods are usually used to cover up monstrous faults. If corrective measures and medical care are lacking north of the U.N. lines, it is not the fault of the U.N."

The Arab League and Israel

The following news-item from Washington, U.S.A., is of great interest to all lovers of peace:

Indications that the Arab League may be getting ready to close its rift with Israel are being closely studied by the State Department, it was learned.

In various capitals of the Moslem world signs are appearing that second thoughts are being applied to the old rigid formula of hostility to Israel. These signs take a variety of forms, all of significance in the delicate diplomatic game. There are newspaper articles, which carry much greater significance in those Middle Eastern countries, where the precise affiliations and official inspiration of each paper can be exactly appraised, than they would in most of the Western world; there are occasional guarded statements, and there are diplomatic hints.

The State Department, putting all these pieces together, finds that they add up to a surprisingly legible pattern, and one which appears to indicate that the worst threat to Middle Eastern peace may be lifting.

If these hopes should be justified, the State Department believes that the opposition to the Western nations' plan for the Middle Eastern Command would fade away. Egypt, offered a place with the leading powers in the set-up, rejected it completely. A switch in policy toward Israel might presage a more receptive attitude toward the Western powers' proposals for Middle Eastern security, it is believed here.

Some of the most encouraging signs come from Egypt, which has hitherto been the most recalcitrant foe of Israel, with whom it is still technically at war.

Increasingly frequent references in the Egyptian press to the need of reaching a settlement with Israel are considered significant both as soundings and as a means of preparing Egyptian public opinion for an improvement in relations between the two countries. They take an additional significance from the fact that they have not been denied or refuted from official sources.

One reason for this change of heart may be that a considerable proportion of Egypt's effective strength is now tied up before Gaza, the southern gateway to Palestine, and along the Sinai Desert frontier. Between them and Egypt is the Suez Canal and a tough force of 50,000 British troops, who could cut off their retreat without difficulty.

But one of the most convincing signs that the Arab League may be experiencing a change of heart comes from Pakistan, where the Foreign Minister, Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, has been saying point-blank that the first duty of the Arab States is to work out a *modus vivendi* with Israel. He stated categorically that Israel must be regarded as "a limb in the body of the Middle East," and went on to advocate a peace settlement.

When is India going to establish good relations with Israel?

Indo-China and France

The Republic of France seems to be able to carry on with Ministries that do not last more than six months or at most twelve. This phenomenon has made friends sorry and foes glad. But, somehow or other, the French men and women manage to pull themselves through. Leftists and Rightists combine to drive a Ministry out; they quarrel and separate, and help form another. Now, it is reported that the followers of General de Gaulle and those of Communists have been thinking of joining hands. The latest Ministry, headed by M. Edgar Faure, has resigned, and President Auriel will find no difficulty in finding a new one.

The Republic has, however, its little Empire, territories and wars. The Morocco and Tunisian insurrections are cases in point. In these wars, in Indo-China specially, she has spent since its beginning in 1946 about Rs. 1,900 crores, at the present rate of exchange. Currently, it costs France about Rs. 1½ crores every day, about two-fifths more than the estimates of a year ago. But Rs. 1½ crores a day is nearly ten per cent of the total French national budget, or about three per cent of the entire French national income.

It is often believed that France has been spending much less on the fighting in Indo-China than she has been receiving from the United States by way of loans, Marshall Plan funds and military aid. But this is not the case. All that enormous American assistance, totalling about \$3,000 million, has indirectly replaced only two-thirds of the cost of the Indo-China war. The Marshall Plan aid has come to an end, and American assistance now consists mainly of direct military supplies which do not offset the large and continuously mounting war expenditures. Nor do the direct military supplies from the United States add much to the materials France has to pour into Indo-China: under the Military Aid Program for 1952, American deliveries are equivalent to only 13.5 per cent of actual French war expenditures.

As to the results of all this sacrifice, the record is unfavourable and the prospects are considered grim. The Franco-Vietnamese position today is no better than at any time since the war began; probably it is worse, considering that the Vietminh forces, while having made no headway either recently, are supposed to have strengthened their reserves, which might enable them sooner or later to launch more general and more serious offensives than they could afford in the past. The hope that France may still succeed single-handed to defeat the Vietminh, which was revived at the time the resourceful General de Lattre de Tassigny took command, has vanished completely. The French rearmament programme and

the raising of the national standard of living, are both sadly lagging behind.

These are the basic facts that have greatly increased general impatience with the war in Indo-China and have raised a question which has been taboo outside extreme-Leftist and Pacifist circles: is it necessary to continue the fight in Indo-China? A prominent centre politician and former Finance Minister, M. Mendes-France, was the first to prove on the basis of official figures, that the nation could not hope to carry on at the same time the war in Indo-China and rearmament at home, to say nothing of industrial development and maintenance of the people's precarious living standards. He put the first question France would have to answer for herself in these three words: Asia or Europe? His own choice, clearly, was to devote the country's energies to its European tasks, that is, to recognize the hopelessness of the Indo-China situation and to withdraw from it. The echo to his conclusions echoed, throughout the nation: not only that they confirmed popular views about the desirability of giving up Indo-China which, for some time, have by no means been confined to Communists and Pacifists; but are increasingly being shared by a good number of politicians in the various Government parties. Even the leaders of those parties are thus finding it more and more difficult to maintain their old thesis: France must hold Indo-China, or at least keep it out of the grasp of the Vietminh, whatever the cost, and they are now obliged unanimously to declare that France must mobilize foreign aid for Indo-China since she is unable to fulfill the task alone. One of the most revealing proofs of this change of attitude was an article of M. Pierre Brisson, the managing editor of the important right-wing Figaro, who writes only twice or three times a year on occasions of special national importance. "The moment has arrived to announce that the limit of our possibilities has been reached. No other Atlantic nation has assumed for so many months, and in the midst of so many ruins at home, a task comparable to ours" (in Indo-China).

But even this new attitude is split into two shades of opinion: One, probably numerically weaker and certainly the less popular, seeks the 'internationalization of the Indo-China conflict,' i.e., the participation of France's allies, or at least the United States, in the fight against the Vietminh; the other, which could easily mobilize the support of the vast majority of the French nation, advocates the 'internationalization of a solution for Indo-China,' i.e., a UN-promoted truce that would lead to an armistice and eventually to peace by way of a plebiscite on both sides of the fighting fronts.

The French Government, the Cabinet of M. Pleven, took the first of these two views. It was of the opinion that a transfer of the Indo-China issue

to the United Nations would harm the prestige of France in the 'French Union,' and encourage dependencies like Morocco and Algiers to appeal to that International Body against the Paris authorities. The French initiative at Washington for Franco-British-American discussions on the unification of the anti-Communist effort in South-East Asia was, therefore, intended not only as a means of 'internationalising the Indo-China conflict' by obtaining more, and more direct American participation and a more active British interest in it, but also as a means of forestalling the 'internationalization of the solution' of the conflict through the good offices of the United Nations.

Meanwhile, the French are uneasily aware of the possibility that events in Asia may take the decision on Indo-China out of their hands and embroil them even more deeply in the greater struggle between the Western Powers and China. For, on the one hand, there are the rumours from Formosa about Chinese troop concentrations on the Vietminh-held borders of Indo-China, which some interpret as a possible prelude to outright Chinese participation in the Indo-China war. And on the other hand, there are the accusations, according to which America, with the co-operation of Siam, has been helping to reinforce the remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's South-western forces.

Security Plan for Western Europe

From Paris where the sixth session of the United Nations Organization had held its sittings that is just closed without being able to solve any problem, a news item was sent on January 7 last that

"India announced today that she would abstain from voting on the new Western Collective Security Plan. But she reserved her position on the rival Soviet move to call a 'top level' Security Council meeting to consider world tension and Korean peace."

"The Indian delegate, Sardar H. S. Malik, told the United Nations Political Committee that the Western resolution 'might increase mutual ill-will.' He recalled that India had abstained from voting on the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution last year, as she could not agree to the main recommendations relating to the maintenance of national units for service under the United Nations."

"Our main objection was on the ground that it was inopportune to stress the military aspects of the functions of the United Nations at a time when all the peoples of the world were looking for peace."

"Recommendations of the General Assembly were not as binding on member States as decisions of the Security Council and if some members carried them out and not others, particularly against the views of one of the Big Powers, 'There is grave danger of war on a large scale.'"

"Referring to Korea, Sardar Malik said that des-

pite talks, the general hope was that there would be a successful outcome of the negotiations and that the fighting would cease.

"At the present time when the hopes of the people of the world are centred on the United Nations to bring some relief from the prevailing dangerous tension and to secure peace, it seems to be inopportune to proceed with a proposal which might result not in lessening but in increasing the prevailing tension, mutual suspicion and ill-will."

"Mr. R. S. Chhatari of Pakistan announced that his Delegation would support the Western resolution. He said he was pleased with the assurances contained in it that no State would be committed by the collective measures proposed. He did not agree with that section of the Soviet resolution which would abolish the Collective Measures Committee."

"With regard to the Soviet proposal for a Security Council meeting, he said: 'It would give us pleasure if the great powers would meet without using the veto to achieve international peace.'"

"American Press reports said that the United States would probably turn down any new British proposal to revive the 'Combined Chiefs of Staff,' the Joint High Command which shaped strategy in World War II."

"The Defence Department's view was that while the combined Chiefs Agency was highly useful in fighting a world war, such an Anglo-American command would not be needed to operate in a North Atlantic Alliance."

This was from Washington dated December 25. Since then there has been a Truman-Churchill meeting and the latter has been prevailed upon in exchange for unspecified help to agree to many a U.S.A. demand while the former has climbed down from her high attitude towards the new regime in China and other consequences of Japan's defeat.

The following two news-items sent on March 20 last from Bonn by the *United Press of America* tell of the situation up-to-date. The first is headed "West German Guarantee to the U.N.O. Commission," the second, "Western Envoys' Meeting Likely" with a sub-heading "All German Government." Later news says that the Western Powers have rejected the East German offer, as it does not guarantee free and fair elections, free speech, and other democratic rights.

"The West German Government granted full dominion privileges and immunities as recognized by international law," to the U.N.O. Commission which is here to investigate whether conditions exist in Germany for free elections.

"The guarantee was presented by West German Federal Vice-Chancellor, Frank Bluecher to Professor Kristjan Albertson (Iceland), Chairman of the Commission. The Commission is composed of Brasil, Holland, Iceland and Pakistan representatives."

"The Western Powers may propose a meeting of

the High Commissioners with the Soviet occupant chief to discuss methods of forming an all-German Government."

Partition of Sudan

Another partition is on its way. This time it is in North Africa where we shall see the country dissected into two. The Egyptian Premier Hilaly Pasha is sending to London Amir Pasha, former Ambassador and close friend of King Farouk, to assure the British Government that Egypt was prepared to consider partition of the Sudan in order to solve the present dispute with Britain.

Circles close to the Egyptian Embassy point out that no other Egyptian Government was so eager as Hilaly Pasha's Government to make such a handsome offer to resolve the thorny problem.

In fact, all previous Governments in Cairo have accused Britain of the policy of "divide and rule" and preparing the way to divide the Sudan so that the North which was politically and economically more advanced and overwhelmingly Muslim would be handed over to Egypt and the more backward and essentially Pagan South would be joined to Kenya or Uganda and stay under the British flag and British administration. Hilaly Pasha's emissary to London will undoubtedly emphasise to Mr. Eden that his Government was persuaded to this change of policy in view of Britain's strategic needs.

This partition device is no new thing. Minority feelings are sought to be reconciled to the whole State by its adoption. And an early incision saves a lot of trouble and agitation. In India, we have this problem still troubling us. And the Nehru Government has been acting very unwisely in postponing decision in this matter. The Andhra Province is a symbol of this idea.

The partition of the Sudan will lead to eventual freedom of what is called the "Pagan" South. The Kenya-Uganda federation may put it under European domination. But the majority will prevail ultimately. And Malan's evil example will be scotched, liberating 16 crores of men and women from foreign rule.

Hydel Electricity in Agriculture

The following news-item from the *News and Views* of the Soviets, gives a very clear and interesting pointer towards the use of hydel power in co-operative farms in lands reclaimed under our river valley schemes.

"Electricity finds growing application in Soviet agriculture. The number of rural power stations grows steadily. Since 1949 electric tractors are successfully working in the collective farm fields; electricity is used for threshing and cleaning grain and in livestock raising for pumping water, preparing fodder, milking cows and shearing sheep."

The building of gigantic hydro-electric stations on the Volga, Dnieper, Don and Amu Darya will supply

Soviet agriculture vast quantities of cheap electric power. Electric machine and tractor stations are being organized to serve to the collective farms, new electric machinery and equipment for agriculture is being designed and tested. This article describes scientific research in the use of electricity for agriculture.

Formerly, the electric tractor could plough up only 16 hectares after which the sub-station had to be moved to a new place and again hooked up to the power line. Now, by using additional cable, the tractor can travel 1,500 metres from the sub-station covering a much wider range. It can plough up as much on the other side of the line. All told a tractor of the new design can plough up and cultivate 250 hectares, without moving the sub-station.

Simultaneously, a plough of a new design is being tested. Its designers are Ivanovs—husband and wife, engineers—who have many different plough models to their credit. But the latest is really a novelty.

The Ivanovs have designed a plough with two sections of shares, right and left mouldboards. The electric tractor turns up to the soil to the left, while five shares of the right mouldboard are suspended in the air. At the end of the field the tractor driver, by pressing a hydraulic control lever, removes from the soil the shares of the left mouldboards. Turning around the machine and getting back into the furrow the tractor driver sinks into the soil the shares of the right mouldboard. In this way a tractor can start ploughing a field from any side and work without any idle runs.

The designers closely followed the plough. The depth of ploughing reached 35 centimetres, a load seldom handled both by the tractor and the ploughs. The splendid performance of the plough highly impressed all who followed these tests."

Marine Biology

The Fishing Industry in India is almost as old as India itself. And yet so few of our fishermen really know, as Dr. Rajendra Prasad put it, "the habits of fish or the influence of currents and seasons upon the appearance and disappearance of marine fauna." To enable India's fishermen, particularly those who dwell along her shores, to pursue with more intelligence and success their age-old industry, Dr. Prasad inaugurated on May 27 the Taraporevala Aquarium at Bombay. Thanks to the munificent donation of Rs. 2 lakhs the fisherfolk around Bombay will have an opportunity of studying through their own language medium facts essential for their trade. The Aquarium will thus be not merely the counter part of a Zoo or a Museum but a place where research will be carried out in the maritime life along our shores. To the extent to which the Aquarium assists in the exploitation of the fish-wealth of our country it will be doing a real service in combating the recurring famines that we have been experiencing.

The opening of the Bombay Aquarium is welcome. But equally important are the fishing-folk in India's eastern shores. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy's grandiose sea-fish hunting with the help of Danish fishermen has struck a rock because it is too expensive for our people. Recent news tells us that the help of Japanese fishermen is being sought now.

Cultural Relations between India and Denmark

The following will be found of more permanent value than politics:

"Dr. Wolmer Clemmensen, Secretary to the Danish-Indian Society in Copenhagen, has spent a couple of months in India as a guest of the Government of India.

"The Danish-Indian Society was founded in 1948 for the furthering of the cultural relations between India and Denmark and the widening of the mutual knowledge and understanding between the two people. Among the activities of the Society may practically be mentioned the invitations extended to Indian students in Europe to visit Denmark during their studies as guests of the Society. About 50 students have during the last two years availed themselves of this opportunity to come to Copenhagen to become acquainted with life in Denmark.

"Dr. Clemmensen has visited and lectured at the Universities of Aligarh, Benares, Nagpur, Madras, Trivandrum, Bangalore and Poona.

"Dr. Thorbjorn Moller of the University of Copenhagen, who has a profound knowledge of Hinduism, has recently visited India to study Hinduism, especially in South India with a view to collect material for a book on Hinduism.

"Denmark takes a great and growing interest in India and an increasing number of Danish Journalists have lately visited India.

"At the present the world-famous Danish author and Journalist Mr. Karl Eskelund and his Chinese-born wife are visiting India to write a book on India's country and people.

"Karl Eskelund has written 5 books, published in 12 languages. He has travelled through 50 countries and finds India highly attractive and intends spending several months here."

Golden Jubilee Celebrations

We gladly make room for the following:

"The Ramakrishna Mission Home of Service, Banaras, celebrated its Golden Jubilee from the 6th to the 9th March, 1952. The celebrations were attended by very large gatherings on all the four days and were a grand success. They were completed by the 5th March, 1952.

"An exhibition on health and hygiene, held through the courtesy of the Government of Uttar Pradesh, drew large crowds on all the gala days. On the western side, scenes relating to the life of Sri Ramakrishna

and Swami Vivekananda and the spread of the Ramakrishna Organisation were exhibited by means of beautiful drawings and models. On the northern side, the long and spacious verandah of the Library building was utilised for the display of the activities of the various centres of the Ramakrishna Mission in India and abroad. On the two sides of the dais were placed artistically decorated portraits of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda.

"Swami Vishuddhanandaji formally opened the celebrations with a highly illuminating speech bearing on Seva-dharma. He invoked the blessings of Sri Ramakrishna for the success of the Jubilee celebrations, and Swami Vimuktanandaji and Swami Japanandaji spoke next, elucidating the ideal of service to the suffering humanity.

"In the afternoon at 4-30 P.M. His Highness, Sri Vibhuti Narain Singh Bahadur, Maharaja, Banaras, presided over a meeting. The Secretary of the Home of Service read out a brief report of the activities of the Home for the past half a century. The report disclosed the regrettable fact that the financial position of the institution during the last few years had not been at all satisfactory. An appeal was made for more funds. The Maharaja also inaugurated the exhibitions. A film show on health and education, and music ended the day's function.

"On the 7th March, 1952, Sri Krishna Prasad, C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P., Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs, Government of India, presided over the meeting. Pandit Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, D. Litt., Head of the Hindi Department, Banaras Hindu University and Shri Haridas Bhattacharyya, Professor, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, delivered speeches. The students of the Rajghat Besant College and Montessori School and Nursery Section of the Central Hindu Girls' School, Banaras, entertained the audience with a dramatic performance. Sri Satyanshu Mukhopadhyaya, Principal, Teachers' Training College, Banaras Hindu University, brought the day's function to a close by moving a vote of thanks to the chair.

"On the 8th March, 1952, Dr. K. C. K. E. Rajah, Director of Health Services, Government of India, inaugurated the X-Ray Department of the Home in the afternoon in the presence of many eminent doctors of Banaras. Captain S. K. Chowdhury, one of the members of the Managing Committee of the Home of Service, thanked the Director for kindly opening the Department. He offered thanks also to the Government for their kind donation of Rs. 600 and to the proprietors of M. Bhattacharyya & Co. for their generous donation of Rs. 20,000 towards the construction of the X-Ray buildings in memory of the late Mahesh Chandra Bhattacharyya of many charities. He also appealed to the public for further donations for the said purpose. Dr. Hafis Syed, Professor,

Allahabad University, Miss Kartar Kaur Paintal, Headmistress, Central Hindu Girls' School, Banaras and Swami Japanandaji gave nice addresses on India and world peace, Service before self, etc. Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Head of the Department of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, moved a vote of thanks to the chair.

"On Sunday, the 9th March, the last day of the celebrations, Pandit H. N. Kunsru, President, Servant of India Society, was the chairman. Dr. K. K. Bhattacharyya, Dean of the Faculty of Law, Allahabad University, Prof. Arabinda Bose, Banaras Hindu University and Swami Gambhiranandaji, one of the Asst. Secretaries of the Ramakrishna Mission, made speeches on the ideal of service as preached by Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, Nationalism and Swami Vivekananda. The President in his speech said that the Ramakrishna Mission differed from other institutions in this respect that it was the only organisation which while following a unique ideal of service, has at the same time produced a band of absolutely selfless workers who have dedicated their lives and everything to the service of God in the suffering humanity. Swami Bhaswaranandaji, the Assistant Secretary of the Home of Service, gave thanks to all those who had kindly helped to make the celebrations such a grand success.

"Swami Vishuddhanandaji, Vice-President of the Ramakrishna Mission, graced the occasion and inspired the audience by his presence throughout in the meetings of all the days.

"Four publications as part of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations were made available to the public: (1) *A Golden Jubilee Souvenir* in English; price Rs. 3-8. (2) *A Golden Jubilee Memorial Booklet* in English at a nominal price of As. 2 only. (3) *A Golden Jubilee Memorial Booklet* in Hindi at a nominal price of As. 2 only. (4) *Swami Vivekananda's Ideal of Karma-Yoga* in English (Sreemat Swami Vishuddhanandaji's speech), distributed free."

Memorial to Lady Abala Bose

We have no doubt that Doctor Harendra Coomar Mookherjee, who has inherited many of the unfulfilled ideas of his predecessor, will see that a memorial for the late Abala Bose is given shape to during his term of office. Doctor Harendra Coomar started with one advantage being a native of the province. He knows its educational requirements as thoroughly as anybody else. And we expect that he will make a special effort to give shape to the memorial to Abala Bose who dedicated nearly fifty years of her life to women's education, general and vocational.

In the memorial meeting, the resolution was moved by the treasurer Sri Bhagirath Kanoria, whose name is a guarantee, in the following words:

"This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta is strongly of opinion that there should be a suitable memorial to Lady Abala Bose, the founder of the

Nari Siksha Samity to the cause of which she gave her time, thought and energy for the last thirty years.

"It resolves that a substantial endowment fund be raised to be named 'Lady Abala Bose Endowment Fund' the income of which is to be utilised for the maintenance of the institutions under the Nari Siksha Samity."

It is up to the Nari Siksha Samity to be moving in the matter. The first step should be to formally approach the Governor and be-speak his support.

Abdul Rezak

News from Dehri-on-the-Sone told us that on the 22nd of January last this nationalist Muslim breathed his last. His life-long devotion to the cause of the Congress, specially under Gandhiji's inspiration, has had a steadying effect on communalism in that province. In tune with the simplicity of life practised by Gandhiji, Abdul Rezak went so far as to dress in gunny-cloth, and in the matter of food took it only once in 24 hours. Thus the Ramzan practice of a month only was extended to 12 months, not a difficult habit when idealism is there to uphold one. Our sincere condolences to his bereaved family. May he find peace.

Swami Yogananda

Swami Yogananda, Founder-President of the Self-Realisation Fellowship in America and Yogoda Sat-Sanga Society of India, died on March 7 last, at Los Angeles, California, while addressing a meeting in honour of Mr. B. R. Sen, India's Ambassador to U.S.A. He was 62.

Son of Bhagabati Charan Ghosh, a high official of the B.N.R., his family name was Mukundalal Ghosh. A graduate of the Calcutta University, he met his Guru, Giriji Maharej first at Banaras. After that he came to his Serampore Ashram and moulded his life under the guidance of the Guru.

Swami Yogananda went to America in 1920 as the delegate from India to the International Congress of Religious Liberals in Boston. The first Yogoda Satsanga centre in America was organised in Boston. He then proceeded to New York, Philadelphia and other cities. He established the Western Headquarters of the Yogoda Satsanga on Mount Washington in Los Angeles. A Satsanga centre was organised also in Washington under the leadership of a group of local businessmen. The Yogoda Math at Dakshineswar is the headquarters of all centres in various parts of India.

Sannyasins are generally beyond human sorrow and grief. But when any one of them impresses himself on society and its affairs, society learns to look upon him as one of its own. Swami Yogananda was one such. And we share the grief felt by his followers and relatives.

K. S. Venkatramani

Among the few Indian writers who have used

the English language, K. S. Venkatramani achieved a fair measure of success. He was a writer of exquisite charm and it is to his credit that he was able to transplant the Indian atmosphere in his English works. This he did by using the natural Indian style and the South Indian environment and social habits. His *Paper Boats* which gained him recognition in England as a writer of promise are delightful sketches of Indian scenes. One of the sponsors of the "Back to the Land" movement, he was a great champion of the village life of India and he tried to inspire the people in his campaign by a Tamil magazine which he was editing for years at great sacrifice. Recently his services to literature and the cultural life of the South were recognised when a purse was presented to him on his sixty-first birthday. His death last month will be widely deplored. He gave himself no rest—the mark of an ardent spirit burning to carry a message of human uplift. Our sympathies go to his bereaved family.

Don Stephen Senanayake

Don Stephen Senanayake, first Premier of Ceylon, died on March 22nd last from injuries received in a fall from his horse. He was a gentleman-farmer who turned Nationalist leader and steered Ceylon through the difficult first years of independence as the Dominion's first Prime Minister. He was 68.

While the island was still a British Colony, he led her war-effort as leader of the Ceylon State Council. Powerfully built, bluff, jovial and heavily moustached, he was famous as a young man for feats of strength, and was a champion boxer and wrestler. But he was also the man of whom Lord Soulbury, Governor-General of Ceylon, said: "He is a statesman of judgment, sagacity and foresight."

Though he did so much to achieve Ceylon's independence within the Commonwealth, Mr. Senanayake did not enter politics until he was 42. And his career was "made" by a prison sentence.

Son of a well-to-do landowner, he was born in October 1884 and went to school in Colombo at St. Thomas Church of England College. He entered public life only as a temperance reformer—a conviction arising out of his staunch Buddhism.

In 1915, he was arrested with other prominent Sinhalese after Muslim-Buddhist riots in Ceylon. He came out of gaol after a short time to find himself overnight a national hero, and took to the growing national independence movement.

At 42 he was elected to the Legislative Council, and five years later in 1931 became Minister for Agriculture and Lands. Here his early farming background helped, and he did much for the island's farming. Mr. Senanayake held the post until the Crown Colony achieved Dominion Status in 1948, when he took over as first Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and External Affairs.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM OF INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

The population problem is a fundamental human problem. It affects every aspect of man's life—social, individual, national, and international. It affects the health and happiness of individual families; it affects the social progress of nations; and it affects the peace of the whole world, for population problem may lead to war. The population question is the crux of our economic problem. And yet our human resources, our greatest potential asset, are in many ways the most neglected and most poorly developed. India's manpower, which is more important and valuable than land, minerals, forests, fisheries or any other natural resources, receives but little care or attention.

PROBLEM OF POPULATION

There are people who argue that India is over-populated. The question needs consideration. One factor for measuring over-population is its pressure per square mile. The pressure depends on the geographical situation of the country like configuration of land, fertility of soil, climate, the degree of industrialisation, security of life and property, standard of living of the people and the availability of economic resources and their exploitation. It should be remembered that at no time a country may be absolutely over-populated, for whether it be the insect or bacteria or human being, there is an optimum fixed by nature—the Logistic Curve of the Biological Growth of Population—which is never exceeded. Sociological research has shown that there are two kinds of over-population, conveniently called the absolute and the relative over-population. A country is considered to have an absolute over-population only when it is unable, under the best possible government and economic organisation that human ingenuity can devise, to provide itself with enough means of occupation for the adequate sustenance of its people. Thus if in any one country all known methods of production are employed and all natural resources utilised, and yet there is a surplus population which cannot be provided with wealth or occupation, it is said to be over-populated in the absolute sense. Thus it is difficult to believe that, for centuries to come countries like Germany, France or Japan can have an absolute over-population for the rationalisation of industries. The adoption of the methods of scientific management and modernisation of agricultural methods of production will enable these and similar other countries to support a much larger population than what they do at present. If this is true in case of these countries it must also be true in respect of India which can produce various and varying kinds of cereals, raw materials and fruits and all kinds of minerals. Such conditions prevailing, India cannot certainly be considered to be already over-populated in the absolute sense. Opinions of men whose knowledge cannot be disputed and authority

cannot be denied, lead us to believe that India is not producing one-tenth of what it could by methods already known to humanity. Arnold Lupton has remarked:

"This great country and this great people with its enormous well-ordered population sufficient for all work it has to do, could, if wisely guided, support double its present number in health, plenty and pleasure."

To quote one more example, according to Sir Visvesvaraya:

"Under favourable conditions, with steadfast perseverance in a settled national policy, and by the introduction of science, modern machinery and up-to-date business methods, the production of the country from agriculture and manufactures could easily be doubled within next ten and trebled in fifteen years."

Countless examples could be cited to prove that India's phenomenal under-production is not due to natural causes but due to fault of man. It, therefore, cannot be held that India is over-populated in the absolute sense.

Now let us turn to the question of relative over-population. If in any country on account of avoidable circumstances there is neither enough wealth nor means of livelihood for the existing population, the country is relatively over-populated. The avoidable circumstances may be illiteracy, mis-government, mal-administration, dis-unity, internal dissension, negligence of industries, absence of compulsory education, lack of industrial, commercial and agricultural training or antiquated methods of production. These are the very problems which confront India. There are large natural resources and the inhabitants are endowed with the different kinds and grades of latent talent, and yet she is not maintaining a reasonably high standard of living for its population. Hence, India is only relatively over-populated because her vast natural and human resources have so far been neglected. This is not the case with India alone, other countries of the world are also suffering from relative over-population. As long as there are millions of unemployed people who, in spite of ability, energy and will are unable to find work; as long as millions of people are under-employed; and as long as many more millions suffer from want and from lack of necessities and comforts, a country must be held to be relatively over-populated. Most countries in the world including the most progressive and civilized countries are suffering from relative over-population.

PRESSURE OF POPULATION

The number of people living per sq. mile in a country is known as the density of population. India had a density of 255 persons per sq. mile (in 1947) as against 708 (1944) in Belgium, 703 (1940) in England and Wales, 639 in Netherlands, 260 (1940) in

Japan, 437 (1940) in U.S.A., 382 (1939) in Germany, and 200 (1947) in Pakistan. A high density does not in any way denote a high standard of well-being in a country. It is no indication of the economic condition of the country. For instance, Belgium has a density of 708 persons or little less than that of West Bengal but her people have a much higher standard of living than the people of Western Bengal. Again, the density of population in England and Wales is 703 and in America only 437 but the prosperity and economic development of the latter is much higher. The figures of density have, therefore, no meaning for the comparative study of economic prosperity of various regions in the country; on the other hand, they reflect the differences in physical and climatic conditions of the various regions and various stages of economic development in them.

The density varies considerably from place to place in India, being highest in the Ganges Valley and parts of the East Punjab and South India (Malabar Coast), and lowest in the outlying desert and hill tracts; parts of North Bengal have a mean density of over a thousand per square mile, while there are tracts in Assam and Rajasthan where there are less than 2 persons per square mile.

SEX COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

The distribution of population according to sex has economic bearings, in so far as it affects the labour supply through marriage and fecundity. The disparity in the sex ratio in the composition of the Indian population is well-known. There is an acute shortage of females as compared with males. According to 1951 census there are 946 females for every 1000 males as against 934 in 1941; 940 in 1931; 945 in 1921; 953 in 1911; 963 in 1901; 958 in 1891 and 954 in 1881. What is more alarming is the fact that instead of showing diminution this disparity has tended to increase from decade to decade. There is also a great sex disparity between the different socio-economic groups, e.g., among the major communities of India the scarcity of females is the largest; in the case of Sikhs, there are only 78 females for every 100 males as against 95 females in the case of Hindus and Christians; 94 in that of Jains and Parsis and 90 in that of Muslims for every 100 males. This disparity is felt throughout the major provinces of India. The only States which show an excess of females over males are Madras (1004), Orissa (1023) and Travancore-Cochin (1007: 1000). The acute shortage of females is to be met with in the East Punjab and West Bengal, where there are 863 and 861 females per 1000 males respectively. The proportion of females to males becomes less as one proceeds from South and East to North and West of India.

The proportion of male to female births in India is 108 to 100 while it is generally 106 to 100 in Western countries. Throughout Europe there is an excess of females but in India there is an excess of males over

females, e.g., U.S.A. has 993 females for her 1000 male as against, 1088 females per 1000 males in England and Wales. The corresponding figures for Germany are 1050, for France 1071, for Italy 1087, for Sweden 102 and for India 946. In Europe and other foreign countries, the excess of females over males in the total population is ascribed to the greater mortality among males due to the dangers of their occupations as soldiers, sailors, miners, railway and factory hands and also to vice and other excesses which shorten life. Thus more males die off leaving an excess of female children to grow up into women.

Women generally have a lower death rate than men because nature has equipped them better to meet diseases. In India though the number of males born is greater than that of females, yet organically the female sex is stronger, the male sex being the weaker vessel. According to the statistics collected by the League of Nations, it will be seen that at all ages, the expectation of life for women is greater than for men in all countries, except India upto the age of 40 where mortality among women during the child-bearing age is particularly high. In India up to the age of 12 the mortality of female children is less than that of male children. It is after the age of 12 and up to the age of 45 (the child-bearing age) that huge numbers of women are cut off, thus reducing the ratio of females to males in India and creating a problem exactly the reverse of that in the West. The death of young mothers is more common during a somewhat later period of maternity, between the ages of 25 and 35, due to physical exhaustion and nervous breakdown, which follow in the wake of premature child-bearing.

Thus there has been a progressive decline in the number of females in India. Various reasons have been urged in the explanation of these figures:

(i) The prevalence of early marriage, e.g., in 1931, 407 males and 493 females out of every 1000 were married; taking widowers, widows, ascetics and mendicants into account this means that almost every person of marriageable age was actually married;

(ii) Neglect of female life because of social attitude in the country wherein the birth of a girl is looked upon as a liability and the boy is welcomed as an asset;

(iii) The maternal mortality consequent on premature child-birth (one hundred out of every 1000 girl wives are doomed to die in child-birth);

(iv) The social ban on widow remarriage which means that about 12 million women do not participate in active motherhood;

(v) The caste system also worsening the situation for there is every possibility that in a particular caste there may be comparatively more females of the reproductive age than males of the same age group, therefore, the problem of every adult male finding a bride of a suitable age in his own caste becomes acute, (in fact excessive masculinity in the sex ratio of the

population group must be regarded as a result of (iii) (iii) According to Dr. Neal Edwards the most important cause of scarcity of females is the puerperal fever, anaemia, albuminuria, convulsions and haemorrhage; behind these immediate causes are three ultimate factors—poverty, malnutrition and insanitary living; early and frequent child-bearing and inadequate pre- and post-natal care;

(iv) Certain regional conditions affecting death rates among the females also afford a partial explanation of the adverse sex-ratio. According to Dr. Mookerjee:

"In the plague regions of India, the malady appears to bear more savagely on females than on males; similarly in malaria-burdened zones, malaria appears to exercise a selective lethal influence on women. On the whole, where economic pressure is more severe and the women are exposed to the hardships of struggle with the soil and climate, as in the zones of precarious rainfall, there is a striking and permanent scarcity of women."

We may sum up the situation in the words of Dr. J. H. Hutton thus:

"The female infant is definitely better equipped by nature for survival than the male, but in India the advantages she has at birth are probably neutralised in infancy by comparative neglect and in adolescence by the strain of bearing children too early and too often."

In the industrial towns of India males greatly outnumber females, the number of females per 1000 males in 1941 was only 464 in Calcutta, 581 in Bombay and 550 in Howrah. This disparity is accounted for by the migratory character of the Indian labourers who do not bring their families to the towns and by the fact that women do not usually get many jobs in the urban industries. In Europe, on the other hand, there is commonly an excess of females in large cities. In the period between the ages of 10 and 20 the girls migrate to the towns as domestic servants, clerks, typists, etc. In the period of age beyond 50 men again migrate from the towns back to the country. It may also be that men become incapacitated for work before women. The scarcity of women in industrial towns in India leads to prostitution and many other vices like gambling, drinking, etc.

AGE COMPOSITION

A study of the age distribution of the population is essential for determining the proportion of the working population to non-working dependents. The age distribution of the population in every country can be shown in the form of a pyramid.

The base of the pyramid is formed by the age group D-10 which usually includes the largest percentage of the population. The pyramid gradually narrows down as the higher age groups are reached. In the case of India, the age pyramid has the broadest base of all countries owing to the comparatively high birth rate. The pyramid, however, tapers towards a

point more sharply than in the case of any other country, indicating the inferior longevity of the Indian population. There are relatively very few people in India who live beyond the age of 50.

Sandberg, the Swedish statistician, based his classification of population into certain types on the distribution of population. According to him, a population was to be (i) progressive, if the proportions in the three age-groups were 40, 50 and 10 respectively, (ii) stationary, if the proportions were 33, 50 and 17 and (iii) regressive, if the proportions were 20, 50 and 30 respectively.

Thus Sandberg was of opinion that a normal population has about one half of its total between the age of 15 and 50 and the proportion of those above that age group to those below it indicates whether the population is increasing, stationary or declining. To be more precise:

"The youngest of the three groups must be double the eldest if the population is to continue to grow. Just short of that point it must be stationary."

According to this distribution our population seems clearly to be progressive. Remember that in India the working age of population is between 15 and 40 and not 15 and 50 as given by Sandberg. Hence, Sandberg's categories need some adjustment before they are applied to India. Sir Edward Gaits, the Census Commissioner for India, therefore, was right when he took the "age groups 15-40" instead of 15-50 (as done by Sandberg), partly because old age comes on quicker in India, and partly this corresponds more closely to the reproductive period of life. Taking the distribution of population on this basis, we find that the youngest age group (0-14) is slightly more than double (39.8 in 1938) the oldest (18.9). The relation is more similar to the proportions of a stationary type than those of the progressive type. It will thus appear that the working population—both male and female—in India, i.e., between 15 and 40 is 41 per cent of the total population and the rest 59 per cent is composed of the "unproductive section" of the population, counting beads and thinking of the other world. Owing to certain social customs prevailing in the country among the higher caste Hindus and Muslims, a considerable proportion of the females do not take part in the production of wealth except in so far as they perform services as mothers and as housewives. Hence, the whole burden of supporting the whole population falls on about 30 per cent of the working population, whereas in Europe and other Western countries the accepted age limit of the working population is between 15 and 60. On this standard there are 30 per cent people in the working age in India as compared with 61 per cent in France (1940), 65 per cent in England and Wales (1937), 66 per cent in Sweden (1938) and Germany, 63 per cent in Canada (1938), 59 per cent in Italy (1936), and 65 per cent in

U.S.A. This has serious consequences on the production and standard of well-being of the people in the country as it exhibits our qualitative deficiency as against greater numerical strength.

RURAL URBAN COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

The distribution of population between rural and urban areas is highly significant. Economic progress in every country has been marked by a corresponding increase in urban population. The preponderately rural character of our country is a sign of her economic backwardness. It shows unmistakably that we are yet far behind other-civilized countries in the development of trade, transport and industry. The rural urban distribution of population is also significant from another point of view. It throws light on a people's national character. The rural people are lethargic, conservative and superstitious, they are stagnates. Villages act as a drag on economic progress, whereas the urbanisation is the result of industrialisation, increase in trade and commerce and growth of arts and sciences. The urban people, consequently, are alert, industrious and resourceful. It is from the cities that progressive ideas radiate and civilization spreads around. The fact that we have only a few cities shows that the springs of economic progress are weak.

It has been rightly remarked that the Indian nation lives in villages. There are over 500,000 villages, and the average population per village is 517. The number of occupied houses in the villages is 66,436,094 so that each village on an average comprises of 101 occupied houses and each rural household on an average consists of 5.1 persons. In 1872, 8.7 per cent of our people lived in towns; in 1891 it was 9.4 per cent; in 1911 it was 9.3 per cent; in 1921, 10.3 per cent; in 1931, 11 per cent; and in 1941, 12.8 per cent of Indian population lived in towns. Thus about 87 per cent of the people in India still live in the villages. The condition in the West is quite the reverse. In Western countries the percentage of urban population varies from 56 per cent in U.S.A. to 32 per cent in Sweden; 71 per cent in Italy; 56 per cent in Germany; 42 per cent in France; 77 per cent in England and Wales; 45 per cent in Austria; 41 per cent in Canada and 64 per cent in Japan.

The progress of urbanisation has been slow in India. The number of towns having a population of 5,000 or above is 2,000 with an average population of 18,365 persons per town. The number of occupied houses in towns was 9,599,251 so that each town on an average comprised of 3551.3 occupied houses and each urban household on an average consisted of 5.2 persons. After partition the number of towns has been reduced but the overcrowding of 10,000 and more was only 57 in 1941. Urban population has increased from 37 million in 1931 to 50 million in 1941 while rural population increased from 301 to 339 million during the same period. The Indian cities have largely grown in a most haphazard manner and they are nothing

more than mere conglomeration centres. This urbanisation has all the drawbacks of a lack of control and of general squalor destructive of both the moral and physical health of its inhabitants.

It is interesting to note that 94.2 million people live in villages with less than 500 people; 86.96 m. in villages with 500 to 1,000 people; 57.4 m. live in villages with 1,000 to 2,000 people; 63.4 m. live in villages with 2,000 to 5,000 people. Thus in all 301.96 million lived in rural areas in 1941. This shows that there is no progressive urbanization of the country as is to be seen in other countries of the world. What we want is the urbanization of the rural population and ruralization of the urban centres.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO RELIGION

A demographer is interested in the religious composition of a population, for the religious factor is closely related to other population phenomena like the birth rate, the death rate, marital status, occupation and migration. Different religious groups may have different birth rates. Educational levels, economic security and occupational distribution may be explained (to a limited extent) on the basis of religious differences.

A study of the last six census returns reveals roughly that out of every 100 persons in India, 68 are Hindus, 22 are Muslims, 3 Buddhists, 2 Animists, 1 Sikh and 1 Christian. Of the remaining three, one may be a Christian, the other a Buddhist and the third is probably a Jain. Mass migration immediately after the partition of India has altered the above figures. Nearly 5 million Hindus migrated from West Punjab to East Punjab and 1½ million from East Bengal to West Bengal. In spite of these transfers about 14 million Hindus still live in Pakistan and about 32 million Muslims in the Indian Union.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

The statistics bearing on the occupational distribution of the population are of value as throwing light on social condition and changes. They are an excellent index of the stage of industrial development of a country. The predominance of rural population in the country is itself an indication of the chief occupation of the people. People live on land; and agriculture has remained for centuries their leading occupation. (The proportion of persons directly dependent on agriculture was 61 per cent in 1891; 16 per cent in 1901; 72 per cent in 1911; 73 per cent in 1921; 75 per cent in 1931 and 68 per cent in 1948-49). Manufacturing industries are few in number and confined only to big cities and the number employed in them is very small. Even where the number of people returned as "industrial workers" is substantial, the number employed in the organised industries is microscopically small.

The National Income Committee computed recently the strength of the working force in 1948-49 and its distribution among different occupations. The

THE POPULATION PROBLEM OF INDIA

following table indicates the distribution of the working force:

Principal Occupation	Figures in thousand (1948-49)	Percent- age (1948-49)	Percent- age (in 1931)
66			
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	90,537	68.2	65.8
Exploitation of minerals	633	0.5	0.2
Industry	18,019	13.6	10.3
Transport	9,448	1.8	1.6
Trade	8,250	6.2	5.5
Public Forde	1,909	1.4	0.1
Professions and Liberal Arts	5,044	3.8	1.6
Public Administration	1,667	1.3	0.6
Domestic Service	4,194	3.2	7.5
Miscellaneous works	—	—	7.8
Total	132,731	100.0	100.0

Even a casual observer will be struck by the uneven distribution of our people over the various occupations as revealed from the above table. It simply reflects the lopsided nature of our economy. If the economic development of the country had taken place in a sufficiently diversified manner the human resources would have shown a more balanced allocation. Less than 3 per cent of the people are employed in administration and liberal arts. This shows a high degree of illiteracy and intellectual backwardness. This is a very unhealthy picture of an economy where practically the entire population is dependent on an occupation which is old, exhausted, uncertain and uneconomic too. This barometer of economic progress indicates the backward nature of our national economy. Experience shows that as an economy advances the percentage of population dependent on primary occupations diminishes and that dependent on secondary, and still more on tertiary, occupations increases. Our dependence on primary occupations is still striking. Thus whereas 19.3 per cent of the population depends on primary, 31.1 per cent on secondary and 49.6 per cent on tertiary occupations in U.S.A., in India the respective figures are 62.4 per cent, 14.4 per cent and 23.2 per cent.

Over-dependence on land makes the economic life of the people unstable and as a result of this the country has frequently experienced and still suffers from famines, poverty and scarcity. This state of affairs is not confined to mainly agricultural tracts only but even the industrialised areas too suffer from it. India must continue to be poor as long as this unbalance of economy is not removed.

ECONOMIC COMPOSITION

No precise classification of the population of India according to the income groups is possible, owing to the fact that no statistics on this aspect has ever been collected. Recently the National Income Committee has computed India's national income

during 1948-49 to Rs. 8,710 crores. For an estimated population of 341.04 million in the year, this works out to a per capita income of Rs. 255. Analysis of the income indicates that agriculture, animal husbandry and ancillary activities, including transport and marketing service performed by the cultivator on his own account in respect of his own produce, contribute roughly 48 per cent or nearly half of the national income. Statistical tables giving the net output per engaged person indicate that over-all national average is Rs. 600. The figures according to a few important trades and professions are: agriculture Rs. 500, mining and factory establishments Rs. 1700, small enterprises Rs. 600, commerce, transport and communication Rs. 1600, Government services Rs. 1300, professions including miscellaneous services Rs. 600, and domestic service Rs. 400.

Estimates of the division of the national income according to the income groups reveal extreme inequalities of distribution. According to Profs. Shah and Khambatta, the gross national income of Provincial India (undivided) is distributed as follows:

Estimated average income per year (Rs.)	Number of earners	No. of persons supported
100,000	6,000	30,000
10,000	230,000	1,150,000
5,000	270,000	1,350,000
200	2,500,000	12,500,000
50	35,000,000	100,000,000
The Remainder		The Remainder

This table clearly shows that more than a third of the wealth of the country is enjoyed by about 1 per cent of the population (or allowing for dependents about 5 per cent), that slightly more than another third (about 35 per cent) of the annual wealth produced in the country, is absorbed by another third of the population allowing for dependents; while 60 per cent of the people of Provincial India get about 30 per cent of the total wealth produced in the country.

LITERACY COMPOSITION

The educational composition of a population is one of the recognised indicators of the quality of the population of the country. A country's social telesis is considerably dependent on the educational status of its population. The absence of the ability of reading, writing and calculating means that the individual is culturably handicapped in a complex world of the modern era. The level of education or the number of years of schooling a person has received indicates also the nature and significance of the role played by the home, the school, the community, the province and the nation towards the cultural welfare of the population.

For the population, as a whole, the percentage of literacy has been gradually improving. Between 1921 and 1931, she gained one per cent, and between 1931 and 1941 she gained 4 per cent more. There

were 120 literates per 1000 according to 1941 census as against only 89 literates per 1000 in 1931. The figure of 120 literates per 1000 is really not an improvement, if we forget percentages and look into total figures. In 1931 we had 23 million literates and in 1941 the number rose to 47 million, i.e., during the last decade, 24 million more were made literate, showing a flattering increase of 101.5 per cent. The figure of 12 per cent literacy does not show the difference between males and females in this regard. Male literacy has always been higher than female literacy in India. In 1941 census the gross figure of 120 literates for every 1000 of total population is made up of 195 for males and 52 for females.

It is surprising to note that the number of illiterates increased more than the literates. In 1931 there were 315 millions illiterates and in 1941 the figure rose to 341 millions, despite the percentage increase in literacy. The main reason for this situation is the prevalence of high birth rate and the absence of concerted measures to make the people literate. India's literacy figures cannot be compared with those of other countries which have worked miracles by a planned system of education within the shortest time. The example of Russia would suffice. Between the two world wars, Russia has taken magnificent strides in this respect. In Czarist Russia, 78 per cent of the Russian population was illiterate but today, 30 years later, less than 8 per cent is illiterate. According to Dr. Frank Lerimer:

"The proportion of literacy among all persons aged 9 years and above in the USSR area rose from 24 per cent in 1897 to 51.1 per cent in 1926 and to 81.2 per cent in 1939. The comparable series persons aged 9-49 years of age rose from 21.3 in 1897 to 56.6 per cent in 1926 and 89.1 per cent in 1939."

India, after more than five thousand years of existence and nearly 200 years of British Rule, has made no improvement in this matter.

BIRTH RATES AND DEATH RATES

The natural rate of growth in the country is determined by birth and death rates. The birth rate means the number of children born every year in proportion to every thousand of the population. As regards the death and birth rates, India occupies a position of unenviable pre-eminence among the civilized countries of the world. The birth rate has shown a steady decline and stands low at present in European countries, it is as high as 24 per mille in India. The birth rate in India was steady at 32 till 1940 but fell to 28 in 1945 and 26 in 1949. The corresponding figures for U.S.A. are 17.2 per thousand (1939), U.K. 16.3 (1939), Egypt 43.4 (1938), France 15.9 (1941), Italy 20.5 (1941), Belgium 14.8 (1941), Germany 16.2 (1941), Sweden 19.3 (1941) and 21.4 (1941) in Denmark.

Leaving Egypt, birth rate in India is the highest of all civilized countries of the world. Even now it

stands very high. Causes are not far to seek and may be found in the peculiar socio-economic structure of the country. The most important of them are:

(i) The universality of marriages among all castes, e.g., in 1931, 467 males and 493 females out of every 1000 were married, i.e., if we take into account widows and widowers as well as ascetics and mendicants, almost every person of marriageable age was actually married. Most of the women in India are married before they are 20 and most of them bear children before they are 30.

(ii) Marriage is not only universal but it is performed at a very early age so that the young couples begin to get children comparatively earlier than in other countries. According to 1941 census if the wife belongs to age group 15-20, the average number of children born per family is 7, it is 5.4 in age group 20-25 and 4.9 in age group 25-30 and so on. This shows that the higher the age of the wife, the lower the fertility rate and hence the less number of children per family. In India, the 15-20 age period is most fertile, the age period 20-30 is also fertile though less than the previous one, but once women are past that age, their productive power decreases rapidly until it exhausts itself, generally at the age of 45. Taking the average of 30 years of child-bearing period a woman who completes the period has 6 to 7 children and every woman bears more children in the first half of the child-bearing period and fewer in the second half. An Indian woman has 7 children born, whereas it is 3.4 in England, 4.3 in Germany, 4.9 in Italy and 6.2 in Poland.

(iii) The low standard of living and poverty of the masses is also reckoned as the main reason of our high birth rate, says Adam Smith. "Poverty is favourable to generation," is applicable to India in procreation of life and accordingly the half-starved women bear many children, while "the pampered fine lady is often not capable of bearing any." It is a well-known fact that the tendency of multiplication is greatest where men have no stake in existence, where they have no prospect of improving their conditions and where children if born would not be more miserable than the parents. Poverty accentuates the process of multiplication, multiplication intensifies poverty. According to Dr. Pearl, "The upper and well-to-do classes are composed of genetically superior people, whereas in absolute members the vast majority of the people is made of mediocre people, who are unfortunate in their progeny." Accordingly people in India have "a multitude of unprofitable children" not because they desire them but because they do not mind their number.

(iv) Illiteracy and backwardness of the people give premium to the beast in man and the poor man's

THE POPULATION PROBLEM OF INDIA

psychology is "one child born means one mouth but two hands," which can be of great help to them on the farm or the field.

Therefore the usual contention is that the right kind of people are not breeding. In a word, it is the under-privileged and economically and culturally handicapped segment of the population and the wrong kind of people contributes more than its unwanted share to the growth of our population. The birth rate of a people is a complex phenomenon, dependent on the interplay of human motives and desires and instincts operating through institutions; it is also dependent on the age composition of the population, on the number of wives of child-bearing age, on marital fidelity, on the opportunity of satisfying sexual passions without the obligation of parentage in prudential consideration, on religious sanctions and belief and on material conditions.

It is interesting to note that the simple but dreary rural life of the majority of our population and the agrarian nature of our economy contribute their mite to the population problem. The rural birth rate is always higher than the urban birth rate. Men do not breed well in the cities and the cities in general have to depend on the country side for the replenishing and upkeep of their population. The lower fertility in the Indian urban areas is explained by "conditions of family, the employment of married women, housing difficulties, the adverse sex ratio among the industrial class, the relatively high percentage in cities of middle class families with strong economic motives towards family limitation, the availability of contraceptives and the clinical aid—all these and others play a part in diminishing fertility rates in the cities."

HIGH DEATH RATES

India's population growth during the last century has been conditioned mainly by the high but fluctuating death rate. Famines, epidemics, the general unsanitary environment, and violence, the prevalence of mal-nutrition among appreciable sections of people; a group of social phenomena consisting of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and ignorance, etc., have contributed to the high death rate.

The Indian death rate is high, about 30 per thousand. The recorded rates for 1941 were 22 per thousand and 15.6 in 1949, but these are under estimates due to incomplete returns. This however means that more than 10 million people die every year in India. The all-round death rate is appalling enough—22 per thousand in India as against 9.6 in Canada, 12.3 in Germany, 15.3 in France, 12.2 in U.K., 10.6 in U.S.A., 14.0 in Japan, 10.9 in Australia, 9.7 in New Zealand and 27.2 in Egypt. The death rate of various age groups is equally enormous. The most disquieting feature of the Indian death rate is the high incidence of mortality among first year

infants, women in child birth and women of reproductive age group. The infant mortality rate is very high, for nearly one-fourth of the babies born die during their first year. It has been estimated that about half the deaths among infants occur in the first month, and of these nearly 60 per cent in the first week. Mortality remains high not only throughout childhood but also follows up to the end of adolescence and even beyond. About 49 per cent of the total mortality in any given year is among those below 10 years of age, i.e., in India a quarter of the original batch disappears through the gate of death by the time the first year of life is reached, by the age of 5 the loss amounts to 40 per cent, by the 20th year only half survive and by the age of 60 only 15 per cent of the initial number survive.

As for maternal mortality the figures are equally shocking. The highest female mortality occurs in the age period 14-30. The death of young mothers at child-birth is a common feature, but more than this is the death of women in the later period of maternity, say between years 20-30, brought about by physical exhaustion, nervous break-down and lack of post-natal care. Bhow Committee estimated that in India maternal deaths total annually about 200,000 and that the number of those who suffer from varying degrees of disability and discomfort as a result of child-bearing must be about 4 millions. Dr. John Megaw was of the opinion that the maternal mortality in India was 24.05 per 1000 births. Our maternal mortality is very high indeed. It is nearly five times that of Australia, New Zealand, Germany and South Africa, thrice of U.S.A., 68 times that of England and Wales and Switzerland and 12 times that of France, Sweden, Japan, Italy, Norway and Denmark.

During the last two decades there has been, however, a steady fall in general mortality. Human life is nowhere so cheap as in India. The average expectation of life in India is only 27 years as against 67 years in New Zealand, 63 in Sweden and Norway, 62 in U.K., 62 in U.S.A., 60 in Canada, 57 in France and 43 in Japan. This short expanse of life in India has serious consequences. The number of working members is small and that of young dependants too high in an average family. When a young man grows up and becomes fit for work, he is snatched away by the cruel hands of death. The number of old people with experience is relatively smaller in India.

QUALITY OF POPULATION

The social condition of the community can be judged positively by the standard of life to which they are habituated and negatively by statistics relating to infirmities of body and mind and statistics of suicide, vice and crime. In India, like every other country, there are to be found a large number of persons who are not able-bodied on account of some

physical or mental disorder. They are a burden on society and their presence is an economic loss and indicates some defects in the social organism, —poverty, crime, vice and disease are all symptoms of a diseased body politic.

In India the returns of infirmities have never been satisfactory, inasmuch as the feeble-minded persons are returned as insane and many who are partially blind are returned as totally blind. According to the Blindness Committee there were about 2 million blinds in 1947 in India, and the number of partially blind was estimated to be three times that figure, i.e., there are roughly three blind persons for every thousand of population. Keratomalacia and trachoma are the common ailments 50 per cent of which is preventible. The majority of the incurably or partially blind become so when infant or young. Leprosy in India is also very prevalent. According to the *Report on Leprosy and Its Control in India*, India has more than a million of leprosy patients, although this number includes mild cases. In some highly infected areas the incidence is as high as 5 to 10 per cent of the total population, i.e., out of every 3 million leprosy patients in the world India claims more than her share by having about a third of the victims. Venereal diseases also take a heavy toll of Indian population. According to Hon'ble Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, "Thirty-seven persons per 1000 of population are infected by venereal disease like syphilis, gonorrhea etc." Nor is this all, for 15,00,000 people die annually of other causes including accidents, snake-bites and unclassified social diseases. These combined factors indicate what a grim tragedy human life in India is. It is a tragedy because medical progress in India is largely an illusion in comparison with advances in other countries.

Information regarding the incidence of mental disorders is very scanty. The Report of the Health Survey Committee points out:

"While purely sociological causes may not be operative in India to the same extent as in U.S.A. or U.K. chronic starvation or under nutrition, tropical fevers, anaemia and frequent child bearing in women who are unfit for motherhood are responsible for a large number of mental breakdown in India."

Even if the proportion of mental patients in India requiring hospitalization be taken as 2 per 1000 of the population, their number will at least be 8,00,000 in the country as a whole. It does not, therefore, seem reasonable to suggest that the number of persons suffering from various forms of mental disorder must be at least a million in this country.

India is a rich country with a poor people and hence any long-term plan cannot afford to neglect the upliftment of our human standards. In its variety of colour, creed and composition in its numerical

strength, our population is unique. The languages, manners and customs and modes of living of the people have made the country attractive from the standpoint of human studies. Its racial variety—combining as it does the peoples of Turko-Iranian, Aryan, Aryan-Dravidian, Mongolo-Dravidian, Scytho-Dravidian, Mongoloid and Dravidian stocks—has converted the country into a veritable museum. In its numerical strength this country comprises one-fifth of the human race. But this variety and enormity has most often proved to be a liability, a source of embarrassment of political disintegration, social disharmony, religious fanaticism and economic distress. Hence the need for planning the population.

CONCLUSION

The above analysis shows how the quality of human beings is gradually deteriorating which, if not prevented, would bring the human society to the level of animal society and the manifestation of divinity in life would be a far-off cry. Thus control is not only essential for restricting quantity but also for improving quality. It is now settled that it is not impossible to direct the processes of reproduction so as to bring out the best hereditary qualities that we have. Such scientific control of human breeding is known as *Eugenics*. There are two lines of approach, one *negative* and the other *positive*. Negative eugenics would prevent the increase in numbers among those classes of population that are clearly defective. Mental defectives, criminals and diseased persons should either be incarcerated in institutions where the sexes can be permanently separated, or, if allowed to remain at large, they should be prevented by *sterilisation* from reproducing their mind. Positive eugenics aims to promote the reproduction of our best stocks and is more difficult to carry out. Nevertheless society has set up certain conventions and standards on social, religious or racial lines, which influence marriage; such conventions on biological lines may be established.

It is, therefore, clear that population planning in India must proceed on four lines as follows:

(i) Increased use of birth-control appliances or practising of moral restraint to impose quantitative restrictions.

(ii) Adoption of the programme of *Eugenics*, both positive and negative, to raise qualitative standard.

(iii) Economic expansion for better utilisation of resources and man power through fuller employment.

(iv) Better occupational distribution of population with a view to establish a balanced economy and thereby make the country a working place for human beings to live in.

THE COUNCIL OF STATES

A Unique Chamber

By PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt.

WHEN the Constituent Assembly decided at an early stage to provide a Second Chamber at the Centre, it was not, probably contrary to your expectations, after long discussion or consideration about the utility of Second Chambers in general and particularly in India. And again when they decided on it, they, as well as the makers of the Constitution, did not realise that, far from creating an ordinary Second Chamber, they were creating a unique one, peculiar by itself and in a way more powerful than any Second Chamber in the world except probably of the USSR. In fact, there was no discussion at all directly on the question of Second Chambers in general, the little discussion centering round the other details of composition, etc. The House seemed to agree with the considered opinion of Sri Gopala-swami Ayyangar, who piloted this part of the Report of the Union Constitution Committee which laid the foundations of the Draft Constitution, when he said at the end that no "elaborate justification is necessary for this Clause," because "the need for a Second Chamber has been felt practically all over the World."

The Constituent Assembly also seemed to agree with Sri Ayyangar that the Second Chamber in India should also be a secondary Chamber.

"The most that we expect the Second Chamber to do is perhaps to hold dignified debates on important issues and delay legislations which might be the outcome of the passions of the moment until the passions have subsided and calm considerations should be bestowed on the measures before the legislature," explained Sri Ayyangar, and added, "and we shall take care to provide in the Constitution that, whenever on any important matter, particularly matters relating to finance, there is conflict between the House of the People and the Council of States, it is the view of the House of the People that shall prevail."

That is all the scope of the Council which they wanted to create, but the question is: Does the present Council of States, constituted as it is, serve the purpose and nothing more and nothing less? My thesis, after a careful study of the Constitution, is that while the Council of States fails to satisfy those conditions, it is given certain other functions and powers that such a Chamber should not have been given. The purpose of this essay is to prove my thesis.

Agreeing with Sri Ayyangar that no "elaborate justification is needed," let us also not examine whether a Second Chamber at all is needed for India. We shall take it as granted. We shall confine ourselves, again taking his advice, to the point whether it "performs any useful function at all." I

propose to divide this essay into three parts and examine:

(1) What are the functions the Constitution-makers wanted it to perform;

(2) What are the powers and functions they have actually given it; and

(3) Whether, constituted as it is, it can usefully perform those functions.

Here are some of the functions which they wanted the Council of States to perform:

1. "To hold dignified debates" in a dispassionate manner;

2. "To delay legislation" until passions in the Lower House subside.

3. "To give an opportunity to seasoned people who may not be in the thickest of the political fray."

Negatively the Council should not have power:

1. "To prevent the will of the people (House of the People) from triumphing at the end, especially in financial matters; and

2. "To prove a clog either to legislation or administration."

The above are the points from the speech of Sri Ayyangar. If this is all that they expected out of it, then we may as well say that our People wanted to create a "House of Lords" in India as far as powers and functions are concerned. But Sri Ayyangar, in his speech quoted above, said justifying this Second Chamber that

"The need for a Second Chamber has been felt practically all over the world wherever there are federations of any importance." (Italics mine).

Because of this we are justified in assuming that they also wanted to give it certain special functions and powers which Second Chambers in federations like the U.S.A. perform, or at least the Council would be constituted on the model of a second chamber in a federation.

We may now proceed to examine what the Constitution has provided regarding the composition, powers and functions of the Council of States. First Composition. Apart from twelve members to be nominated by the President, the members of the Council shall be chosen by the Legislative Assemblies of States A and B by the system of proportional representation, the members chosen from each state being fixed, we are assured by Dr. Ambedkar, according to the population of the State. The following questions now arise:

1. Is the federal principle of equality of representation of States observed in its composition? 2. Does the Council represent the States in any sense of the term? 3. Whom does it represent?

approved by the Council. The Ministry may not resign, but what happens to the order?

One may say that it may always happen that the same party may be having majority in both the Houses and so all that I have said above may not happen. But the same party getting a majority in both the Houses is neither possible nor desirable. It may happen now and it may happen now and then, but not always. The Lower House is a popularly elected House and will represent from time to time the changes in popular opinion. The Upper House is neither popular nor representative and it will get renewed in parts once in two years and these periodic changes may not coincide with changes in popular opinion.

The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that the Constituent Assembly wanted to create one kind of House and finally created another kind. They wanted to have a Second Chamber which will be like the American Senate in its basis (i.e., federal idea), like the House of Lords in functions and like the Irish Senate in composition. In reality they have created a House which has none of the qualities. It is a House

of party-nominated non-entities, claiming equal rights with the popular House in vital matters, capable of thwarting public opinion as expressed in the Lower House and embarrassing the Executive to the extent of killing it. And the worst feature is that its powers cannot be taken away (and compare it with the House of Lords in England) without its own consent given with three-fourths majority.

The immediate object of this article is to point out how inadvertently powers have been given to this House by the Constituent Assembly without realising the consequences. These powers should not be allowed; otherwise it will prove more than a nuisance in the near future. I request all concerned to take all these points into consideration and amend the Constitution so that the Council cannot have the power either to thwart popular opinion as expressed in the Lower House or embarrass the Executive in any vital matter. This is the best, and possibly the only opportunity because the Congress Party is likely to get three-fourths majority in both the Houses and amending the Constitution is easy now and, probably impossible afterwards.

MALAN'S SOUTH AFRICA "Man's Inhumanity to Man"

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

The racialism of the Union of South Africa is a serious challenge to the conscience of humanity. It is at the same time a threat to the peace in our times.

The European minority of the Union, who are the rulers of the country, are bent on keeping the non-European majority—the African, the Cape Coloured and the Indian—in a position of perpetual tutelage. For more than half a century they have been pursuing a policy of colour-bar inspired by racial arrogance and hatred. The Union stands guilty of a series of crimes against humanity in the name of Western civilisation. It has deprived the native African, whose home South Africa is, of his freedom, the half-caste Cape Coloured of his heritage and the Asian of his equality—all in the name of civilisation. But when white South Africa speaks of Western civilisation, it really means European domination.

"It is not civilisation that is threatened, but the doctrine of white supremacy."
Safeguarding white supremacy really means safeguarding the economic domination of a particular race over all others. White South Africa stands today before the bar of world opinion—unabashed and unrepentant. It is still intent on committing fresh out-

1. In the present article when we speak of Indians, we mean Pakistanis as well.—S. B. M.
2. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit in the United Nations Assembly, 1946.

rages against and imposing fresh indignities on coloured humanity.

South Africa is a plural community and its rulers believe in Herrenvolkism, in the theory of a master-race, which is inherent in and which forms the basis of all imperialism and colonialism. They believe further that the non-white people of the Union must be kept for all time to come in a position of subordination to the white population, that the different non-white racial groups must be isolated from the whites as well as from one another.

Apartheid, which literally means a state of separation, is the South African prescription for the solution of the racial problem. It is a theory of race formulated by the Nationalist party led by Dr. D. F. Malan, which has come to power after the 1948 election, in justification of its racial policy. The exponents of apartheid argue that feelings of racial antagonism run so high in the Union that unless dealt with a firm hand and with promptitude at that, the problem will baffle all attempts at solution. They contend further that there can be peace in the Union only if the Europeans, the Africans, and the Coloured races live in mutual isolation. This isolation is to be achieved by apartheid, which seeks to divide the country into a number of watertight racial compartments.

The Asian population in general and the Indian in particular has not been treated generously by the

Government of South Africa. As a matter of fact, the South Africans of Indian origin have lost more rights than any other South African community and today they are voteless and voiceless. What is worse, thousands of them are facing expulsion from their homes and places of business solely because of their colour. The largest number to be affected are in the city of Durban where they outnumber the Europeans and where the City Council is understood to be planning segregation of Indians in areas outside the city. Yet it is the ancestors of the present generation of Indians in the Union, who have helped not a little to make it economically what it is today. They built up the prosperity of South Africa, particularly of Natal, with the sweat of their brow.

The Indians, it should be remembered besides, went to South Africa not on their own initiative, but in response to repeated S. O. S.'s sent by the Natal Europeans in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The first anti-Indian law of South Africa—Law 3 of 1885—enunciated for the first time a residential segregation in the Transvaal on the grounds of colour. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (the Ghetto Act) of 1946 prescribes segregation, both for Natal and the Transvaal. The Group Areas Act placed on the Statute Book on July 7, 1950, gives the final shape to the theory of racial segregation. It makes the plight of Indians in South Africa more serious today than at any time since they arrived in the Union. In the words of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress:

"The operation of the Group Areas Act will mean life without hope and purpose for Indians."
During the sixty and odd years that intervene between the aforesaid Law No. 3 and the Group Areas Act, South Africa has stopped Indian immigration, restricted Indian commerce, disqualified Indians for certain businesses and professions, handicapped Indians in industries, disenfranchised Indians and imposed social disabilities upon them.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 provides that all lands in the Union of South Africa will be divided and controlled by the Government for purposes of ownership and occupation by different racial groups. The entire population has been classified for this purpose into three principal categories, viz., White, Native and Coloured. The last, which includes Indians, can be further sub-divided. The Act empowers the Government to establish by proclamation "Group Areas" for the exclusive occupation or ownership or both of any of the above groups. Disqualified persons and companies are debarred from acquiring fresh lands in any "Group Area" not meant for them. If a disqualified company has any property in a "Group Area"

3. Persons and companies in a "Group Area" meant for those belonging to a different racial group. An Indian individual or company is thus disqualified in a White or Native "Group Area."—S. B. M.

at the commencement of notification, it shall surrender its ownership of such property after ten years. The Minister of the Interior can "sell such property compulsorily" after the expiry of the ten-year period. The property in a "Group Area" held at the commencement of the proclamation by a disqualified individual shall, after his death, have to be sold to a member of the group for which the area is reserved. No disqualified person can occupy land or premises in a "Group Area" without a permit after one year of notification with the exception of such persons as servants, guests and the like. Areas other than "Group Areas" and "native locations" will be "controlled" in which no transfer of occupation and ownership between members of different racial groups will be permitted except under the authority of a permit. The Act makes no difference between occupation for residence and occupation for trade. Trade licences are to be issued or renewed only on proof that an applicant can lawfully occupy the premises in the area where the trade is to be carried on.

The sponsors and the champions of the Group Areas Act contend that it is equally applicable to all communities without any discrimination. But the past records of the white races—not so white ones after all—so far as their policy to the non-whites is concerned, have created a widespread suspicion that in the name of progress along parallel lines the Act will condemn all non-Europeans in the Union to live in inferior and neglected areas. Indians in particular will be hit hard—indeed, much harder than the other non-European communities. All skilled professions are closed to Indians by the laws of the Union Government and they have been forced to fall back almost wholly upon trade and commerce. The Indian businessmen have flourishing business—retail and wholesale—in the commercial sections of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town. It is almost certain that these areas will be declared "White Group Areas." Indian business houses in that case have to close down and sell their property. Their employees will be thrown out of employment. After eviction, the Indians will have to move into "Group Areas" reserved for them or into "controlled" areas. There are clear indications that the Indian areas will be far away from the areas now occupied by them or those occupied by any other racial group. Indian trade will therefore be confined practically to the Indian group, which constitutes but 2.5 per cent of the total population of the Union of South Africa. Prospects in "controlled" areas are hardly better. Not unreasonably, therefore, has the Act been regarded as a shrewd device to get rid of the Indian population of the Union. The suspicion becomes a conviction when one reads the 1948 Election Manifesto of the Nationalist party—the party in power today—which reads in part as follows:

"The party holds the view that the Indians are a foreign and outlandish element which is un-

All-African Convention Mr. W. S. Tsotsi's note of warning—the Government as well as the Opposition of South Africa are "heavy with the wine of racial superiority" and unless there is a quick re-orientation of outlook and policy, Nemesis will overtake them engulfing both in a common ruin.

Racialism and colour bar have been scrutinised from all possible angles of vision. Not a few have discussed and debated them and commented upon them. The evils of a policy of racial discrimination are many and varied. The worst perhaps is that it is driving the rising generations of South Africa in an ever-increasing proportion to the folds of anti-social elements. Unless provision is made for the training and ultimate absorption of the rising generations of non-Europeans as useful citizens in the community "such potential citizens would be a burden, if not a menace, to the society which rejected them." South Africa is confronted today with the grave problem of dealing with thousands of non-European citizens, who, denied all opportunities of socio-economic betterment, have turned and are turning in hopelessness and frustration "to the idle and lawless alternatives left to" them. The Europeans in South Africa are blind—they seem to be, at any rate,—to the disastrous consequences of their policy. They demand that lawless non-European youths should be deported from townships and placed somewhere out of the way. Such a step like the quack's remedy might work well for a time. But it does not go to the roots of the problem. Racialism is doubly dangerous. Positively, it drives potentially useful citizens to the ranks of criminals. Negatively, it steadily drains away the vitality of the community by depriving it of the loyal and devoted services of those who might have enriched it in various ways.

The White South African should remember that he is rushing headlong to the abyss. He must not forget that genuine revolutions are always directed against the power and privilege of an exclusive group. He should remember in his own interest that

"Even the most submissive people cannot stand, in the long run, the rule of others with whom they have no community of counsel or spirit, into whose ranks they cannot be admitted. They can be temporarily kept in check by force and diplomacy, but such a subjection can never be indefinitely maintained even through the most ruthless forms of slavery."

A day will come when about ninety lacs of the Union's non-European population will rise against about twenty-five lacs of its Europeans and the consequences are not pleasant to contemplate.

All friends of South Africa and all lovers of world-peace should read, re-read and ponder over the following words of J. H. Hofmeyr pronounced years ago:

"We have to re-examine our prejudices and some of our traditional attitudes. We have to get away from the wickedness of exploiting colour prejudice for political purposes."

The colour problem of South Africa will defy solution till the non-European elements in its population are assured a full life—social, political and economic. The promulgation of a "South African Charter of Human Rights" is sure to usher in an era of peace and concord in the Union marked by greater happiness and prosperity for all its citizens—White, Black and Coloured.

6. *The Stake of Democracy in South-East Asia* by H. J. Van Mook, p. 74.

THE BILL MARKET IN INDIA

By Prof. V. N. HUKKU, M.Com.

THE recent trends in the activities of the Reserve Bank of India have enabled the critics to wipe off their tears. The slow progress in the effectiveness of its functions has been a cause of resentment in some important circles. The initiative that the Reserve Bank has taken by raising the age-long Bank rate and suspending temporarily its dealing in government securities has been enough to disprove its inactiveness of the last sixteen years of its age. For the first time, again, the Reserve Bank has displayed its keenness to establish a Bill Market in India. These steps taken by the Reserve Bank at this important stage of business activity during the busy season is really very well-planned and entitles it to unprecedented credit.

The economic development in a country depends, to a considerable extent, upon the existence of a well-organised money-market in the country, which would provide ready finance for the various economic needs

of the country. With a view to maintaining a constant expansion and contraction of money and credit, the availability of profitable channels of investment is indispensable. A modern money market comprises of such specialised sections as the exchange market, investment, discount, and a bill market. A money market without one or more of these constituents by himself. A bill market along with the discount market has been a special feature of the highly developed money markets of the U.S.A. and U.K. A bill market is an indication of the economic advancement in the country and the growing intelligence and economic consciousness among the businessmen.

India had, in the recent past, distinguished herself from the other organised money markets of the Western countries in respect of various aspects of the



Bronze portrait of Swami Vivekananda
By Malvina Hoffman

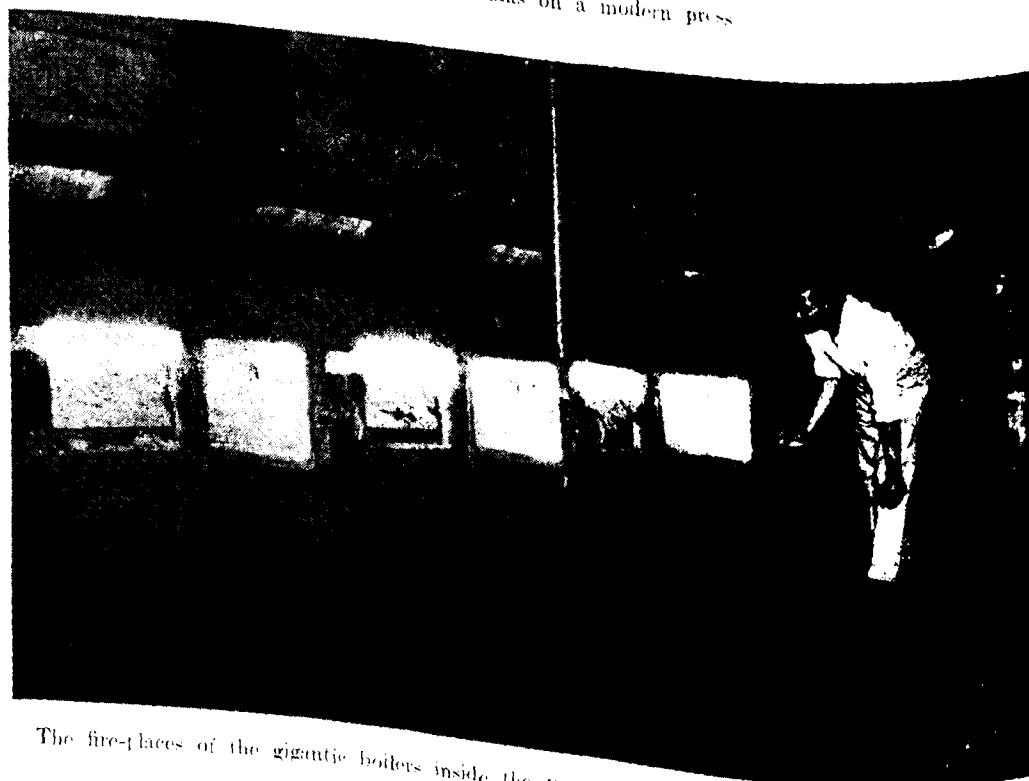


Alabaster bust of Sri Ramakrishna
By Malvina Hoffman

THE BILL MARKET IN INDIA



Cutting coinage blanks on a modern press



The fire-places of the gigantic boilers inside the Boiler House of the Sindri Fertilizer Factory

money market. *Inter alia* other serious defects in the Indian money market, a serious handicap has been exhibited in the absence of an organised Bill Market in the country. This absence has been greatly felt in the country due to the fact that even the money markets of Bombay and Calcutta have been found to be devoid of the bill market.

This anomaly in India has not been due to the ignorance of the dealers in the money market about the use of bills or more popularly known in local phraseology as *hundis*. A popular legend is known in India which refers to an incident when Saint Narsi drew a *hundi* on Seth Sawalshah of Dwarka. Even if it is fabulous, at least the use of *hundis* in India has been regarded to date as back as the 12th century. We find that there are many reasons which attribute to this lack of a bill market in the country. To sum up in much smaller a space, it can be safely stated that the banking business itself has not yet been fully developed in the country. Due to the comparative lack of banking habit and the use of cheques, the banks in India have been confronted with the problem of maintaining as much as even 35 per cent of their investments in the form of Government Securities. The ratio of the said investment to the total investment in case of the 'Big Five' in England is only 20 per cent. Parallel to it has been the position of investment in the Treasury bills and thus only a meagre portion of the entire loanable funds is available for other types of finances including those through the medium of bills. The prevalence of a cut-throat competition with and lack of confidence in the Imperial Bank of India, was an obstacle to the extent that the commercial bank could avail of from it in the form of discounting of bills. The unfair treatment of the Imperial Bank of India and several other minor reasons have also been found to be discouraging and hampering a greater use of bills. Although the Reserve Bank has been, by virtue of the Section 17 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, empowered to buy, sell and rediscount commercial bills of specific nature yet on account of its over-cautiousness in its dealings on this account, it has not been in a position to enable the scheduled banks to make much use of its re-discounting facilities. This also added to the miserable fate of the bill business in India.

STEPS TAKEN

The conditions as stated above went on their usual way due to the peculiar monetary conditions in the country. It was not before 1942, that the Reserve Bank, having felt its own responsibility for the removal of this lack of the use of bills proposed to the Provincial Co-operative Banks and Central Co-operative Banks to increase the use of usance bills and promissory notes. The main reason of approaching the said institutions has been their special function of financing the agricultural credit requirements, which are by far the most important and nauseating.

The unprecedented level of advances by the banks just before the present 'busy season' encouraged the Reserve Bank to take immediate steps for combating the attack on the available resources of the banks in the country. The Reserve Bank, having already taken an initiative by raising the bank rate, exhibited and undertook sincere pains to provide feasibility to the establishment of a Bill Market under existing monetary conditions. Early in the first week of December, 1951, the Reserve Bank considered the proposals at which it appeared to be prepared to grant re-discounting facilities at a rate lower than the prevailing bank rate, and the consideration, in consultation with the representatives of banks in Bombay and Calcutta, has been finalised in the form of a scheme, evolved to create a bill market in India for a temporary period on an experimental basis for the present busy season.

Under Section 17(4)(c) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, the Reserve Bank has been empowered to make advances to scheduled banks against the security of usance promissory notes or bills drawn on and payable in India and arising out of bonafide commercial or trade transactions, bearing two or more good signatures one of which shall be that of a scheduled bank, and maturing within a period of ninety days from the date of the advance.

The press note issued by the Reserve Bank of India on the 16th January, 1952, mentions:

"... Advances will be granted to scheduled banks under this sub-section in the form of demand loans on the execution of the demand promissory notes supported by usance promissory notes of their constituents. . . ."

For this purpose it has been made necessary on the part of the scheduled banks to split up the accommodation granted to their clients in such a way that a part of the same (loan, cash credit, and overdraft) be converted into usance bills of exchange with a maturity of ninety days. The Reserve Bank is prepared to bear half the cost of the stamp duty to be incurred in this conversion.

Such advances by the Reserve Bank under Section 17(4)(c) will be available to the scheduled banks at the rate of three per cent (subject to the discretionary powers of the Reserve Bank irrespective) at all the five offices of the Reserve Bank in the places, where the advances have been actually made by the scheduled banks. To maintain its traditional cautious policy the Reserve Bank has reserved the right to refuse accommodation against the bills of any particular scheduled bank without accounting for the reasons. The criterion of making advances will not be the merit of the security offered but also the manner in which the business of the bank is being conducted.

PROSPECTS

The provision for the minimum limit of borrowings by the scheduled banks for amount of Rs. 25

lakhs at any one time and that of Rs. 1 lakh for individual bills does not seem to be fully justified as it would not provide equal facilities to all the banks. Moreover, it is really not desirable to have excluded the 'Multani hundis' which being dealt with in sums of Rs. 50 thousands each account for approximately Rs. 5 crores. The market thus seems to have lost the support of these *hundis* in meeting the present stringency. However, the tendency in the experimental stage will be to watch the success of the Reserve Bank in steering this scheme.

The success of the bill market in India will be much prospective if the indigenous bankers come into the open market with full sense of co-operation and undertake the discounting business so as to facilitate conditions for a discount market. The development of bankers acceptance business is also not far to be desired but it will take a pretty long time to expect the same.

Truly speaking what is popularly termed as bill market in India is not in the original sense a bill market as we find in London and New York. The above sentence has been written on purpose as the bills which will be dealt with will not be pure trade

bills but will be made like that by splitting the advances made by the scheduled banks to their customers. Anyway, with a view to tiding over the catastrophic rush on banks for advances, it is the best available measure that the Reserve Bank could adopt. However, if these facilities are regularly (not only during the period of monetary stringency) availed of and the scheduled banks adopt the practice of making use of usance bills regularly these measures would be surely regarded as foundation stones for the structure of a bill market in India on an improved standard.

The Reserve Bank has already anticipated a probable delay in the beginning, in sanctioning the advances as it would be required to make adequate enquiries about the bills and parties to them and the purpose for which the bills have been drawn. It will not be improper to remark that the Reserve Bank should not be overcautious and suspicious in every case and should not over-emphasise the need of scrutiny of the cases. It should act as a watch-dog and not as a blood-hound. The scheduled banks also deserve some confidence and if certain cases of misconduct are reported, the Reserve Bank should impose severe penalties.

—:O:—

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS AND AFTER

Pandit Nehru's Witch-Hunt Succeeds Gloriously

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Whose life laughs through and spits at their creed,
Who maintain thee in word, and defy thee in deed!"
—ROBERT BROWNING.

HAVING written a pre-election article in these columns it is but natural that I should deem it my duty to write a post-election article as well. That the election results have not either surprised or satisfied me is only to state the obvious. It is not that, even in my wildest dreams, I had hoped that the parties that have always claimed my unwavering support would romp home to success. Apart from other considerations these parties have largely themselves to blame for their unprecedented debacle. They were aware that the dice were loaded against them in every possible way: not least by the Congress President's crooked propaganda that the responsibility for the Mahatma's assassination four years ago rested squarely on their shoulders and on their shoulders alone. We know that it is the prerogative of Prime Ministers *cum* Congress Presidents to talk without thinking; but Pandit Nehru's *blitzkrieg* against what he chose to call the "Hindu communal bodies" had been, contrary to expectations, carefully planned and meticulously executed.

He might have botched the partition and the Kashmir issues to his heart's content for lack of the requisite intellectual grasp of political events; but when it came to the routing of the aforementioned bodies that are his "King Charles's head" his brain functioned astonishingly well and he went through his opponents like a devouring flame. By that one diabolical stratagem of repeating *ad nauseam* before his audiences that these parties had been instrumental in bringing about the tragic event of January 30, 1948 he, at one fell stroke, as it were, smote down the most genuinely patriotic elements in the country—the ones that, through good report and bad, have stood for its precious geographical unity.

In 1946

In that previous article of mine on the elections I took infinite pains to indicate how, by unscrupulously stealing the thunder of the Hindu Mahasabha in the 1946 general elections anent the vivisection of our

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS AND AFTER

beloved Motherland, the Congress had won the elections. With brazen effrontery it assured the electorate that there was absolutely no difference between its ideology and that of the Mahasabha in the matter of granting the Muslims an "entirely separate homeland" for themselves. That, inevitably, knocked the Mahasabha's contention that it was the only custodian of Hindu interests into a cocked hat. It appeared that there was another Richmond in the field (namely, the Congress) that would equally valiantly uphold those interests. After winning the elections on the strength of that false assurance to the Hindus the Congress, as everyone knows now (and not a few anticipated at the time) gaily went back on its word and granted the Muslims their cherished boon.

In 1952

That was the Congress's tactics in 1946. Different times, different ruses, and in 1952 another ruse was adopted in pursuance of the same estimable aim. Gandhiji's assassination proved to be a veritable god-send and the Congress was not slow to turn that ghastly tragedy to glorious gain. In Pandit Nehru's hands it—

"... became a trumpet, whence he blew
Soul-animating strains."

When the question was brought up during the murder trial that, after the Madanlal incident, the Government was amply forewarned and that it was up to it to have taken adequate precautionary measures to protect the Mahatma's valuable life, failing which the blame would be unmistakably laid at its door for any untoward consequences. Bombay's Home Minister (and prospective Chief Minister), Shri Morarji Desai, adroitly circumvented that accusation by declaring firmly that Gandhiji's death was "willed by God." That, of course, settled the hash of the Government's traducers and saved the Congress a lot of unpleasant explanation and expostulation.

THE PANDIT'S ADROITNESS

But Shri Morarji Desai's historic ruling to which one had supposed there would be no appeal has been forgotten (or else studiously ignored) in the interests of winning the elections, and Pandit Nehru exhorted the people with all the vehemence at his command not to cast their votes for "the Hindu communal bodies" that had, according to him, so shamelessly connived at the Mahatma's assassination. It mattered little to him that, as Shri P. R. Das has pointed out in a press statement vigorously confuting his baseless allegation, the Government Advocate himself had never, during the protracted trials, presumed to indict the Hindu Mahasabha for that assassination. All, however, is fair in elections, and the Congress President, cleverly side-tracking both Shri Morarji Desai's

historic ruling and Shri P. R. Das's unanswerable rejoinder, decided, early in the electioneering campaign, to exploit the assassination to its utmost limit. Nor can it be alleged that, having made that monumental decision, he committed the unforgivable sin of sleeping upon it. On the contrary, he leapt to the task with the zeal of a Crusader and the zest of a Covenanter. Girding up his loins he marched into the fray and gave the enemy no quarter. As a soapbox orator he has no rival, and he told it in Gath and bruited it about in the streets of Askalon that the hands of these "Hindu communal bodies" were dyed deeply with the blood of the "Father of the Nation" and that, far from "all great Neptune's ocean" washing that blood clean from their hands, their hands would rather

"The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red."

"DAMNED ITERATION" TELLS

Constantly dripping water wears away a stone, and a thumping lie reiterated a thousand times (each time embroidered with more and more frills and furbelows) from a plethora of platforms cannot but have its deadly effect—the essence of propaganda being what has been pithily termed "damned iteration." Pandit Nehru, being the very incarnation of "secularism" (if not its father and mother and wet nurse combined) could always have been relied upon to conduct this campaign in a ruthless manner; having been elected as the Congress President over the head of the reigning Rashtrapati, Rajarshi Tandon, with the express object of winning the elections for that ramshackle organization, he naturally conceived it his bounden duty to pile Pelion on Ossa and to pursue the stricken foe through every shade and covert. He had to "deliver the goods" at any cost: his party depended on him to steer it to victory in the gruelling electoral contests even if that steering necessitated the jettisoning of all moral scruples and ideological precepts.

THE MUD STUCK

It was, therefore, doubly incumbent on him to rout those whom he regarded as belonging to the ranks of Tuscany; and with this edifying end in view he fought them with no holds barred. If the parties who have consistently claimed my unwavering support have fallen like ninepins before that relentless onslaught it was solely because of the unscrupulous tactics that he adopted in calling them "communal" and in holding them responsible for the Mahatma's assassination. It is a pity that not a single journalist, while gloating over the defeat of these so-called "communal" elements, has taken the trouble to analyse the causes of that defeat. Our masses are extremely gullible and the Congress, however low it might have fallen, is still a name to conjure with: in addition, the Prime Minister, under whose sole banner it chose

to fight the elections, trails clouds of glory behind him. Is there not a halo around his head as the son of Pandit Motilal and as the foster-son of the "Father of the Nation"? These things tell in the elections; and they tell all the more when the masses are as gullible as ours notoriously are. The Prime Minister has but traded on his name and fame and, further, on this well-known gullibility of those over whose destinies an inscrutable Providence has ordained that he should preside. Much of the mud that he so carefully aimed at the Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh has stuck. There is no doubt that many persons that might otherwise have lined themselves solidly behind the three parties named above allowed their judgment to be swayed by the raging and tearing propaganda of Pandit Nehru and cast their votes elsewhere. It is a veritable shame, to be sure, but there is, obviously, no remedy for it: our people have yet a lot to learn, not being sufficiently politically-minded and still being prone to be completely taken in by all the "secular" nonsense that is being poured into their ears day in and day out by interested politicians. Very few have heads on their shoulders: nor are those few who have willing to put them to the use that the Almighty intended them to be put to.

WRONG TACTICS

How could these parties hope to win the elections when most of the time they were constrained to rebut the charges that they were "communal" and that they had a large share in the Mahatma's assassination? As long as the overwhelming weight of public opinion is not brought to bear upon the Pandit for his scandalous remarks upon reputable organizations he will continue to reign as the Grand Moghul that he, doubtless, regards himself to be. He has long convinced himself that he is the only man that counts in the country, the only pebble on the beach. It fairly took my breath away when I read the speeches of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee: he invariably prefaced them with a tedious declaration that the Jan Sangh was not a "communal" body as the distinguished Pandit had been systematically representing it to be. That a person of Dr. Mookherjee's standing should have taken so much pains to rebut a silly accusation like that, to expend much the greater portion of his electoral ammunition on such absurd targets, made me really sick. In his position I would have dismissed "the cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples" of the Congress President's fevered imagination with the few, but fitting, words:

"It all depends, Panditji, on what the term 'communal' means. It is not we that can be accused of clamping that 'putrefying albatross,' appeasement, on our necks, nor were we the people that so gaily accepted—the while protesting to high heaven that we would not, save and except over

our dead bodies—the partition of our beloved Motherland on the basis of the pernicious 'two-nation theory.' It is we who have consistently stood for the precious unity of our country. If, bearing these incontrovertible facts in mind, you still choose to dub us as 'communal' ('cracking the wind of the poor phrase,' as Polonius says), well, —be it so: only, never forget that, in the context in which you use it, it means 'truly national.' If, after frivolously acceding to the tragic vivisection of our thrice-hallowed land, you have the immortal rind to pass yourself off as the 'true nationalist,' being 'communally-minded' (in your connotation of the term) is something to be immensely proud of, not the reverse. Thank you, Panditji, we are not hurt: you are using that word in a purely Nehruian sense."

Instead of, in the manner I have sketched above, giving a Roland for his Oliver, instead of giving a shattering *quid pro quo*, Dr. Mookherjee elected to put himself and his party entirely on the defensive and—lost all along the line. With an organization like the Congress and with a leader like the Pandit that was, assuredly, not the tactics to have been followed: what, on the other hand, would have paid him handsome dividends was to have carried the war into the enemy's camp.

CRIMINAL LACK OF UNITY

I remarked, earlier, that these pro-Hindu parties had largely themselves to blame for their unprecedented debacle. They were aware that the dice were loaded against them in every possible manner. Yet, excepting at a few scattered places, they did not see their way to uniting and fighting as a single party. What, one asks in dismay, were those insurmountable differences among them that led them to fight the common enemy separately? The Congress itself was as a house divided: all the more, then, should the pro-Hindu elements have coalesced and presented a united front to it.

The Mahasabha is the oldest of the three: the other two could very easily, in my opinion, have agreed to fight under its hoary banner. Contrariwise, the Jan Sangh, exhibiting, as it did, unmistakable signs of being the strongest of the trio, could have been chosen as the leader by the other two and fighting carried on on that mutually satisfactory basis. But no: nothing of the sort had been done! The result was only what should have been expected in the circumstances. My heart bled at that sight. In my talks in New Delhi with the members of the several groups on the subject in October and November last I was given to understand that my sentiments were unexceptionable and that they, too, had been thinking on the same lines but that the difficulty was that the *others* would not combine with them. Nor did I discern that the vast majority of them felt a strong inner urge (as I did) to pool their resources and to fight as a single party. I have always been a bit of an

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS AND AFTER

idealist and it shook me to the very foundations to witness such spectacular disharmony among them at the most crucial juncture of their history.

THE SILVER LINING

This spectacular disharmony, coupled with the mendacious propaganda of the Congress President against them dissertated upon by me in the foregoing paragraphs, cruelly upset the apple-cart of the pro-Hindu parties and catapulted the Congress again into power. A Congress Government will once more be in the saddle, except perhaps in one or two States, with results that the perspicacious may surmise for themselves. The one silver lining in this political cloud is that, though the Congress has again been catapulted into power, it has failed to secure the mammoth majorities that it had been in the habit of securing before. It will be a chastened Congress that will rule the roost hereafter. It has had many a rude shock: some of its tall poppies have been mercilessly levelled to the ground. The casualties in the Ministerial ranks, particularly, have been very heavy. Nor, if we take the voting into account, need the Congress be excessively jubilant. Excepting in East Punjab the Congress has been able to secure more than 50 per cent of the votes only in three States—Delhi, Coorg, and Saurashtra. Even in West Bengal and Assam where it has secured absolute majorities its poll is respectively 38 per cent and 42 per cent. If we take the country as a whole it must be said to the discredit of the Congress that it has, so far, secured a *minority vote*: the implication, naturally, is that there are more people against it than for it. That should give it "furiously to think." And it should bear in mind also that it would not have secured even these votes but for Pandit Nehru's whirlwind tour in an I.A.F. plane, and his mendacious propaganda against the "Hindu communal parties." At so much expense it eventually gained so little!

WITH MUSLIM HELP

The Congress will do well to realise also that it owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Muslims who voted largely for it. In my pre-election article in these columns I ventured to state that the much-vaunted "secularism" of the Congress was nothing but "pro-Muslimism," the two terms being interchangeable. The Indian Muslims certainly prefer the Congress to the other parties: the Congress, under the aegis of Pandit Nehru, has established a sort of "Chota" Pakistan for them in India. And even here there is a distinction. Not all of them are for the Congress as such or for all the Congress leaders as such: they are for the Congress *only* in so far as it is represented by the Pandit. If tomorrow the Pandit were to relinquish the supreme leadership of the Congress (not that he would, he is too "canny" for

that!) the preponderating majority of the Muslims here would renounce their adherence to the Congress to a man. They know where they are well off and when they are well off: nor are they the people to give hostages to fortune in any shape or form. As though to buttress its position still further the Congress has gone out of its way to warn them that if they did not vote for it solidly they would suffer the fate worse than death under the "Hindu communal bodies." More than the Muslims themselves our beloved Panditji shouted the slogan that both Pakistan and Muslim India would be in terrible danger from these so-called communal bodies!

STRAWS IN THE WIND

He carried on a thoroughly gratuitous propaganda in the interests of Pakistan and Muslim India. The Congress did not hesitate to rope in even the notorious Razakers—the more Muslims the merrier evidently being its motto. It is not entirely a coincidence that the Government has withdrawn the notorious conspiracy case against the ex-Premier, Ministers, officers and other prominent persons of Hyderabad. One of the released Ministers has publicly expressed his gratitude to Pandit Nehru for being instrumental in securing the withdrawal of the case against them. This impressive gesture towards the Muslims was made even after the news trickled out that some Pakistani agents had visited Adilabad in the same State with a view to spreading communal feelings among the Muslim residents there. They, however, contrived to escape. It would appear that officers who had arrested some individuals of Adilabad on the charge of assisting these spies were themselves punished with dismissal. It is rumoured also that frantic efforts are being made to release the Razaker Chief and the principal accused in the Bibinagar dacoity case, Kasim Razvi.

The long and the short of it is that, as much as anything else, the Congress's success in the general elections is due to the overwhelming Muslim support that it received. Let the Hindus ponder over that!

WAR HYSTERIA

I wonder what the Congress's reaction is to the news that a documentary film is being exhibited in Pakistan that is calculated to inflame public opinion against this country. The Pakistani leaders, it is apparent, have not yet given up their recent war hysteria. The very title of the picture—*Josh-e-Jehad*—is highly provocative. It records messages from many prominent Pakistan leaders (including the Governor of East Bengal and the Chief Ministers of West Punjab and N.-W. F. P.). Among the highlights of these messages is Mrs. Daulatana's threat to pull out "Bharat's evil eyes and trample upon them." It will be profitable to read these messages in the context of

India's continuance of its obnoxious appeasement policy. The people who, notwithstanding all that they have suffered as a result of this policy, have voted the Congress again into power ought to be the first to profit by them.

POLITICAL ACROBATICS

Before concluding my article I should find some place for the extraordinary political acrobatics of the Congress with respect to their defeated Ministers—especially with respect to one of them, Shri Morarji Desai, the present Home Minister of Bombay. This worthy had been boasting that whoever was pitted against him in the elections would receive such a trouncing at the hands of the electorate that he would lose his deposit and would have to hide his diminished head in shame thenceforward. The sequel to that was that he was himself trounced—and that, too, in his home constituency of Bulsar by his Socialist rival. Instead of taking his defeat gracefully (and even seeing in it the finger of Providence for his Gargantuan boast) he ordered a recount—and lost again. Normally, that should have put him in his place. But has it? The Home Minister of Bombay is not the man to allow himself to be so easily put in his place: he is determined to rise on stepping-stones of his dead self to higher things.

A WORD TO PANDIT NEHRU

There are, we have been told, sins venial and sins mortal; and everyone will agree that, while drinking comes under the former category, Shri Desai's casting a covetous eye on the Chief Ministership undoubtedly comes in the latter.

In this connection a word to Pandit Nehru is, surely, not inapposite. According to his own testimony he took over the reins of the Presidentship of the Congress from Shri Purushottamdas Tandon—the constitutional propriety of which is not above criticism—only with a view, as he picturesquely put it, “to administering a moral shock to the Congress” which was, it would seem, fast sinking in the abyss. I should like to ask him to remember this much-advertised justification of his inherently indefensible action in throwing Shri Tandonji overboard when he considers the advisability of advocating not only of a re-election of Shri Desai but also his election to the

leadership of the Congress Legislative party (which automatically carries with it his appointment as Chief Minister).

“SAVE ME FROM MY FRIENDS!”

Shri Morarji Desai has not been wanting in defenders and one such, in the person of another Bombay Minister, Shri M. P. Patil, has recently come forward to sponsor his cause. Saul also is among the prophets and Shri Patil also is among the champions of democracy. This is amply borne out by the statement he made in Poona the other day valiantly supporting the move to amend the constitution of the Bombay Legislative Congress party (*which has since been amended in the manner proposed*) with a view to electing Shri Morarji Desai as the party's leader.

It is evident that he was more than a little rattled by the vehement opposition to that move on the part of a fellow-Kannadiga, Shri G. V. Hallikerv, the Secretary of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee and a newly elected member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

FANTASTIC LOGIC

Shri Patil impresses a very ingenious argument into his service. With an engaging effrontery he seeks to rout his opponents by arguing from their own standpoint. Democracy would be in dire peril (these opponents say) were Shri Desai to be jockeyed into the leadership of the Bombay Legislative Congress Party. It is precisely to protect the interests of democracy (says Shri Patil) that it is proposed so to jockey Shri Desai! How to resolve this autonomy?

Shri Patil resolves it with a logic all his own! He contends that the constituency that defeated Shri Desai consists only of a few thousand people “as against a large body of representatives of the people elected on the Congress ticket who desire that Shri Desai should continue to be at the head of the Congress administration.” Arguing from this premise he concludes that the step contemplated by the Congress Legislative Party is right “according to the canons of democracy.” Shri Patil forgets that on this assumption, Shri Desai need not have contested the elections at all!

This is the (democratic) shape of things to come—during the second regime of the Congress!

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CHANGE : INDIA

By Prof. NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

IN India, production was formerly based upon a system of hereditary guilds. These caste-guilds enjoyed a fairly large measure of autonomy, for they framed their own laws which were put into execution by the State. The village communities were built up like small self-governing republics, and within them, the various castes were tied to one another by an elaborate system of exchange of services and of goods, in which money did not play any large part. The community, as a whole, was responsible for the economic security of the guilds and for the general stability of the entire social order. There were high and low among the castes, the reason of which was partly historical.

Many of the castes in ancient India had actually been recruited from among tribes who had been economically overwhelmed by the advancing Brahminical peoples. When such tribes became castes, they were generally assigned a lowly status in the Varna system; but, at the same time, they were encouraged to retain as large a part of their tribal beliefs and customs as possible. For it was held by social thinkers in those days, that every individual or social group had the right to live according to its own view of truth, provided it guaranteed the same freedom to everyone else.

This spirit of democracy in relation to various cultures converted Hinduism into a federation of cultures in which new departures of thought from within were also assigned a carefully regulated place in the entire scheme and in which complementary, hereditary guilds were tied to one another by the commonness of local needs.

Within the castes, as well as through the large, joint families, occupations and cultures were transmitted from one generation to another; age and experience were given great authority, and the word of the elders was often regarded as law.

Under the social and economic system which was thus built up in India, the individual was practically submerged under the common good. Conformity, as a virtue, was highly prized, while non-conformity was discouraged, as it might prove a potential danger to social stability. This restriction of variation was likely to lead to stagnation in the end. But Indian social thinkers, in their wisdom, left one door open for the individual of outstanding personality. One who was prepared to sacrifice the security and benefits which accrued to him from social conformity, was freed from the whole round of social obligations, if he was ready to take the bowl of the mendicant in his hand. He

was accorded a position of respect which was generally beyond the reach even of the sacerdotal caste.

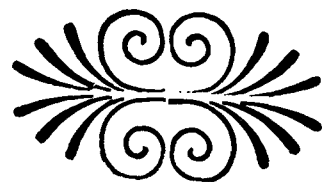
The economic structure underlying caste worked so successfully that even the Mussalman converts in India were sometimes drawn within its embrace. This was generally true of rural areas and not of urban centres. Occupational castes among the Mussalmans occasionally functioned as endogamous groups, although this was against the spirit of Islam.

The system described above was an organization suited for peace and for an unhurried life. It had been brought into being by slow elaboration from within, and incorporation from without. But, in spite of the economic security and cultural autonomy which it offered, the system had some very important points of weakness. For instance, it could not cope with famine: caste rules broke down under the stress of famine. Secondly, when there was an unwieldy growth of population, new colonies had to be founded on fresh land in order to restore the balance. In case of shrinkage of land, some castes were likely to be thrown out of employment and forced into new ones. Even at its best, the system was perhaps not able to support more than two or three hundred people per square mile at a reasonable standard of life. The third point of weakness lay in the fact that, as caste was a more or less loose-knit structure, it was an unsuitable instrument of war. Nationalism, as we see it today, is essentially a war organisation, whether the war is carried on in the military or the economic sector. It thrives upon the feeling of exclusiveness which each nation fosters in respect of all communities which live outside its territorial boundary.

These were then some of the points of strength as well as of weakness of India's original economic and social structure.

In the modern age, capitalism has stepped into India and has become responsible for a widespread rearrangement in the productive organization. Production today is no longer for the satisfaction of limited, local, human needs. It is very often undertaken for a distant market and for the sake of profit. The hereditary guild-structure of caste has been appreciably destroyed by the stress of more improved production, as needed for the sake of profit. Many castes have lost their trade, taken to new ones, and, after being cut off from their moorings within the republican village community, have drifted into the increasingly numerous and concentrated urban centres.

But our habits and thoughts have not kept pace



with the fast-moving scheme of economic changes. The respect shown to elders, the absence of a feeling of responsibility among most individuals, whose elders thought and acted on their belief, are still persistent phenomena. Therefore, in spite of the new economic situation, new social integrations are not being built up fast enough. In the schools and universities, in our municipal or local organisations, in private as well as public businesses, there is still the endeavour to shift responsibility on a few shoulders, as it used to be in the days of the joint family or of the caste organisations.

Those who face forwards instead of backwards, generally have a tendency to swing to the other extreme. A kind of hypertrophied individualism is in evidence in India within certain sectors, which refuses to tone down its character sufficiently to make it possible for new social integrations to come into being and take the place of the old. The reason for this seems to lie in the fact that the exaggerated individualism came into being as a hammer with which to break the old; and, as the task of breaking the old is not yet complete, the demand for an extravagant type of individualism has apparently not yet died out. Few people seem to realize that there can also be destruction through construction.

This is the reason why democratic institutions nurtured in the West, under a different set of economic, social and historical situations, do not find a congenial place in the Indian soil. It is not that the Indian has any hereditary defect in this respect, but the fact is that Western institutions have been imported into India without necessary adaptive changes. They have, therefore, been generally corrupted by either the remnants of the past or by special features which have arisen in reaction against the past.

There is a growing haste in many minds for the attainment of quick results. This creates an impatient desire for totalitarian methods. That way lies the retardation of the process of democracy. The healthy and natural way seems to lie in an intense stimulation of the democratic process itself. In the schools and colleges, in our clubs and industrial institutions, in municipalities and local boards, i.e., in every sector of collective life, there must be a determined effort to stimulate individual initiative, an encouragement of the process of sharing responsibility. For in that way we can hope to rebuild India of the future along democratic lines, and without the retardation consequent upon the employment of methods based upon authority and obedience.

II

The reason why Western democratic institutions do not find a congenial soil in India has been outlined above. The Indian nation, in spite of many handicaps,

is struggling along the democratic way. But, up till now, India has contributed little which is original in this respect; it has tried, more or less, to copy Western institutions without local adaptation.

There has, however, been one great exception, in the shape of Mahatma Gandhi's experiments in the building up of democracy in India. In order to understand Gandhi's political and social work from this point of view, it is necessary to go down to some of the root problems of democracy; and it will be our purpose in the present lecture to deal with these problems as best as we can.

Democracy, in essence, means the assurance of equal opportunity to all to develop the best that is in them. The West invested the system of votes by which every man could help in shaping the government which was to rule over his life and destiny. But, in the West, it was soon discovered that equality in political rights is not enough so long as men remain unequal in their economic relations. So an extension of the meaning of democracy took place. Anarchists, Socialists and Communists of various shades of opinion, all began to look upon economic equality as the necessary foundation on which alone political equality can have any significant meaning.

But Gandhi went one step further. He saw, all round him, in the various countries of the world, that when war came along, everyone tended to give up the practice of democracy and resort to totalitarian methods. The needs of war led to a concentration of power, and hence to dictatorship, no matter whether the dictatorship was supported by popular vote or not. And all dictatorship, whether in the past, as in Brahminical India, or in the present, tends to leave the large masses of mankind devoid of real power, and, therefore, anaemic in the spiritual sense. Thus, argued Gandhi, if the fear of war is there, and the common man has to resort to the ownership of powerful arms for the sake of his own life, then democracy would always lie at the mercy of the god of war. If the so-called peace of today is no more than an interval of preparation for the next war, then any move which may run counter to the interests of self-defence in terms of violence, is sure to be crushed by the government which is representative of a frightened populace.

The root problem of democracy therefore lies tied up with the problem of war. Unless a democratic substitute can be found for war by means of which, effective decisions can be taken in respect of conflicts of vital interests, then democracy will never appear on its own strength.

Gandhi's supreme contribution to human civilization lay in his original experiments in this very direction, and not so much in his other ideas, some of which were a carry-over from the past. He tried to find out how even the smallest group on the face of

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CHANGE : INDIA

the earth could defend what it held sacred by means of its own unaided strength.

III

In order to understand the meaning of Gandhi's moral substitute for war, we must, first of all, try and understand the nature of war itself.

Parliaments, and super-parliaments like the League of Nations or its conferees, have often been found wanting when the vital interests of powerful nations were at stake. The constitutional method has its obvious limitations. Therefore, human groups try to settle their differences by taking recourse to war when other means do not yield adequate results.

The fact is that common people all over the world are, on the whole, peace-loving. But when they are overwhelmed by a feeling of danger, they turn round and behave as all animals do under similar circumstances. The danger in human society ultimately springs from the feeling that perhaps there is not enough to go round in the world today and satisfy all the hungry mouths. Whether such a feeling is statistically justified or not is quite another matter. But nations who have more than enough want to save up for their children; so do classes within one nation who are comparatively more favourably situated. And when this standard is threatened, for their own sake or for the sake of their children, they turn round and fight ferociously.

War can be for good purposes as well as for bad. Its merit lies in the fact that, unlike parliamentary, constitutional methods, it succeeds in bringing about decisive results. And when the process of war is hitched on to a moral cause, like the liberation of the exploited sections of humanity, it succeeds in evoking continuous enthusiasm. The feeling of justice of one's cause covers up the real shortcomings of war as an instrument of bringing about desired social change.

The Communist way to end all war is ultimately to produce so much, and so abundantly, that there will be more than enough for everybody. That will be the objective condition which will make all war unnecessary. But, in the meanwhile, war is unavoidable: and, if war is to succeed, the regimentation must not be half-hearted but wholehearted and complete. That is the inner logic of Communism's theory of dictatorship. Democracy has to wait until dictatorship has performed its task of freeing the world for full, socialist production.

But Gandhi never found himself in agreement with this theoretical position. He worked, on the laboratory scale in India, to find a means of bringing about desired social change which would not lead to the concentration of power but which would, at the same time, be efficient and economical. He was for bringing democracy into being even if there was not enough for everybody. Human equality, in his opinion,

should be able to operate independently of the share which falls to one's lot, provided the sharing is on an equalitarian basis.

In war, the aim is to impose the will of the conqueror on the conquered by means of punishment. Before a war actually breaks out, every nation has to go through a long process of preparation. Mobilization and training, industrial production keyed up to the requirements of actual combat, a process of economic and political attrition calculated to reduce the strength of the enemy, are all necessary items in the preparation for war.

But in Satyagraha the aim is never to reduce the adversary into submission by means of punishment. Once the satyagrahi is convinced that the system for which his adversary stands is wrong, and he is in the right, once feels that his preparation is also fairly complete, he begins the offensive by launching non-co-operation with the system for which his adversary stands. He thus invites punishment upon himself as a result of his non-co-operation. If his fortitude and determination do not fail, and he is convinced more and more about the justice of his cause, then, eventually, his courage will touch the heart of the adversary. The latter will, at first, feel surprised and then give way to respect for the non-co-operator, until he agrees to the latter's claim on account of its inherent justice. At the end of a Satyagraha struggle, there is no sense of victory or of defeat; there is an agreement on what both sides recognize to be wholly just.

The most important thing about Satyagraha is that it calls for an intense period of preparation, as war of the orthodox kind does. This was given the name of constructive work by Gandhi. The central object of constructive work is to build up a democratic and equalitarian, social and economic order by decentralizing the production of the vital necessities of life. In that, the means of production of those needs are ultimately to vest in public bodies and not in private hands. Gandhi held that when man's responsibilities are related to the needs of a small manageable area, they function much better than when very large organizations are run from a distance through personally little known representatives.

When such small-scale republics are built up, they have to be multiplied until they cover the whole face of the land. But, instead of functioning as isolated atoms, they are expected to enter into wider and wider circles of interdependence, until they cross national boundaries and encompass the whole world within their orbit. Such a consummation can take place only when the ground has been swept clean of the old order. And among the elements of the old order, one of the most powerful is the desire of militarily powerful groups to live by the exploitation of honest toilers.

The implication of the kind of preparation described above is that just as the preparation for war

is a preparation in terms of violence, so a preparation for non-violent defence entails the exercise of non-violence within the national boundary. If the Satyagrahi succeeds, by constructive endeavour, and also by Satyagraha where necessary, in turning the direction of the social and economic system under which he lives towards non-exploitation, in so far as that is possible under the limitations set by surrounding conditions, and if his efforts are honest, intelligent and determined in character, then the news will inevitably go round the neighbouring countries and the stage will be prepared for an effective application of non-violence for defence purposes when an offence actually takes place.

Suppose, for instance, that a band of persons in the neighbouring country have actually succeeded in corrupting the rest of the populace until the latter, either through greed or fear, are fired with the desire to invade the land of the satyagrahis. Then the satyagrahis will allow the army to march over their dead bodies, yet not yield. If satyagrahis die like this, then their example will steel the hearts of the rest of their countrymen, and even if the whole country is overrun by the invading army, the latter will find themselves isolated through the complete non-co-operation of the populace. This continued non-co-operation, carried on in the spirit of non-violence, should ultimately convince the common soldier on the other side that the satyagrahis do not look upon them as enemies but would share the wealth and resources of their country provided the invaders lay down their swords and live the kind of life which the satyagrahis have slowly tried to build up on the basis of non-exploitation. And when this feeling spreads to the common soldier in the invading army, he will either refuse to fight and go back home, or identify himself with his erstwhile victims and share the life which he had come to destroy. Even if the heart of the warlord is not touched, he will eventually find himself isolated and unable to carry on his projects on account of the non-co-operation of his own men. The isolation

of the septic focus will in itself, constitute victory for non-violence.

It was thus that Gandhi wanted to replace war by means of Satyagraha.

In India, Satyagraha was applied on more than a score of occasions for the remedy of specific, local grievances. Some of them were of an economic nature and some were social. In Vaikom there was satyagraha against the exclusion of untouchables from entry into the temple road. Public opinion was already favourable towards the satyagrahis, so that the orthodox people who resisted, were actually fighting for a nearly lost cause. Under such circumstances, satyagraha yielded very quick and favourable results. In the case of economic disputes, where the moral position of the privileged classes has not been weakened by previous effort, satyagraha has sometimes failed and sometimes proved victorious. In the larger field of politics, it has undoubtedly helped very much in the attainment of India's national liberation.

What is needed today, is to undertake a critical study of the new technique of collective action in so far as it has been experimented upon in India. We have to find out the conditions under which it works best, and also how its application can be improved; and for this purpose, we should not hesitate to launch upon new, and controlled, experiments.

Surgical interference is an accepted remedy in many cases. But the modern development of antibiotics has wellnigh revolutionized the practice of surgery. Preventive medicine has also made very large strides. It is not unlikely that further progress in antibiotics and in preventive medicine may still further limit the field of surgical interference.

It should be even so with Satyagraha as a substitute for war. If war can be gradually replaced as the solution of vital conflicts, where constitutional means usually fail, then the last hurdle in the path of democracy will be crossed. That is a goal which calls for the highest type of human adventure.



A TRIP TO IRELAND

By SHEFALI NANDY, M.A.

WHY don't you come to Ireland during the Christmas Holidays," asked my Irish class-mate, Miss Iaira. "Well, I am rather keen to visit Ireland, but would it be wise to come in such a cold weather?" asked. "Well, if you dared to come over to England in winter, I do not see why you should at all be frozen in Ireland," came the reply.

burst forth into the sky and appeared to be smiling at me to make amends for the coldness of the sea.

At the breakfast table, I was introduced to all members of the family, all of whom appeared to be keenly waiting for me and eager to hear something about India and what we are doing there particularly after the dawn of freedom. So we started with Indian



The Library, Trinity College, Dublin



A page from the Book of Kells, Trinity College, Dublin

So one winter evening I started, and as if to add to the coldness of the adventure, the Irish Sea, which has never the reputation of being favourable to travellers, was particularly rough with me, so when I got off the boat to the Irish coast, the reception I received could not be called warm at all. It was six o'clock in the morning and still dark, and as I was hesitating whether to take the train for Dublin or move by the road, I was accosted by a very cordial voice, "Hallo, you are most welcome to Ireland." I was indeed quite glad to see that both Mr. and Miss Pigot came forward to receive and escort me to Dublin. As we drove to their house, the first rays of the new-born sun on that 29th day of December

surged and finished with the lovely Indian curries including of course the present political and economic situations.

Mr. Pigot, the head of the family and father of my Irish class-mate, enquired about my intended stay and the things in which I was specially interested. When he learnt that I had just one week in hand during which brief period I would like to see some relics and memories of the 1916-22 movements in Ireland as also a rough picture of the social organisations working in the different strata of the Irish society, he telephoned his sister and friends to assist me as much as they could. I explained in reply to his queries that it had been the Irish Home Rule movement as well as the Sinn Feins which provided the mainspring of the inspiration for us in

India and that our revolutionary movements derived a good deal of their strength and force from them.

So the first visit that was arranged for me had been to the National Museum in Dublin where the relics of the 1916-22 movements had been preserved with the utmost care and affection. As I inspected these relics of a national struggle—armours, secret documents, pictures—I visualised in my mind their usual grim background of imprisonments, tortures, secret societies, the clashes and bloodsheds that



View along the quays from O'Connell Bridge, Dublin

emerged out of struggles between two extremes and recalled to my mind a similar picture of happenings in my own motherland. The G. P. O. which was the centre of this movement has got a statue of Kihulan—the national hero. Underneath the statue, the Treaty signed by the seven leaders including Pearson and De Valera has been inscribed in full. Kihulan, never defeated till the last, symbolises Ireland. The O'Connell statue in front of the G. P. O. witnessed the revolution evidently, as the bullet holes on the angels below are still there, being carefully preserved as a commemoration of the grim struggle.

Like any other big city, Dublin, the capital of Free Ireland, is full of buildings and statues. The Trinity College is in the centre of the town, opposite which there is the Bank of Ireland reminding one of the ancient days. The Trinity College has produced some of the greatest men of the British Isles—Edmund Burke, Oliver Goldsmith, Wolfstone—to name only a few amidst a galaxy of great men. It was Wolfstone who had been to France during the French Revolution and has brought back the idea of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity to his motherland. Ultimately he was captured by the British and condemned to death. He, however, hated the idea of being hanged at the hands of the oppressor and accordingly committed suicide in his cell. A bust of this national hero has been carefully preserved in the library hall of the Trinity College, amidst the

statues of other great ones. The Library itself contains half a million volumes, its main attraction being to my mind the celebrated *Book of Kells*, which contains paintings made by the Christian missionaries in the early part of the 9th century. The whole book contains illustrations on the various biblical texts and the patterns are in lovely colours which have not faded even to this day, and curiously enough some of them appeared to be Eastern in outlook and design. Being one of the biggest in the British Isles, the Trinity College has a strength of 2500 students, of whom 800 happen to be women. There are at present about 40 Indian students studying in the College.

Mr. Pigot's sister happened to be the secretary of the Mount Street Club for the unemployed, and it was indeed very kind of her to take me into the club premises and provide me with an opportunity of studying its working at first hand. The club people pick the unemployed from the street, allow them work inside the club premises for which they become entitled to "tally" instead of money. With



Ireland in snow

that "tally" within the club premises, they buy food, clothing and even furniture which are essential in a cold country like Ireland. The essential qualification for enrolment as members is that of unemployment and nothing else, and the only condition of continuing as members is that of work and nothing else.

Accordingly, the people are always active within the club compound, and the club also gets a generous response from the public, whose contributions constitute the only source of monetary income for the Managing Committee. The club has a farm-house where the members themselves work for the benefit of the unemployed and the whole system proceeds on the basis of something like barter of man-labour and the pool. The unemployed seem also to be quite happy about the atmosphere, as they have not to depend on others for their living.

We next went to the nursery centre where the children of the working families are kept and education imparted to them. There are several such

as to most children the mother tongue is as much foreign as the English language itself. The result is quite familiar to our experiences in India, as all



Snow-ball, Ireland

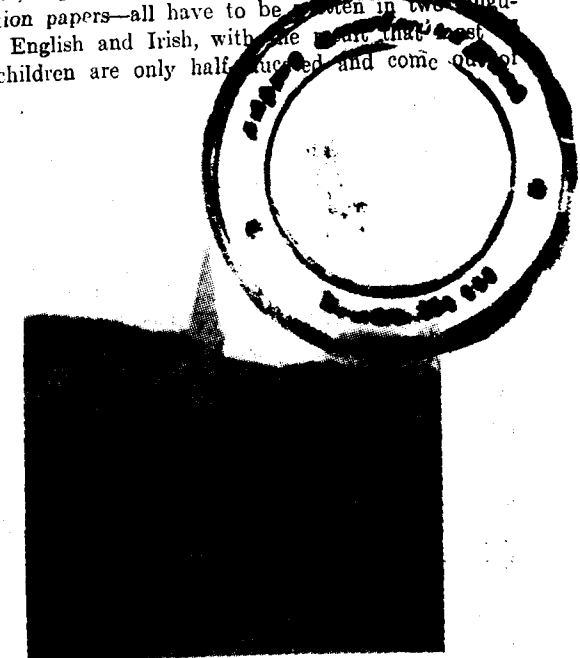
centres where all children between the ages of 2 and 5 years are taken in. The object of the Civic Institute of Ireland—for this is the name of the institution—is to help the working mothers to bring their children up, the children coming back to their mothers as soon as the job is given up or otherwise relinquished. The mother fills up the application form for admission of her children, and an identifying card is attested in the usual course by the employer. The children are provided with lunch and tea, as also with the amenities for games and sports along with imparting the usual courses, in primary education.

Older children up to the age of 14 are sent to schools for education, where however a good deal of time is wasted in teaching too many subjects. Another point of difficulty is the medium of instruction which had been English for the last 100 years or so. Mr. De Valera and his government have no doubt tried to introduce the Irish language, but in the initial stages it has added to the complications



Killiery hills

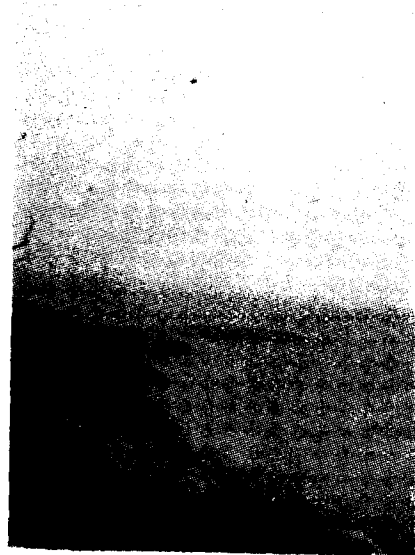
notices, government proceedings, advertisements, question papers—all have to be written in two languages, English and Irish, with the result that most of the children are only half-educated and come out of



On the top of the Killiery hills

schools rather ill-equipped. Apart from these difficulties, another point for consideration is probably the anxiety of every father to see that his children

settle into a definite vocation as early as possible and add to the general income of the family. Most of these working families live in slums and housing conditions are miserable, and besides there is the prevalent prejudice against limitation of families. The Ministry is no doubt trying to make these conditions easier by providing better housing, but government resources being limited this vicious circle still continues.



The sea and the hills near Dunloughaire

A very interesting talk in this regard I had with Mr. De Valera, whom I had the privilege to meet at his residence in Dublin on the 2nd January. This visit was arranged by the father of Moira, my Irish class-mate, who made the necessary arrangement on hearing from me that I was interested to know the details of the Irish Home Rule struggle. I was indeed surprised to hear from Mr. Pigot that a talk with Mr. De Valera had already been arranged and that as a matter of fact Mr. De Valera was already graciously waiting for my call there. So with much trepidation I went to meet the eminent Irish leader and opened the talk by presenting him a copy of Tagore's *Gitanjali*. Initially the conversation had been about Tagore and some other allied subjects, but the flow of talk became easier as soon as he heard that I myself had been a teacher. All on a sudden I felt that the inmost of the great man had opened and I realised that the Irish nation had found

the right type of a friend, philosopher and guide in him. He said that in order to impart education no standardized system is absolutely necessary and added that the main point about an educational system is the intention to impart education, and that if the will in this regard is genuine and there is the necessary idealism, no obstacles or restrictions can stand in the way.

During my brief sojourn in Ireland, I could not see much or make many points of contact. But even during this short stay, I could notice that the Irish are by nature emotional like ourselves, they open



Miss Moira, Irene and Mrs. Nandy

their hearts easily, and in this they are unlike the English who are more restrained and aloof. At any rate I had a unique pleasure in talking freely and laughing heartily in Ireland, which it was not possible to have in the rigid atmosphere of England. A remarkable family in this regard is these Pigots with whom I stayed in Dublin. They are accustomed to the usual rules of a family etiquette, but there is no rigidity attached to these rules as we have them in our country or even in England. This indeed is a happy family consisting of an aged father and a mother and the children, and they made me feel quite at home in Ireland.



TANJORE

Art Gallery of Sculptures

By O. S. KRISHNAMURTHY

TANJORE is a name to conjure with. With its historical tradition and cultural heritage of the hoary past, no other city in the South is, perhaps, as well-known as Tanjore or Tanjavur, its Tamil appellation. The golden

Rajarajeswaram is situated within an enclosed parapet and above it rises majestically in fourteen storeys to an elevation of about two hundred feet a *Gopuram* or tower. The tower is supported by a basement measuring ninety-six feet square and its top is crowned by a monolithic dome or *Vimana*, weighing eighty tons, believed to have been lifted up on an ascending plane from a village at a distance of four miles from the shrine. Though the tower dominates the surrounding towers and objects by its magnificent appearance, it does not belittle their artistic beauty. The straight-sided square pyramid of the tower is constructed on the perpendicular basement in such a way that it never casts its shadow on the ground. It is decorated with artistic pilasters and beautifully carved statues of various sizes, which are a notable aspect of Chola temples. A curious feature of the great tower is that among the figures on it, there is the bust of a European with a hat on.



The main Gopuram in the background, towering above the Nandi Mandap

age of Tanjore synchronised with the hegemony of the early Chola kings over the territories comprising the present Madras State, Mysore, Coorg, Travancore-Cochin, Ceylon and Maldives Islands. Rajaraja the Great (985-1014 A.D.), the most illustrious and omnipotent of the Cholas, had his seat of government at Tanjore and was chiefly responsible for the expansion of the Chola imperialism.

Rajaraja's victories of peace were no less splendid than his victories of war. Before the advent of the Cholas, South Indian temples were generally built of brick and mortar and they paved the way for the construction of structural stone temples which, since then, became so common and so numerous in the South, and the example of which is the famous Tanjore temple, otherwise known as Rajarajeswaram, after its founder Rajaraja. The presiding deity of the shrine is called Brihadiswara or the Lord of the Universe.



Monolithic bull (Nandi) at close quarters in a separate Mandap by itself

According to a popular belief, he was supposed to have assisted in the construction of the temple; the other belief being that he was installed to foretell the later rise of the British power in India. The fact,

however, seems that a Dane is believed to have helped a ruler of the Nayak dynasty of Tanjore (16th century A.D.) in his military campaigns and the ruler's gratitude to him found expression in the shape of his bust being erected in the great tower.



A view of the main Gopuram and the Nandi Mandap from south-east side

Inside the temple courtyard there is a small but beautiful shrine dedicated to Lord Subramania (son of Lord Shiva) and massive monolithic stone-cut Nandi or bull which in appearance is majestic and titanic, being carved out of a single laminated rock of granite. The dimensions of the bull are more than the combined heights of two tall men, twenty feet in length and about eight feet in breadth. Being immersed daily in oil, it looks as if it is made of cast-iron. A huge crow-bar has been run into the back of the bull. The folklore has given credence to the superstition that the *Nandi* was growing in height towards the ceiling and if it were to touch the ceiling, it would herald the end of the world. The crow-bar which is supposed to have curbed its growth has thereby averted the great Deluge!

The Tanjore temple exemplifies *par excellence* the style of architecture called the Dravidian school of architecture. It is the best designed of all the South Indian temples; perhaps, the only one, the construction of which was undertaken on a well-defined and stately plan kept in till its completion. The Subramania temple is considered by discerning critics as 'a perfect gem of carved stone work, the tooling of the stone in the most exquisitely delicate and elaborate patterns is as clear and short as the day it left the sculptor's hands.' The numerous sculptures of male and female figures in various delightful poses decorating the tower and many other parts of the temple are symbolic of the highest perfection attained in minute detail by the South Indian artists even before the 10th century A.D., the result being their legacy to posterity of an invaluable art gallery of masterpieces of sculpture. The mural paintings embellishing the walls of the temple are in double strata, the exterior having

been executed during the Nayak dynasty of Tanjore and the interior works, the recovery of them undertaken only recently, appearing to belong to the period of Rajaraja. The interior paintings are likely to reveal, if fully explored, much of the hidden treasures of Chola art.

In its pristine glory, the Tanjore temple was not only the centre of religious worship but also humming with social and economic activities. It housed bank, museum, hospital, theatre and, above all, educational institutions. It was the richest temple, being in possession of large endowments from the King and the other members of the blue blood. Rajaraja presented the temple with gold and silver ornaments and jewels; and gave away lands in several villages throughout his far-flung empire, including Ceylon. The inscriptions which are spread over throughout the temple throw much light on the reign and achievements of Rajaraja and the liberal donations made by him and others to the temple.



The rampart walls of the Nayak period, almost intact. The Grand Anicut Canal diverted from the main Cauvery River gives a pleasing foreground

No doubt, the temple is the best specimen of Tamil architecture. Nevertheless, it is not viewed as very sacred as a centre of religious pilgrimage as are many other South Indian temples. Here too, a local legend has gained wide currency. The well-renowned Tamil poet Appar was refused entry into the temple and therefore annoyed, he did not celebrate the presiding deity in his hymns; nor did the other Tamil poet-saints give an honourable place to the shrine in their compositions. Credulity apart, the reason does not seem to be far to seek. Rajaraja the Great's son, Rajendra, who extended his father's domain by his North Indian invasion up to the Ganges, transferred his capital to Gangaikonda-Cholapuram—named after his triumphant return from the Ganges—where he constructed a temple on the model of Rajarajeswaram at Tanjore and consecrated the place with the Ganges

water. From his reign Tanjore ceased to have its glory, and presumably what the temple at the new capital gained in terms of popularity and religious sanctity the Tanjore temple lost, suffering, in course of time, its religious eclipse.

Today the great Rajarajeswaram, appearing practically deserted, is haunted by a few devotees and is only a relic of the past, living on the shadow of its bygone splendour, as are so many antiquated historical monuments in India.

—:O:—

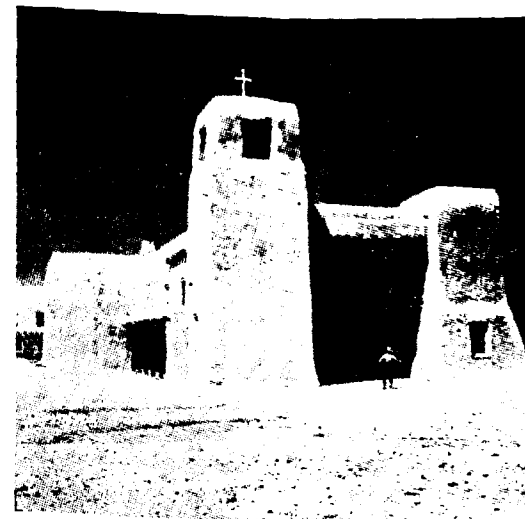
SANTA FE Where New Meets Old in America

By ROBERT WISTRAND

At the end of one of North America's most historic roadways is the oldest seat of government in the United States. This is Santa Fe. It has been named the Royal City, the Athens of America, and the Crossroads of the Centuries. Certainly Santa Fe is the tourist center of the State of New Mexico.

In the sun, protected on three sides by watchful mountains. Snow lies high on the peaks until late June, and at all seasons the earth and sky are vibrant with color.

Santa Fe was founded in the winter of 1609-1610 when the Spaniard, Don Pedro de Peralta, laid out



The church of Cristo Rey in Santa Fe, capital city of the State of New Mexico

The Santa Fe Trail to this city 7,000 feet above sea-level was travelled from 1822 to 1872 by early American pioneers who opened the way from the flatland midwestern State of Missouri to the vast and mountainous Southwest. By 1880 the railroad had taken the place of the trail as a principal trade route. But today, 340 years after its founding, the city of Santa Fe retains much of its early charm.

In and near Santa Fe are to be found the essence of New Mexico. Here are the ancient cliff dwellings and Indian pueblos (communal villages) with adobe houses built of mud and straw. Here are tiny villages clinging to the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and the petrified forests. Here are mountain trails and Spanish missions, and for the comfort and interest of visitors, hotels, museums, and the plaza of an alert old town.

Santa Fe snuggles in a valley like a sleepy cat



The old Palace of Governors

the plaza and built a walled town on the site of an ancient American Indian ruin. Here is still an adobe house built before 1540 and believed to be the oldest house in the United States.

Santa Fe's streets once were faint paths made by the indigenous Indians. These streets still follow the winding directions of unknown wanderers and are always good for anecdotes. "Yes, the streets are rough," one mayor admitted. "People have been walking on them too long."

Since 1920 many artists have lived and worked in Santa Fe. It is also a haven for the weary with its invigorating 7,000 foot altitude and average year-

around temperature of 49 degrees, Fahrenheit. In midwinter the sun drives the chill from one's back, and yet in summer the evenings are so cool that a Cathedral of Saint Francis and candles glow along flat roofs as smoke from pine-wood sweetens the night air. But the annual three-day corn festival held the last week-end in August is the high point of the year. Gaily costumed crowds dance in the streets and march in solemn procession to the Cross of the Martyrs or applaud as the effigy of Old Man Gloom vanishes in flames. Indian drums beat a pulsating accompaniment for chanting and singing amid the brilliant and blazing colors of the ceremonial dress.



A colour guard of men in cowboy attire leads the parade opening the annual Santa Fe Fiesta in the city

light coat feels comfortable. The easy manners and the simplicity of adobe houses bordered with hollyhocks and shaded by cottonwood trees are enjoyable to visitors.

Santa Fe was always a city to enjoy. For the 50 years that the Santa Fe Trail was used, the city marked the realization of a goal. After the long, arduous, and sometimes terrifying journey by oxdrawn wagon over plains and rivers and mountains, comfort and safety awaited at Santa Fe. There the drivers smoothed their hair with bear grease and wearing their best homespun suits found wine, good food, dancing, and pretty dark eyes.

Now air-liners glide down daily to the Santa Fe airport, but passengers coming on the Santa Fe Railroad must take a bus for 16 miles to reach the city. When the railroad was laid down in the early 1880's Santa Fe was by-passed, because it was high in the mountains.

The Royal City, as it is dubbed, loves celebrations. On Christmas Eve bonfires are lit in front of the

extinct, began collecting old pottery. This formed the beginning of the Laboratory of Anthropology, which is now visited by more than 20,000 people each year. Among the visitors are modern Indian artists who

New Mexico's strange history was not all gaiety, as may be seen in the weapons, documents, and handicrafts on display in the old Palace of Governors. This palace, now 336 years old, has housed more than 100 governors—Spanish, Mexican, and American. At the time of an American Indian rebellion more than 1,000 Spaniards were besieged within its walls.

In 1923, a group of Santa Fe citizens, realizing that ancient American Indian arts were becoming



Modern modes of dress and travel meet the old style of building in Santa Fe, New Mexico

UNVEILING OF THE BUST OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA

307

revitalize their work by studying the designs of their forefathers.

Here also a fine collection of Navajo Indian sand paintings is exhibited, and in the museum's library are hundreds of books on the Navajo religion.

Santa Fe is Roman Catholic and bilingual. Since 1875 the city has been the seat of a Holy See; and in the streets one may hear the descendants of early conquerors speaking a soft-voiced Spanish. Until

recently, all bills in the state legislature were read in both English and Spanish.

In its fourth century of existence the New Mexico state capital city of Santa Fe is casual, urbane, and stimulating. It is a spicy mixture of the modern and the old, where the present blends charmingly into the past, and where the modern visitor becomes for a moment a part of it.—From *Holiday*.

—:O:—

UNVEILING OF THE BUST OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA IN NEW YORK

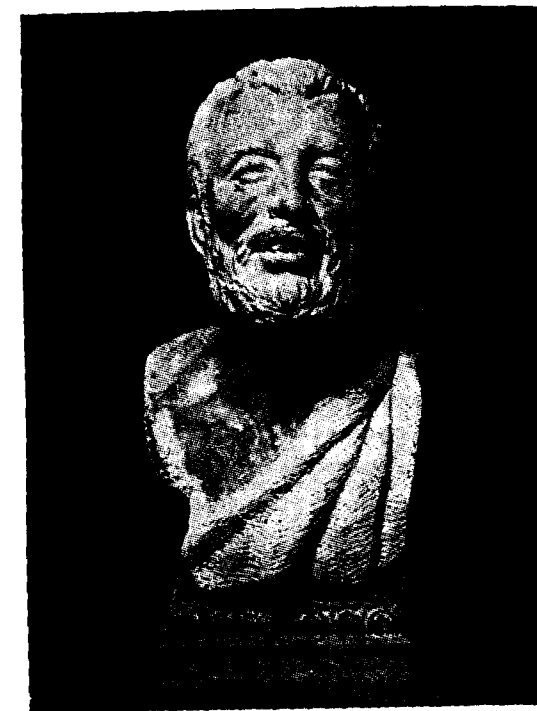
By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

This evening we have gathered in the chapel of the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Center to participate in the unveiling of the alabaster bust of Sri Ramakrishna, made by Malvina Hoffman, who last year presented the Center with the bronze portrait of Swami Vivekananda. These two portraits of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, who have been described by Romain Rolland as "prophets of the new India," will add to the sanctity of the chapel and inspire those who gather here to lift up their thoughts to the higher level of the Spirit. Miss Hoffman has laid us all under a deep debt of gratitude.

The name of Sri Ramakrishna, which, even a few years ago, was like a thin crescent, is gradually growing into a full moon. The Ramakrishna Mission is in the forefront of many religious, humanitarian, and educational activities in India. Its monastic members have been active in the West as well as in the Far East. There are about a dozen centers of the Ramakrishna Mission in the United States of America, devoted to the propagation of the spiritual culture of India and the promotion of the oneness of humanity on a spiritual basis. The life and sayings of Ramakrishna are taught in several American universities, and his words have already drawn the attention of many thoughtful people. He is, as it were, the incarnation of the time-spirit in its benign aspect. His spiritual experiences reveal a God very vivid and real. Even the casual reader of *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* cannot but be struck by the depth and all-inclusiveness of his spiritual vision. He compels us to feel that all our thoughts and actions are permeated by the Spirit of God and that God is the inmost Self of every living being.

Belonging to the line of Krishna, Buddha, and other God-men, Sri Ramakrishna was born in 1836 in a humble village of Bengal not far from Calcutta. His parents, like many other Brahmins, were poor, God-fearing and orthodox in their religious habits. Ramakrishna's boyhood was natural, joyous, and full of fun. Endowed with feminine grace, he endeared him-

self especially to the women of his village; but through the veil of his gay exterior was revealed now and then a vein of deep seriousness. Indifferent to academic studies, he showed particular interest in worship and contemplation.



The bust of Sri Ramakrishna
By Malvina Hoffman, 1951

At the age of sixteen Ramakrishna went to Calcutta, then the metropolis of India; but he felt no attraction in its materialistic glamour or its godless intellectual atmosphere. His mind was directed to another ideal, set in a far-off horizon. Three years later he became a priest in a temple near Calcutta where the Deity was worshipped as Kali, the Divine

Mother of the Universe and the Saviour of men from the endless round of birth and death. The proximity of the sacred Ganges and the atmosphere of the temples touched a hidden chord in Ramakrishna's heart. He was seized with the idea of having a direct experience of God, and to that end spent his days and nights in uninterrupted meditation and prayer. Dissatisfied with a merely formal image worship, he became eager to know what lay behind an image, making it an object of worship from time out of mind. Through rigorous disciplines, he brought his mind and senses under complete control and directed them to the search for the Godhead. People called him insane, but could not move him from his chosen path. At last in a transcendental experience, he had a vision of the Divine Mother and found himself in an ocean of Bliss.

But this was only a foretaste of the many other visions that were to follow. Hinduism is a gem of many facets, each of which is endowed with unique grandeur. Sri Ramakrishna next engaged himself in the exploration of the different aspects of Hinduism. He communed with Rama and Krishna and established different relationships with God, regarding Him as Master, Father, Mother, Child, and Beloved. Each of these disciplines rewarded him with an appropriate bliss and illumination. Soon afterwards he wanted to experience the Godhead through faiths other than Hinduism. He became a devotee of Christ and followed Christian discipline, forgetting for the time being his beloved Divine Mother and his Hindu heritage. Within a few days Christ, the Son of God, embraced Ramakrishna, the Son of the Divine Mother, and disappeared into him; and he had the same experience with Mohammed. Thus he concluded that Christianity and Islam, too, lead to the same ocean of God-consciousness. During his later life he was never tired of preaching that the ideals of the different religions are manifestations of the same ineffable Reality and that all religions, if sincerely practised, help their respective devotees to realize the same goal. Even a primitive religion is a doorway to God—it may be the back door. Man does not proceed, as Ramakrishna's illustrious disciple Vivekananda has said, from error to truth, but from truth to truth, from lower truth to higher truth. Ramakrishna is widely respected today as a preacher of the harmony of religions. He did not preach this harmony in an intellectual sense like a liberal minister or a teacher of comparative religions in a theological seminary, but he taught from direct personal experience.

After experiencing all these dualistic visions, Ramakrishna followed the austere discipline of non-dualism, by means of which the human soul realizes its total identity with the Godhead and the universe. In an incredibly short time he realized the oneness of existence, which, according to Hinduism is the culmination of a man's spiritual search. When the

seeker becomes one with the Godhead, there remains for him nothing more to strive after. Constantly aware of the soul's non-duality, divinity, and immortality, he devoted the remaining twenty years of his life to the service of his fellow men. Before the very eyes of his contemporaries, the fun-loving young man had become transformed into a priest, the priest into a seeker of God, the seeker into a God-intoxicated devotee, and the devotee into a God-man. The God-man put on the veneer of a spiritual teacher and attracted to himself a diversified group of people: men and women, young and old, scientists and fundamentalists, philosophers and dramatists, social reformers and artists. Every one received his share of benediction in Ramakrishna's presence. The teacher never tried to convert people to a new cult, but gave each a push, as it were, from where he stood. Sri Ramakrishna did not promulgate a new religion but became the verifier of all faiths. For fifty years he lived a God-dedicated life on earth, demonstrating with every breath the sole reality of God.

The outstanding disciple of Ramakrishna was a young man of many-sided talent who subsequently became world-famous as Swami Vivekananda. In 1893 he carried the message of his Master and of Hinduism to the New World, and later he preached it in Europe. Vivekananda was the first spiritual ambassador of India to the Western World.

In many respects Ramakrishna was an extraordinary saint—unlike many other saints, he was married. He always kept his wife near him and treated her with great tenderness and respect. There was not a touch of worldliness in their relationship, she being his attendant and first disciple. Sri Ramakrishna regarded all women as embodiments of the Divine Mother.

Ramakrishna was no cross-grained recluse. He lived in society and loved human beings. All his time was devoted to the spiritual welfare of men, irrespective of their caste or creed. Even while bed-ridden with a painful illness, which made the uttering of words almost impossible for him, he would talk to people in whispers or by signs. To him human life was precious, being the expression of the Divine Life. The world without its spiritual foundation was unsubstantial to Ramakrishna; but through his illumined vision, he regarded it as the playground of the Divine.

Like other prophets, he preached the perennial philosophy of the Spirit, exhorting men and women to apply it to their daily activities. No work, by itself, is either good or bad. He taught that good is what brings man to the realization of the Oneness of existence, and that evil is the separative principle. Peace, individual and universal, can be realized and through the perception of that Oneness manifesting

LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA

itself through diversity. Greed and lust, suffering and delusion, fear and secretiveness, can be got rid of when a man sees himself in all and all in himself. This Unity experienced by Ramakrishna is the basis of the golden rule and also of freedom, human rights, and the other cherished ideals of our times.

The aberrations of the modern world Sri Ramakrishna emphasized, consist of greed and sensuality, the twin pillars of the materialistic life. Physical science and technology, with their accent on multiplicity, have brought into prominent relief a Godless, soulless, and loveless view of man and the universe. War and the fear of war are the direct result of secularism. Thoughtful people everywhere are apprehensive of a doom that is drawing to itself a helpless humanity with the inexorable precision of staggered traffic-lights. "How can a benign God permit such a dire ending for men, whom He created after His own image?"—asks the believer. Or is it a blind fate, inherent in the very nature of things, over which men have no control? Call it fate or an inscrutable cosmic force, it is not outside human control. The accumulated actions and thoughts of men in the past have released this power, against which the individual seems to be impotent. Again, the combined actions and thoughts of men will create a benign power which will be their guardian angel to help them in the realization of their highest, divine potentialities.

What we call good and evil in our daily practical life are only the reflections of the Highest Good in the relative world. The obscuration of the Highest

Good creates the apparitions of good and evil. Between these two, there is only a difference of degree and not of kind.

Sri Ramakrishna is the embodiment of the Highest Good. In him the ego was completely effaced. No evil ever touched his thought or action, not even in a dream. It was always what God did or spoke through him. The lower nature was under the control of the divine nature. Never did an unkind word pass his lips. Love alone flowed from his universal heart. He saw only God in man and woman, and treated them accordingly. Even the so-called sinner felt the impelling force of Divinity in his presence.

"It is," as Romain Rolland writes about Ramakrishna, "the same Man, the Eternal, Our Son, Our God, reborn. With each return He reveals Himself a little more fully, more enriched by the universe." The life and words of Ramakrishna are to be cherished not only by the Hindus; they are the hope and faith of millions of human beings. One may not easily understand all his rituals or modes of expression, as they belong to the peculiar Indian climate; but every seeker can share his yearning for Reality and his communion with the Godhead. The haunting presence of God underlying his words, is, indeed, the common ground on which the future temple of humanity will be built, uniting Hindus and non-Hindus in the common worship of the same Supreme Spirit.

—O:—

LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By S. T.

LIBRARIES were not unknown in ancient India. Ancient Indian Universities like the Taxila, Pataliputra and Vikramshila maintained well-equipped libraries, a fact which is well borne out by the accounts of the Chinese travellers like Fa Hien, Hiuen-Tsang and It-sing.

The tradition of maintaining libraries was not snapped during the time of the Muslim rulers of the country who were lovers of scholarship and art. They prided in preserving their ancestral libraries and also opening new ones.

With the advent of the British in India, the libraries also, along with every other thing, underwent a change in complexion.

The library movement in the modern sense originated in the Punjab when in 1915 the University of Punjab invited A. D. Dickinson from U.S.A. to reorganise the University Library on modern scientific lines. Dickinson

introduced the Dewey Decimal classification system and the open access shelf system in the University library. He also started a library training class and founded the Punjab Library Association.

Almost simultaneously Baroda was experimenting successfully with another phase of the movement. Baroda is the first to start the public library movement. The then Maharaja Gaskwad of Baroda inaugurated in the State a system of free public libraries in towns and villages after his return from the U.S.A. As in Punjab, here also an American W.A. Borden was appointed State's first librarian. Borden also started a library class to coach men and women in library work. Besides developing a well-equipped central library of the State, Baroda also inaugurated its village libraries and travelling libraries—a field in which lay Baroda's main contribution to the development of the movement.

Baroda was followed by Andhra, Madras, Bengal and Bombay. In Andhra the movement arose as a purely people's call for libraries, and the first Andhra library came into being in 1893. The Andhra Library Association (1914) was perhaps the first to be founded in India.

Indian librarianship entered into another phase in Madras. Its contribution is mainly through the Madras Library Association which was founded in 1928. The Association through systematic publicity is responsible for creating a public taste for libraries. Yet its primary aim was the development of the technique of librarianship. The role of the Madras University in the furtherance of librarianship in the south is great. The University provided all facilities for the development of the movement.

In Bengal also the State's Library Association is responsible for popularising the movement. Here also, as in Andhra, the movement owes its growth to the people themselves who extended all co-operation to the Association in the propagation of its aims.

Bombay initiated its library movement by the report of a Government Committee appointed in December 1939 to consider and report on the question of the establishment of a central library for the State in Bombay city and three regional libraries each for Poona, Ahmedabad and Dharwar. The report which was published in 1941 chalked out a scheme of progressive development towards a network of libraries spreading to distant towns and villages. To-day the State has in a large measure accomplished what was set forth in the report.

The library movement thus having been planted well, spread its branches into other States, so that no part of the country remained uninitiated into the new ferment of librarianship. The libraries in the States' capitals and other major towns to-day have a vital place in the country's educational and cultural life.

The Indian Library Association was founded in 1933 and started working in close association with the Imperial Library (now the National Library of India) constituted at Calcutta under the Curzon Act I of 1920. The growth of the library movement in India is largely due to the useful and pioneering work done by the Indian Library Association in co-operation with the library Associations in some of the States.

Incidentally a reference may be made to the three contributions made by the Madras Library Association to library tools which have received international recognition. They relate to classification, cataloguing and bibliography. The colon classification system sponsored by the Association, the classified catalogue code and the bibliography of reference books and bibliographies—these have been amply praised for their usefulness in the library world.

In the field of legislation, there have been attempts made in the country in the past at drafting Library Bills and putting them up for enactment. The first of these drafts was prepared by the Library Service Section of the First All-Asia Educational Conference which met at Barataras in December 1930. A model Library Act with compulsory clauses was presented to the conference. Lately, a Library Bill suited to several States and a Union Library Bill have been drafted by the Indian Library Association. Madras is the only State so far to pass the Library Bill into an Act. This is the first Library Act in India.

Systematic training in Librarianship in India came almost simultaneously with the beginning of the library movement in the country. The lead in this field again was given by Punjab when the University of the State inaugurated in 1915 a library class to train Indians in the science and art of Librarianship. The example of Punjab was followed by the Madras Library Association which started in 1929 an annual course, taken over later by the Madras University and eventually constituted into a one-year Diploma course in 1938. The Imperial (now National) Library at Calcutta, the Bengal Library Association and the Andhra University (in 1934) also arranged for training in Librarianship. Andhra had to wind up the course after running it successfully for three years. Then came Bombay which was followed by the Universities of Banaras and Calcutta. All these Universities award Diplomas in Librarianship. The last name among Universities to provide for library training is that of Delhi which initiated for the first time a two-year Degree course in Library Science. The training course in Librarianship imparted by the Punjab University was dislocated due to the partition of the country. The Punjab University authorities are planning to restore it now at an early date.

Literature on library science produced in India since the inception of the movement in the country is mostly in the form of articles published in the various library and other journals. At present there are two journals that are particularly devoted to the development of library science in the country. They are the *Indian Librarian* published from Simla and the *ABGILA* (or *Annals, Bulletin and Granthalaya of the Indian Library Association*) published from Delhi.

The latest development in the library movement in India was the setting up of the joint project—the Pilot library—of the *Unesco* and the Government of India in Delhi. This was *Unesco's* first experiment with such a project.



MOSLEMS WIN IN INDIA'S ELECTIONS

By ARNOLD K. ISREELI

THE first Parliamentary election in India with her hundred and sixty million voters has been going on for several weeks, and it now is becoming apparent what has transpired there.

The world at large is concerned over developments in India, that old-new nation of four hundred million people in a part of the globe where great changes are taking place. It might be said that Asia may possibly determine the course of history in the coming years, judging by the uprising there against the colonial rule of the great powers and the influence of Europe and America in general.

After the partition of the country into Pakistan and Hindustan, when India became a republic, remaining for the time being within the British Commonwealth of Nations, Prime Minister Nehru carved out for himself a new part in international affairs. He first assumed a friendly attitude toward Communist China, defending it in the international arena. As luck would have it, he was not alone in this. The Labor Government of Britain, which had assisted India in getting her freedom and independence, shared the same attitude, recognizing the Red regime in spite of the American policy, and that of other countries, with respect to China. Nehru's position seemed liberal and acceptable to his party friends.

He was also inclined to favor Islam or rather the Pan-Islamic movement, aligning himself with the Arabs as close allies. He was moved thereto by two factors, one purely internal and one broadly Asian. The Moslems in India constituted a considerable percentage of his Congress Party. Even after the partition of the sub-continent there remained about forty million Moslems in India. Nehru had much in common with them. They shared his views on partitioning the country. He needed these Moslems to counterbalance the other parties, which opposed the split-up of the land. He took into his Cabinet two of the most important Moslem leaders and spiritual guides, assigning to one the post of Education and to the other the Ministry of Communications. The policies of the Cabinet thus came under the influence of Moslem interests, and there is nothing more vital for a Moslem than the political rebirth of Islam.

The other motivation of the Nehru policy was the destiny of Asia. Through a combination with China and the Moslems of the Middle East and South East Asia he hoped to create an Asian Alliance in which he would play a very important part and which would become a weighty factor in the concert of

nations. The Premier of India was far from enthusiastic over America and her "Point Four" program as well as over her policy to "lead from strength" by arming against Soviet aggression. Therein he shared the prevailing sentiment of his political friends in Asia. He was also prone to side with Soviet diplomacy in making it appear that America was leading towards a war, which must be guarded against.

The first Parliamentary elections were admittedly expected to effect certain changes in the national assembly and in the government. They were also expected to show the political composition of the huge population of India. Well, what has happened?

The Nehru Government has won, it seems at this date, only 45 per cent of the vote, though, because of constitutional peculiarities, it has secured 75 per cent of the seats in the Central Parliament. This represents an overwhelming majority, to be sure, but it has no corresponding hold on the minds of the people. The elections made it clear that Nehru's position is no longer very solid and that things could happen in the near future to alter the relative strength of the contending forces.

But what is more important still, Nehru is no longer his own master. He has been imprisoned by his Moslem following. He will be compelled to play ball with them. Out of the 35 per cent of the popular vote given to the Nehru coalition, fifteen per cent represent votes cast for Moslem candidates, who as a result will enjoy great power in Parliament and Government. Thus it has come about that the actual victors are, not the Congress Party, not the right Hindu Party, not the Communist Party, but the Moslems!

The latter played a very clever game in the elections. They did not take the field as a separate party, did not place any candidates of their own in the field. An independent ticket would have confined their total strength to their own adherents who do not form a majority in any of the states of the Indian Republic. It is possible that they could not have won a single deputy in Parliament. They acted more wisely. They decided to see to it that he nominate many Moslem candidates, not as such, but as members of the Congress Party. The Prime Minister felt like satisfying his Moslem friends and, besides, he could not have foreseen that his Party would come out so shorn of popular support or that he would find himself enthralled to Islam in such fashion.

Where the Moslem influence may lead the present

government, it is not easy to predict. The election campaign ran along two fronts—partition, which is still a hot issue in India, and the food situation. The Communists might be the second largest Party in Parliament after the Congress Party, while the Hindu Party will be the third. The rest of the factions, the Socialist Party, the Party of the Workers, Farmers and the People are splinter groups which may join up with one or the other major parties. The Communists came out on top in three states: Travancore-Cochin, Madras-Hyderabad and Tripura (Bengal), and they are already advocating a "united front" of all the opposition parties, similar to the Communist formula in pre-war Europe. The Congress Party lost out in many legislatures of the individual states. The sentiment in the country is against that Party. If the propaganda for a "united front" is successful, it is quite likely that India will go through the same development which characterized Germany after the First World War. There left and right joined hands against the Versailles Treaty. In India they might unite against "partition."

But the Hindu Party might wish to stay away from the Communists, in which case it might draw to itself many of the splinter groups and thus become the second major party in Parliament, with considerable sway throughout the country. The leader of this rightist party, Mookherji, was in the Nehru Cabinet but resigned because of differences in policy. Nehru's opponents of the right repose great hopes in this Hindu leader.

Should there be formed a large opposition to Nehru, he would, indeed, be forced to lean more heavily on the Moslems, and this might carry him too far.

In the matter of Kashmir, which Pakistan covets, how will the Moslems of India, Nehru's supporters in Parliament, behave? Under the leadership of the late Jinnah, they were the architects of partition, and they now envision a great Moslem State. Will they back the Pakistan government or side with Nehru? There is a division of opinion in Pakistan with regard to Kashmir. There is opposition to coercing Kashmir into unity with Pakistan, while in Kashmir, the ruler Sheik Abdullah stands for unity with India, which tends to complicate matters still more.

The results of the elections, it seems, have already had their sobering effect on Nehru's position in international politics. If the Communists attack him, if they preach a "united front" against him and are making ready to raise the issue of "partition" against him, an issue he had considered dead and buried, how can he at the same time play along with the Communists of China? Or with Communists in general?

On the other hand, without the Asian Communists there can be no united Asia and closer attention must be paid to the Western World. Nehru's new Amba-

sador to the United States, B. R. Sen, last month addressed the English Speaking Union in New York, and sang paens to the Western World.

"The present-day culture of India," he said, "is greatly indebted to its contact with the West which began two hundred years ago. India re-asserted the traditional values of her culture through intercourse with the humanism and illuminism of the Western World. This re-awakening is in a measure similar to the Renaissance of the Western World some five hundred years ago, when Europe revived and synthesized Greek and Roman knowledge."

The speaker paid his compliments to the United States, too. "In recent years," said he, "the example of American achievements was to us a source of inspiration . . . The 'founding fathers' of your republic sought, not alone to secure the freedom of the colonies, but also to free the mind of man from the restricting laws and regulations which oppressed it. Your Declaration of Independence and the writings of George Washington, Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson lent hope and encouragement to our leaders in their battle for freedom."

He concluded his remarks by telling of India's needs, praising America for the wheat she had sent to his people not long ago, and intimating that further aid would be highly appreciated.

The food situation, incidentally, which had its part in limiting Nehru's success in the elections, is one more factor which affects his attitude towards the West in general and America in particular. He needs the aid of the United States, whatever the Arabs, the Moslems, or the Communists might think of Uncle Sam and his policies.

"If the pressing needs of India and Asia," said Ambassador Sen at the Waldorf-Astoria, "are for the moment of a material nature, the generous impulse guiding America in rebuilding the economy of the ruined or backward countries, is the opposite of materialism. . . . To our good fortune, the areas of agreement between America and India are very great. We are, in truth, both devoted to the ideals of freedom. America has no territorial ambitions. In the words of President Truman, 'the sole gain America seeks is to win the human heart.'"

If, in the light of the warning the election results have given to Nehru and his friends, a new spirit should arise, there is hope that India will become a constructive rather than destructive force in Asia. In this, America can prove very helpful. Her diplomacy will have to be on the alert, guarding India against the adventures of the Moslems or others, and doing all she can to maintain peace in Asia. India will have to pay heed.*

* This is the translation of an article published in February 19, 1952 issue of one of the most influential Jewish papers, *Jewish Journal and Daily News* of New York.

SRI AUROBINDO AS A PHILOSOPHER

By RISHABHCHAND

FIVE cardinal characteristics of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy mark him out as a world-philosopher of an unprecedented stature. The first is the fact that his philosophy is a comprehensive and coherent product of his integral spiritual experience of Reality and its manifold self-representation, and not of intellectual thought and speculation. The second is that it is an organic growth and extension of the most vital elements of the ancient and modern philosophical achievements, and a synthesis of their essential truths. The third is that it embodies the Time-Spirit of the modern age and is athrob with the highest aspirations and noblest dreams of the modern man. The fourth is that it is the first systematic and elaborate exposition of the evangel of *Spiritual Realism*, which makes short work of Nihilism and Illusionism, and exalts, completes and fulfils the fundamental modernist concepts of the philosophies of Alexander and Whitehead. The fifth is that it shoots a ray of revealing light upon the distant, developing contours of the future, towards which it gives a definite and dynamic lead out of the present crisis in human culture and civilisation. If philosophy is principally concerned with wisdom, if it is a study and knowledge of Reality and if its function is to enlighten and guide, not only the mind of man, which is not always in command of his whole nature, but also his heart and will and body towards an increasing light and harmony and happiness and an eventual fulfilment of the deepest urges of his manifold being,—and this was precisely the ancient ideal,—Sri Aurobindo's philosophy answers to this description and shines like a beacon before us, illumining our path to divine perfection. In spite of Dialectical Materialism and Logical Positivism, man is turning from the surface facts to the deeper values of life and aching for a glimpse or a touch of the Truth which will give him a sense of permanence in the midst of this dizzy whirl, a perception of purposiveness in this chaotic drift, and a promise of freedom and perfection when all his ideals are crumbling to the dust and the chains of contingency are biting into his flesh. Man's destiny is to surpass himself and not to sink on the way-side, battered and broken by the blind forces of his ignorant nature.

Let us touch upon the five characteristics one by one in order to see if they justify our faith in the power of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy to reinstate the higher values in the life of humanity and lead it to a future of harmonious perfection.

Referring to the way in which he has formulated and propounded his philosophy, Sri Aurobindo says in words which remind one of St. Teresa and Blake:

"I have made no endeavour in writing. I have simply left the higher Power to work, and when it did not work, I made no effort at all."

He had practised early in his Yogic life to live in an inner atmosphere of absolute peace and silence, with the mind lulled into a tranquil and receptive repose, and let himself be moved by the divine Power. Describing this stage he writes in one of his letters to his disciples:

"When I wrote in the *Arya*, I was setting forth an overmind view of things to the mind and putting it in mental terms; that was why I had sometimes to use logic. For in such a work—mediating between the intellect and the supra-intellectual—logic has a place, though it cannot have the chief place it occupies in purely mental philosophies . . . To reach Nirvana was the first radical result of my own Yoga. It threw me suddenly into a condition above and without thought, unstained by any mental or vital movement; there was no ego, no real world—only when one looked through the immobile senses, something perceived or bore upon its sheer silence a world of empty forms, materialised shadows without true substance. There was no One or many even, only just absolutely That featureless, relationless, sheer, indescribable unthinkable, absolute, yet supremely real and solely real. This was no mental realisation nor something glimpsed somewhere above,—no abstraction,—it was positive, the only positive reality. . . . I cannot say there was anything exhilarating or rapturous in the experience as it then came to me (the ineffable Ananda I had years afterwards), but what it brought was an inexpressible Peace, a stupendous silence, an infinity of release and freedom. I lived in that Nirvana day and night before it began to admit other things into itself or modify itself at all, and the inner heart of experience, a constant memory of it and its power to return remained, until in the end it began to disappear into a greater Superconsciousness from above. But meanwhile realisation added itself to realisation and fused itself with this original experience. At an early stage the aspect of an illusory world gave place to one in which illusion is only a small surface phenomenon with an immense Divine Reality behind it and a supreme Divine Reality above it and an intense Divine Reality in the heart of everything that had seemed at first only a cinematic shape or shadow. And this was no re-imprisonment in the senses, no diminution or fall from supreme experience; it came rather as a constant heightening and widening of the Truth; it was the spirit that saw objects, not the senses and the Peace, the Silence, the freedom in Infinity remained always, with the world or all worlds only as a continuous incident in the timeless eternity of the Divine."

Sri Aurobindo does not believe that the human mind, however developed it may be, can, by itself, discover the ultimate Truth, which is a truth of the infinite consciousness, or find the solutions of the problems of life, which derive from it.

1. *Letters of Sri Aurobindo*, 4th series.

"It is impossible," says he, "for the limited human reason to judge the way or purpose of the Divine,—which is the way of the Infinite dealing with the finite."²

There is an infinite Existence, self-conscious, self-luminous and blissfully self-expressive behind the fret and foam of our surface life, and there are faculties and powers in our being which, once awakened, can bridge the gulf between our life and that eternal Existence. These faculties, of which intuition, the means of knowledge by identity, is the most fruitfully important, are the agents of our self-transcendence; and the way to self-transcendence is the sure way to knowledge. It is only by a union and identification with the Infinite—the Infinite status upholding the infinite creative dynamism—that we can know the essential reality and the changing modalities of God and Nature and Man. True knowledge is always knowledge by identity, and so long as there is a chasm between the knower and the object of knowledge, true knowledge is impossible; what one can have is at best a more or less precise observation of appearances and an imaginative or conjectural reconstruction of reality on the shifting sands of that observation. It is only when we get behind the frontal aspects of things and enter into the deeper regions of consciousness and being, that we come to realise how misleading and falsifying, sometimes even how fantastic and fanciful, are the speculative structures we raise in honour of Truth in the strenuous egotism of our overweening reason. If there is any eternal Truth or substance behind the fleeting forms of life, it is the Truth or substance of the Infinite; and we must break beyond our finiteness, in order to realise it in its essence. There can be no true knowledge without an identification between the knower and the object of knowledge. And this identification is possible, because there is an essential identity in the heart of all things.

Sri Aurobindo's philosophy is the outcome of his self-identification with the omnipresent Reality. But this identification is not, as it has been with many a mystic, an overpowering hush and passivity in the entranced consciousness in which one or the other aspect of Reality reveals itself with an exclusive attraction and the rest is totally overlaid or eclipsed by it. From the very beginning of his spiritual self-discipline, Sri Aurobindo has been a tireless and uncompromising seeker of the integral Reality and his experiences have progressed from synthesis to a higher synthesis, embracing, harmonising and explaining in the light of the fundamental unity, the apparent anomalies and contradictions not only of the phenomenal Nature, but of the manifold aspects of Reality itself. Elucidating the ascensive, inclusive and integrating movement of his Yoga, he says:

². *Ibid.*

"First, there must be a conversion inwards, a going within to find the inmost psychic being and bring it out to the front, disclosing at the same time the inner mind, inner vital, inner physical parts of the nature. Next, there must be an ascension, a series of conversions upwards and turning down to convert the lower parts. When one has made the inward conversion, one psychifies the whole nature so as to make it ready for the divine change. Going upwards, one passes beyond the human mind and at each stage of the ascent, there is a conversion into a new consciousness and an infusion of this new consciousness into the whole of the nature. Thus rising beyond intellect through illuminated higher mind to the intuitive consciousness, we begin to look at everything not from the intellect range or through intellect as an instrument, but from a greater intuitive height and through an intuitivised will, feeling, emotion, sensation and physical contact. So, proceeding from Intuition to a greater Overmind height, there is a new conversion and we look at and experience everything from the Overmind consciousness and through a mind, heart, vital and body surcharged with the Overmind thought, sight, will, feeling, sensation, play of force and contact. But the last conversion is the supramental, for once there,—once the nature is supramentalised, we are beyond the Ignorance and conversion of consciousness is no longer needed, though a further divine progression, even in infinite development is still possible."³

Sri Aurobindo is a monist, but his monism is different from that of Parmenides or Shankar on the one hand and Spinoza on the other. Unlike Parmenides and Shankar he regards the phenomenal world as real, in as much as it is a mobile self-representation of the Brahman, the sole transcendent and immanent Reality. All names and forms that rise and sink like waves upon the bosom of the sea of Universal Life, are the names and forms of the Nameless One who is the all-constituting and yet all-transcending Reality of all existence. Sri Aurobindo envisages three simultaneous aspects of Reality—the Transcendent, the Universal and the Individual, seven planes of consciousness—Existence, Consciousness-Force, Bliss, Supermind, Mind, Life and Matter, three essential modes of Nature, Spirit and Matter as two confronting poles of the one indivisible Existence and the multitudinous world as the self-expression of the Supreme Being. He, therefore, completes Parmenides, Shankar and Berkley by curing their philosophies of their unilateral bias and establishes not only the truth, but also the dignity and dynamic importance of the phenomenal world. In the light of his comprehensive philosophy human life assumes a deep, divine significance and appears fraught with incalculable teleological possibilities. But even while giving a death-blow to Illusionism or Acosmicism, his philosophy does not deny the partial truth of the illusionistic experience, which is an intense, transitional experience prone to negate Matter in its exaggerated emphasis on the Spirit. It reconciles Subjective Idealism

³. *The Riddle of This World* by Sri Aurobindo.

with Materialism in an integral, unifying vision. It lifts Spinoza's Substance and Hegel's Absolute out of Time and Space and links them to the Transcendent Existence, thus making the Omnipotent Reality the eternal ground of all things. To Plato's ideas it gives an honoured place in the hierarchy of its planes of consciousness or worlds of being, but does not confound them with God or the supreme Good. The basic concepts of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy are consonant with those of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Gita, except for the gospel of the Supermind to which he gives a distinctive and original elaboration and which he makes the pivot of his synthetic and dynamic Yoga of integral perfection. In the Supermind is the supreme magnet, the supreme harmonising Alchemy, the divine source and embrace of all fundamental principles as well as the secret of the colour and rhythm of all creation. It is, indeed, the Supermind which is at once the core and apex of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy, even as the omnipresent Reality, the integral Divine, is its soul and sustenance. Taking his stand in the luminous vastness of the Supermind, the Home of all Harmonies, Sri Aurobindo assigns to each philosophy, each religion, each theory of knowledge its proper place and value; even scepticism and rank materialism are viewed and considered as indispensable, though transitional, phases of man's search for Reality, and the cardinal truths of all are woven into the composite texture of his comprehensive, dynamic spiritual philosophy.

Sri Aurobindo's philosophy is the only philosophy in the modern world which meets the manifold needs of the present age and promises, not only to solve all its confusing problems, but to fulfil its highest aims and deepest aspirations:

"Today we see a humanity satiated but not satisfied by victorious analysis of the externalities of Nature preparing to return to its primal longings. The earliest formula of Wisdom promises to be its last,—God, Light, Freedom, Immortality."⁴

The bankruptcy of modern Science and the philosophical thought of man to lead him to a harmonious and happy life of cultural progress, to a life of unity and developing divinity, of peace and purity and light and freedom, induces an inner urge to explore the veiled stretches of his being—limitless expanses radiant with unsuspected treasures—and strew the bleakness of his outer life with their untold riches. It is a return of the prodigal son to the eternal Father, to the Fount whose perennial flow alone can fill him and refresh. Sri Aurobindo stands as the leader of this collective return of mankind. It is he alone who, not in the loose, emotional words of the ecstatic, but in the compact, reasoned language of the philosopher, aflame with the vision and experience of a mystic and a poet, points us to the glories of the Spirit evolving

⁴. *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, by Sri Aurobindo.

in Matter, and holds up the ideal of the divine Super-man and the establishment of the Life Divine on earth. Unity, which is the master-idea of the modern age and yet ruthlessly opposed by the forces of division and discord, finds in his philosophy the secure base of the self-manifesting Spirit upon which, as on an immovable rock, it can deploy its inexhaustible diversity in human relations and cultural interchange. He represents, besides, in the words of Romain Rolland, "the most complete synthesis between the genius of the West and that of the East"—a synthesis which is one of the noblest aspirations of the modern cosmopolitan outlook.

"A spiritual religion of humanity is the hope of the future. By this is not meant what is ordinarily called a universal religion, a system, a thing of creed and intellectual belief and dogma and outward rite. Mankind has tried unity by that means; it has failed and deserved to fail, because there can be no universal religious system, one in mental creed and vital form. The inner spirit is indeed one, but, more than any other, the spiritual life insists on freedom and variation in its self-expression and means of development. A religion of humanity means the growing realisation that there is a secret Spirit, a divine Reality, in which we are all one: that humanity is its highest present vehicle on earth, that the human race and the human being are the means by which it will progressively reveal itself here. It implies a growing attempt to live out this knowledge and bring about a kingdom of this divine Spirit upon earth. By its growth within us oneness with our fellow-men will become the leading principle of all our life, not merely a principle of co-operation, but a deeper brotherhood, a real and an inner sense of unity and equality and a common life. There must be the realisation by the individual that only in the life of his fellow-men is his own life complete. There must be the realisation by the race that only on the free and full life of the individual can its own perfection and permanent happiness be founded. There must be too a discipline and a way of salvation in accordance with this religion, that is to say, a means by which it can be developed by each man within himself so that it may be developed in the life of the race. . . . No doubt, if this is only an idea like the rest, it will go the way of all ideas. But if it is at all a truth of our being, then it must be the truth to which all is moving and in which must be found the means of a fundamental, an inner, a complete, a real human unity which would be the one secure base of a unification of human life. A spiritual oneness which would create a psychological oneness not dependent upon any intellectual or outward uniformity and compel a oneness of life not bound up with its mechanical means of unification, but ready always to enrich its secure unity by a free inner variation and a freely varied outer self-expression, this would be the basis for a higher type of human existence."⁵

The harmonious perfection and fulfilment of human life is another insistent aspiration in the heart

⁵. *The Ideal of Human Unity* by Sri Aurobindo.

of the modern man, weary of the chaotic drive of his fickle desires and oppressed by the burden of his frustrated hopes. The intellect upon which he leans for the realisation of his cherished dreams only drags him from superficialities to superficialities, away from the source and centre of his life, and condemns him to a futile pre-occupation with fugitive appearance. Unsatisfied and unfulfilled, but lashed by mental curiosity and vital lust, corroded by cares and drained of all spiritual sap and moral stamina, he yearns for a haven of peace and a ray of steady light to help him recover the deeper vision of his soul and the abiding, spiritual values of his existence. Sri Aurobindo's philosophy gives him not only an inspiring message, but a dynamic lead towards the highest perfection and fulfilment of his entire being.

"To know, possess and be the divine being in an animal and egoistic consciousness, to convert our twilight or obscure physical mentality into the plenary supermental illumination, to build peace and a self-existent bliss where there is only a stress of transitory satisfactions besieged by physical pain and emotional suffering, to establish an infinite freedom in a world which presents itself as a group of mechanical necessities, to discover and realise the immortal life in a body subjected to death and constant mutation,—this is offered to us as the manifestation of God in Matter and the goal of Nature in her terrestrial evolution . . . The greater the apparent disorder of the materials offered or the apparent disparateness, even to irreconcilable opposition, of the elements that have to be utilised, the stronger is the spur, and it drives towards a more subtle and puissant order than can normally be the result of a less difficult endeavour. The accordance of active Life with a material of form in which the condition of activity itself seems to be inertia, is one problem of opposites that Nature has solved and seeks always to solve better with greater complexities; for its perfect solution would be the material immortality of a fully organised mind-supporting animal body. The accordance of conscious mind and conscious will with a form and a life in themselves not overtly self-conscious and capable at best of a mechanical or subconscious will is another problem of opposites in which she has produced astonishing results and aims always at higher marvels; for there her ultimate miracle would be an animal consciousness no longer seeking but possessed of Truth and Light, with the practical omnipotence which would result from the possession of a direct and perfected knowledge. Not only, then, is the upward impulse of man towards the accordance of yet higher opposites rational in itself, but it is the only logical completion of a rule and an effort that seem to be a fundamental method of Nature and the very sense of her universal strivings."

"The animal is a living laboratory in which Nature has, it is said, worked out man. Man himself may well be a thinking and living laboratory in whom and with whose conscious co-operation she wills to work out the superman, the god. Or shall we not say, rather, to manifest God? . . .

6. *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, by Sri Aurobindo.

If it be true that Spirit is involved in Matter and apparent Nature is secret God, then the manifestation of the Divine in himself and the realisation of God within and without are the highest and most legitimate aim possible to man upon earth."

The fourth characteristic of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy is that it is the first systematic, elaborate and rational exposition of the gospel of Spiritual Realism. This gospel has much in common with the synthetic teaching of the Gita, but whereas the Gita expounds its working on the enlightened mind-plane and ends only with a cryptic hint of its spiritual consummation, Sri Aurobindo founds its perfected stage on the Supermind, the Truth-Consciousness, and opens up an illimitable vista of infinite divine action through the transformed nature of the liberated individual and the illuminated collectivity. Here we may refer in passing—our present scope forbids a fuller treatment—that the Integral Yoga evolved by Sri Aurobindo aims at a radical and integral transmutation of human nature and its eventual conversion into the divine Supernature. Sri Aurobindo accepts the whole of life with all its helpful activities and seeks to render it a manifesting channel of Light. But life must change, its hidden springs must undergo a thorough transmutation and its roots in the Sub-conscious and the In-conscious must be quickened and saturated with the Supramental Light. An ascent of the integrated human consciousness to the Supermind and a descent of the Supramental Light and Force into the whole of human nature can alone lead inevitably towards an evolution in the knowledge, a self-finding and self-unfolding of the Spirit, a self-revelation of the Divinity in things in that true power of itself in Nature which is to us still a Supernature."

As we have already seen, Sri Aurobindo does not allow himself to be blinded by the hurtling forces of darkness that torture and twist human life into ugly shapes. He has his eye fixed upon the rising sun, the emergent Truth struggling through the thick veil of ambient Falsehood. He sees the Supernature descending into the darkened and afflicted nature of man and declares that the crown and culmination of the evolutionary endeavour of Nature is the manifestation of God in man and the organisation of a collective human life based upon the unity, harmony and loving, rapturous mutuality of the self-revealing Spirit. This is the fifth characteristic of his philosophy:

"The descent of the Supermental is an inevitable necessity in the logic of things and is therefore sure. It is because people do not understand what the Supermind is or realise the significance of the emergence of consciousness in a world of inconscient Matter that they are unable

7. *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, by Sri Aurobindo
8. *The Life Divine*, Vol. II.

to realise this inevitability. I suppose a matter-of-fact observer, if there had been one at the time of the unrelieved reign of inanimate Matter in the earth's beginning, would have criticised any promise of the emergence of life in a world of dead earth and rock and mineral as an absurdity and a chimera; so too, afterwards he would have repeated this mistake and regarded the emergence of thought and reason in an animal world as an absurdity and a chimera. It is the same now with the appearance of Supermind in the stumbling mentality of this world of human consciousness and its reasoning ignorance."

Through transcendence of the mind and the attainment of the Truth, the Right and the Vast of the Supermind lies the way to a New Heaven and a New Earth for travelling humanity. In these times of deepening gloom and collapsing values, Sri Aurobindo's spiritual philosophy and Integral Yoga are a veritable God-send."

9. *Letters of Sri Aurobindo*, 1st Series.

10. For a fuller treatment of the subject refer to *The Life Divine* by Sri Aurobindo.

—:O:—

"POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA"

By DR. SATKARI MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,
Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Calcutta University

My attention has been drawn to an article entitled "Post-graduate Teaching in Sanskrit in the University of Calcutta" published in *The Modern Review* for January, 1952, over the signature of Mm. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya. It calls for a suitable reply. The article is long and gives elaborate expression to the contributor's views on a number of topics, some being highly controversial. Any suitable reply to his observations will be in the nature of things a long one and will occupy space in the journal. In view of this I am writing this article dealing with some of the points raised by the Mahamahopadhyaya as shortly as practicable.

For convenience of reply we may divide your contributor's remarks into four parts, though he has not observed any definite principle of dividing topics in his article.

In the first place I should refer to the opinion he expresses about the ability and learning of "most of the teachers" of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Calcutta. He says that they are not "in reality" familiar with the subjects they happen to teach. Nor have they made, he says, "any serious attempt" to be so familiar. They are "indifferent" as to whether they have necessary equipment for teaching M.A. classes or not. It should be borne in mind in this connection that many of the University teachers in Sanskrit were associated with this Department during the years that Mm. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya was its Head. It is not necessary for me to take up cudgels on behalf of the reputation of the teachers of the Sanskrit Department. Such reputation is in fact too well-established to need any defence. But I should refer to the peculiar sense of courtesy of Mm. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya. He is not fettered by any code of honour in casting unmerited aspersions upon his former colleagues. Apart from questioning the equipment of the members of the

Sanskrit Department as scholars and teachers, the contributor also remarks that this Department has not since its inception produced one single page which "can be considered as essential or indispensable for learning Sanskrit." What, however, is essential or indispensable is in the last analysis a matter of individual appreciation and understanding. This ability to appreciate and understand the merit of other people's contributions to knowledge is a gift of nature and scholarship, not given to everybody. This ability may again be sometimes clouded and even undermined by personal likes and dislikes which we cannot and do not want to fight. I, however, resist the temptation of emulating the Mahamahopadhyaya's example and of returning the compliment which he has given us.

In the second place, your contributor has referred to the methods of teaching followed in the Department of Sanskrit. At first he commends the principle enunciated by the late Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee that with the teaching of each subject in the Department at least two scholars should be associated, one being trained on old traditional lines and the other being acquainted with modern methods of study and research. But consistency is not a strong point in the arguments of the Mahamahopadhyaya. While at first he approves of the principle laid down above, he soon finds fault with it and observes that two classes of teachers "cannot work harmoniously." He even asserts that unless the teachers are acquainted with both methods and trained on both lines, they cannot do justice to their subjects. It is, of course, not exactly correct that all Post-graduate teachers in Sanskrit have acquaintance with only one method, either traditional or modern. In fact there are some teachers in the Department who have been trained both on traditional lines and in the University and combine in them the excellences of both kinds of approach. But it is necessary for us to point out all the same that Mm. Vidhushekhar

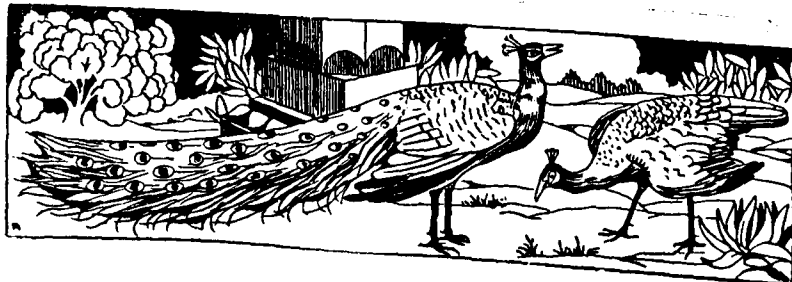
Bhattacharya has laid down an ideal which will be difficult, if not impossible, for any institution to reach. Scholars thoroughly acquainted with both methods are few and Universities competing for their recruitment are many. What is again true of the observations of the contributor in this regard is also true of his observations regarding the knowledge in German, French, Chinese and Tibetan which he expects teachers in Sanskrit to possess. It is not necessary for me to expatiate here on the question of learning more than one foreign language by our students in the Universities. But this much I should point out that it is only in exceptional cases that a teacher may, in addition to acquiring proficiency in the regional language, English and, of course, Sanskrit, acquire knowledge of two other European and two other Asian languages as well. The counsel of perfection which the Mahamahopadhyaya has offered has not, of course, been absent from the mind of lesser men like us. But it is one thing to offer this counsel and it is another thing to act up to it in practice. The ideal may not be always the actual. But we have always made efforts to attain the ideal.

In the third place the Mahamahopadhyaya has referred to the syllabus of studies adopted by the Department of Sanskrit and regards it as fundamentally defective. In this connection he first of all refers to the indispensability of Prakrit in any scheme of Sanskrit-teaching and points out that due weight has not been given to it in the syllabus. He forgets that his is only a point of view which need not necessarily be shared by other scholars and teachers. In the University of Calcutta Prakrit has been given a place in the syllabus which it should legitimately occupy. It not only constitutes a special group but it has been made compulsory for students of literature and epigraphy. Beyond this it was not thought wise to accommodate Prakrit in the syllabus in the framing of which, it may be pointed out in passing, scholars of a far longer standing in Post-graduate Teaching in Sanskrit played an important part.

In regard to the position assigned in the syllabus to the Avesta, Vedanta, Buddhist and Jain Logic, Sanskrit Grammar and Indian Politics also, the learned contributor has fault to find and advice to offer. But it should be emphasised that a syllabus of studies is

a matter for decision not by one scholar with hobbies and fads of his own. It is a matter to be decided on the basis of balancing the opinions and views of a number of members of a Board and a Faculty. At meetings of such Boards and Faculties mind reacts on mind and ultimately a more or less common view emerges as to which subjects are to be accommodated in a syllabus and that in which proportion. The Mahamahopadhyaya may not like this procedure of chalking out a syllabus of studies and possibly chafed under it while he was associated with the Department. But less prejudiced scholars all over the world will certainly think that only by this procedure over-emphasis on any topic may be avoided and due weight may be given to the different subjects which ought to be taught. So if the University of Calcutta has failed to oblige Mr. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya in regard to some of his pet points, he in his disappointment may run to the press and publish his views. But that should not take away either from the merits of the syllabus or from the excellence of work done by teachers of the Department.

Last charge of the Mahamahopadhyaya against the Post-graduate Department of Sanskrit is that students trained therein do not pronounce the Vedic hymns with proper accent. In this connection it should be pointed out that simply because a student cannot recite with proper accent the Vedic *mantras*, his scholarship need not be declared as valueless. Foreigners cannot pronounce English in the same way as Englishmen do. But that does not necessarily detract from their knowledge of English literature and language. Reputed European scholars in Sanskrit have not been necessarily able to pronounce the Vedic *mantras* with proper accent. But the Mahamahopadhyaya appears all the same to have profound respect for their high standing in the field of Sanskrit scholarship. It should also be emphasised in this connection that everything possible within the limited resources of the University is being done to promote Vedic studies on proper scientific lines. Every effort is also being made to acquaint students with the actual performance of Vedic ceremonies and *Yajnas*. It may be stated in passing that they were sent to South India in 1951 under the care and supervision of Mr. Chinnaswami Sastri to witness these ceremonies and *Yajnas*.



THE SURREALIST MOVEMENT

By N. K. SETH, M.A.

When the International Exhibition of surrealist paintings opened in London in June, 1936, its immediate reaction upon the public mind was to arouse widespread prejudice and hostility against an entirely original and unconventional art for which it was quite unprepared. Those who had been accustomed to the paintings of traditional schools of art only were profoundly shocked to behold in the art galleries fantastic and distorted pictures based on dream symbolism, and were inclined to regard this trend in painting with scepticism and even contempt. Art-critics fared no better than the generality of people in their capacity to appreciate new tendencies in art; they denounced the movement chiefly on grounds of its irrationality and immorality. Thus at the time of its introduction—at any rate in England—surrealist movement was highly unpopular. And one of the reasons for this was the comparative ignorance of people of surrealist theory which is so well-known today. It is no longer possible to brand surrealist movement as irrational and absurd as it used to be, for its theory is now found to be scientifically sound.

BEGINNINGS IN FRANCE

Although it came to England as a profoundly original experiment in the realm of art—at least so far as the general public was concerned—in France surrealism had been gaining ground as a movement much earlier. Its scope was wide enough from the very beginning to include both art and literature. Moreover in literature it was not so novel a thing as in art; it was in fact only a discovery, for even in the older works, particularly the *romans noirs* or horror Gothic novels such as those of Walpole and Monk Lewis, the automatic process of creation as in surrealist works was found to be in operation. The influence of Gothic novelists upon Andre Breton who fathered surrealist movement cannot be exaggerated; to him we owe the symbolical interpretation of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, one of the best known Gothic novels. And Walpole himself admitted that the novel had been written without any conscious effort, thus foreshadowing the theory of automatism of surrealist poets. The purpose, scope and object of the surrealist movement, which may be broadly labelled as the cult of the subconscious, have been admirably summed up by M. Maurice Nadeau in *Histoire du Surrealisme* in the following lines:

"The movement was not envisaged by its founders as a new school of art, but as a means of charting insufficiently explored continents; the subconscious mind, the wonderland of dreams, dementia and the hallucinatory state: in fact, the other side of the logical backcloth."

SURREALISM AND DADAISM

In France, Andre Breton and Paul Eluard were the chief exponents of surrealist theory in the begin-

ning and were affiliated with the Dadaist group of poets under the leadership of Tristan Tzara. The Dadaist programme largely consisted of negation, of attack against established conventions in art and in other spheres. And, at last, when there came about a rupture between the Dadaists and the surrealists, the surrealists carried over this spirit of revolt against established order of things in art, literature and politics. They regarded Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Jarry, Nerval and Apollinaire as their literary ancestors. But it was more specially the influence of Marquis de Sade and Comte de Lautreamont which incited them to a revolt against literary traditions and conventional morality. Even in such poems as *Le Bateau Ivre* of Rimbaud with its profusion of fantastic imagery which has only the significance of dream symbolism, one can distinctly perceive the growing tendency among poets to give expression to their subconscious thoughts. The vogue of surrealist poetry lasted during the whole of inter-war period, and it is only now that it is showing some signs of abatement.

PAINTER POETS

Perhaps the surrealist movement is the only movement after the pre-Raphaelite which has seen painter poets—men who have equally distinguished themselves both as painters and as poets. Salvador Dali, Giorgio de Chirico, even Picasso, pre-eminently known as painters have written some of the finest surrealist poetry. However, the movement in poetry was finally consecrated in 1930 with the publication of *Immaculate Conception*—a collection of poems by Breton and Eluard—poems which give expression to the unconstrained flight of imagination. But the most distinctive feature of this poetry is the profusion of unusual symbolical images—sometimes beautiful, sometimes baffling due to their apparent absurdity but always endowed with a strange haunting quality:

Last night the wind blew so violently that I thought
It would break the rocks in cards.
All the time through the darkness the electric lights
Throbbled like hearts.

In the third sleep I woke near a lane
Where the waters of two rivers came to die
Around the table women were reading
And the monk was silent in darkness . . .

—GIORGIO DE CHIRICO in *La Revolution Surrealiste*, 1925.

It is difficult for any translation to convey the haunting music of Chirico's lines, yet one can form an idea about the bizarre and incoherent images which are employed in surrealist poetry. It is usual with the surrealist poets to express themselves in a series of images which lack coherence, in that they are not at all related to one another. The images apparently seem fantastic, and do not make any meaning to the reader unless symbolically interpreted.

THEORY OF SURREALISM

Reference to the fantastic and distorted images of surrealist poetry brings us to a discussion of its theory and the cult of the subconscious. The first thing to appreciate about surrealist movement is that in more ways than one it is a continuation of the romantic tradition in art and literature; it is an escapist movement in so far as it manifests a tendency to fall back upon the world of dreams and fantasy rather than the real or material world; it is a general revolt in so far as it denounces established conventions in art, literature and life in general. To sum up, as Read has said, "Surrealism in general is the romantic principle in art"; in fact in its insistence on the greater reality of the subconscious than the conscious it breeds a romantic attitude to life in general.

The surrealist theory is chiefly based upon the Freudian theory of dreams and the dialectical materialism of Marx. From Freud the surrealists have obtained a justification for seeking a symbolical meaning in dream imagery, however absurd and quaint it may be. As they regard the process of composition of poetry identical with that of the dream process, i.e., an unconscious impulse creates the poem no less than the dream, naturally so they translate visual images of dreams into verbal images in poetry, or put them as such without change on the canvas in painting. It is true that when one merely transcribes his dreams into poetry or paintings without making any conscious effort to impose upon them an order, they must appear fantastic and absurd due to the characteristic quality of dream images. But these dreams are merely the expression into visual imagery of inward impulses and desires of an individual. And all the strangeness and fantasy of this imagery are due to a transformation which takes place while the unconscious thoughts are translated into visual imagery; they suffer a distortion and eventually take an unrecognisable shape. Thus the poetry or the painting which treats of dreams also appears rather puzzling, but the secret of it lies in the symbolical value of its images.

SYMBOLISM

It is difficult, however, to be certain of the exact symbolical significance of any images employed by the artist or the poet, for sometimes he uses arbitrary symbols which cannot be so readily interpreted as the conventional ones. Though sometimes Freud's interpretation of dream imagery may afford a clue to the significance of images, yet neither it is a safe nor a universally valid guide. Most of the paintings of Salvador Dali represent objects such as a lady's shoe, or flowing watches—objects which if interpreted according to Freud would be found to be sexual symbols. But it is difficult to say how far Dali or any other surrealist artist or poet deliberately uses Freudian symbolism, for the cardinal principle of surrealist creed is that the process of composition of poetry or

of creation of paintings is automatic, i.e., the artist or the poet merely expresses through his proper medium images which come to him from the unconscious or in dream without any effort on his part to rationalise them.

REALISM

Though surrealism is pre-eminently the romantic principle in art and literature, yet some of the exponents of its theory deny that it is wholly so. They do not admit that the surrealist artist or poet merely lives in a world of fantasy or dreams; they believe in a compromise between the subjective and the objective worlds which is analogous to the synthesis in the dialectical philosophy of Marx. As Max Ernst has said:

"The aim of the surrealist is not to gain access to the unconscious and to paint its contents in a descriptive or realistic way, or even to create a world of fancy drawing upon the resources of the unconscious; their aim is rather to break down barriers, both physical and psychical, between the conscious and the unconscious, between the inner and the outer world, and to create a super-reality in which real and unreal, meditation and action meet and mingle and dominate the whole of life."

Thus the world of the surrealist artist or poet is not merely a world of fantasy; it is a world of super-reality i.e., one where the internal and external realities are harmonised.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE MOVEMENT

But in its essence, the surrealist movement represents a revolt against all traditions in art and literature. And it is significant that all those who can be regarded as its precursors—Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Leautreumont, Marquis de Sade, were agitators against established order of things and were rebels in almost every direction. The surrealists have resorted to the cult of the subconscious as it affords them an opportunity to rebel against the growing tendency toward realism in art and literature. It is a movement for the liberation of the individual, and the assertion of his personality against any external authority. For the surrealists 'classicism is the intellectual counterpart of political tyranny,' and naturally so they regard all attempts to smother native impulses and desires which lie buried in the subconscious with hostility.

No doubt, the theoretical explanation of surrealist vagaries is plausible, yet it is difficult to speak with confidence about the permanent value of the movement. For although the use of symbolism in art and literature is nothing new—mediaeval poets and artists like Dante and Bosch made use of it extensively—yet it has never had popular appeal, nor is it even likely to have it. Even an average cultured person today finds it extremely difficult to appreciate modern surrealist paintings, and unless it be mere intellectual snobbery, he finds it utterly impossible to enjoy them. For the majority of people they do not possess an

aesthetic appeal, and as such are not rated highly by them. Moreover the employment of a system of symbolism so common in surrealist paintings and poems presents formidable difficulties to those who approach them for enjoyment and not for a literary or intellectual exercise. Very few people are really willing to take the trouble of deciphering arbitrary symbols which may have been used by the artist or the poet, when his work does not have an immediate appeal. But truly speaking immediate pleasure from a work of art cannot be considered as the sole criterion for assessing its merits; in fact, lasting and deep enjoyment of a real work of art comes only by long and close familiarity with it. This is true especially of works where there is an intellectual element in their composition, as for instance, the metaphysical or symbolist poetry or surrealist paintings. The true enjoyment of the surrealist works, I believe, can only be had after long acquaintance with them. And that too when one leaves making fuss about the meaning of paintings or poems, and simply enjoys them without being able to say why.

However, there is a tendency for this kind of art or literature to become esoteric (on account of its arbitrary and personal symbolism)—the key to whose secret is known only to a few and it grows unpopular with the masses. Such has been the fate of surrealist movement; the popular prejudice has never abated, for people find themselves unable to appreciate an art

which they begin by disliking for the lack of visual appeal. What will be the ultimate fate of this movement nobody knows; like other movements perhaps it will also die, for already there are symptoms of its progressive decline. Salvador Dali, one of the most important practitioners of surrealist paintings and poetry, has already taken to more traditional modes of paintings. Giorgio de Chirico also, himself a veteran painter and at one time one of the foremost surrealists, has recently restored to a perfectly understandable brand of neo-classicism (Ruggero frees Angelica) with all the sensuous beauty of Renaissance artists which is so conspicuously absent from most of the modern paintings. And not only this, but Chirico has pronounced the doom of modern art which, he thinks, is not remote:

"Because of my activities to create a renaissance in painting that will restore art to its true masterfulness and beauty . . . with great strides the day is coming when this horrible bestiality called modern art . . . will give up its soul to the devils."

This commentary on contemporary art seems to be too harsh, but nobody can deny that surrealism as a movement is slowly weakening and one of the chief reasons for this is its unpopularity with the general public. Yet I do not think that it can ever perish altogether; it is bound to leave some influence on all subsequent painters, although for the present a violent reaction against it is natural and inevitable.

—O:—

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 AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN UNKNOWN INDIAN: By N. C. Chaudhuri. Published by Macmillan and Co. Ltd. Price not mentioned.

The nineteenth century Russian intellectual Chaadayev once startled the world by declaring that Russia was incapable of producing a soul of her own and that she should link herself with the West for self-preservation. The depressing thought that Russia "as a distinctive moral force, had no past, present, or future; she had no contribution to make to the world" was voiced by one who was neither a Slavophile nor a Westerner. He was officially declared mad by Nicholas I, but he was, nevertheless, a Russian speaking for Russia.

Another intellectual, this time, an Indian,

nurtured in a highly cultured but a sectarian society has set out to prove in a book of five hundred and sixteen pages that Hindu civilization is dead and that without continuous absorption of outside culture from foreign invasions India is doomed to decadence. To Mr. Chaudhuri, the author, the re-establishment of foreign domination alone can save India from her impending doom.

Mr. Chaudhuri deplores the lack of moral awareness in India to-day but those high standards, the passing of which he deplores, must have, in fact, been very rare even in the heyday of the reforming movements in Bengal. Born of a father devoted to the idea that education is an absolute good and of a mother of independent mind and "fierce honesty," his family was hardly typical even of the anglicized Bengali middle class. He grew up in an atmosphere

pervaded by the moral and religious influences of Brahmoism and New Hinduism. He finds his fellow countrymen to-day lack the sense of high personal moral responsibility enjoined by these movements. The destruction of moral awareness is laid at the door of Hindu ethics but bribes, nepotism, factiousness, rule by cliques and the other human failings, which Mr. Chaudhuri deprecates, are not confined to India alone.

The author paints a gloomy picture of the progressive decline in the cultural worth of India and paradoxically enough considers that India will now become more imitative of the West in the cultural field. The premium put on the merely superficial assumption of English culture for the purpose of self-advancement under British rule or of Islamic culture under Mogul rule, has surely been a hindrance to cultural progress. It is true that in some cases, such as the author's, the understanding has been more than skin-deep but this is exceptional. Mr. Chaudhuri says that whereas in the years of British rule influences from the West were on a spiritual and intellectual level they are now on an economic level. He fails to take into account the fact that India is passing through a phase of rapid industrialization with a concomitant increase in the size of the urban proletariat. A decline in spirituality and intellectual discrimination is inevitable during such a period.

In his criticism of Gandhism as a "rebarbarizing influence," as a retrograde influence bolstering up the old irrational nationalism dominated by myths and hatred, he fails to take into consideration the illiteracy of the masses. He deprecates Gandhism for its lack of historical and political consciousness but in which literate Western democracy are the masses historically conscious? As to the lack of political consciousness he says that democracy was merely a useful slogan against the British but the recent elections show that there is no lack of political aptitude. He has legitimate suspicions of much of the fulsome flattery for India emanating from the West as the insincere product of self-interest and of a "canaille ecrivante et parlante." Could it be that much of this attitude is merely the manifestation of a new concern by the West for all under-developed countries? His fear, however, that independent India will decay in isolation is less easy to defend for to-day India is intellectually and economically less isolated from the world than under foreign rule. The mere presence of an alien ruling class does not prevent decay. Has Mr. Chaudhuri's highly developed "historical consciousness" made him over-susceptible to the "odour of decay" which he admits his studies of the fall of empires have given him the art of smelling out?

Mr. Chaudhuri like the Russian intellectuals of the nineteenth century is the product of an imported foreign culture. He is proud of his self-imposed intellectual isolation from his fellow-countrymen. He "looks within himself to see India" and no wonder his views lack perspective. His book is, nevertheless, an important autobiography and is from its own standpoint a valuable social document portraying the thoughts, customs, the intellectual background and the political movements of a liberal and reformist Bengali society. He belongs to a section of society which absorbed Western culture and gave India her political and intellectual leadership in the late nineteenth century, a society which is now no longer significant in shaping India's future. The descriptive part of the book combines a refreshing sincerity, sensitiveness and

power of observation with a deep scholarship. He gives a penetrating analysis of his fellow Bengalis and a vivid description of his childhood homes in Mymensingh and of his student days in Calcutta. His adoration of scholarship is genuine but the book would perhaps have been more palatable to his readers with less quotations. It is a remarkable achievement for a man who has never left his own country to have acquired such an intensive and extensive knowledge of European languages, history and the Western classics and to have devoted his life to the pursuit of historical truth however unpopular its conclusions. The virtual ending of the book in 1921, when the author having failed in his M.A. examination settled down to office work in a state of mental depression, is symptomatic of the fact that he and his circle are temporarily a misfit in a country which in the first flush of independence is ruled by men who are unreservedly optimistic and nationalistic.

MARGARET R. BASU

BASIC EDUCATION: By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. viii and 114. Price Rs. 1-8.

Revolutionary changes have taken place in the West in regard to the theory as well as the practice of education in recent times. The growth of Activity Schools and an extended application of the Project Method have been some of its outstanding features. Gandhiji's educational experiments coincided, in some respects, with these newer trends, while in others, they showed an independent line of development. In keeping with the economic condition of our country, where population is moreover largely rural, Gandhiji tried to evolve a system of education through crafts which would enable the student to pay his own way through the school, while, it would also enable him later on to earn his living in the village by means of the craft which was used for educational purposes at school. Gandhiji thus tried to combine technical training along with education, in the ordinary sense of the word.

The Navajivan Publishing House has brought together in the present booklet Gandhiji's writings relating to this subject from 1937 onwards, when he first began to work upon the subject of Basic Education. It will prove a very useful book for educationists and social reformers alike.

GANDHISM FOR MILLIONS: By Y. G. Krishnamurti. Published by Pustak Bhandar, Patna. 1949. Pp. xi and 37. Price Rs. 3.

Sri Krishnamurti is one of the enthusiasts who have been voluntarily trying to propagate Gandhiji's ideas in the country. He is earnestly of opinion that Gandhism alone offers a solution for the ills of the modern world. The language of the book is, however, often too ornate or involved for the common reader; although, in places, we do come across much that gives food for thought.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY, Vol. VII, Pts. I-II, 1949-50: Edited by H. Goetz. Baroda. 1951. Pp. 109. Price not stated.

The present number of this well-known magazine maintains the high standard of previous issues. The place of honour is rightly given to a long and very

thoughtful paper by H. Goetz on the figural symbolism of European industrial art and its influence on modern India. A paper rich in references and valuable in its critical estimate is that of U. P. Shah entitled "A Sunga Terracotta from Mathura." A group of seven sculptures from Patan assignable to the late Gupta period forms the subject of a masterly study by H. Goetz.

A detailed examination of the Matrika images in the Baroda Museum with a good prefatory account of the origin and development of this cult is attempted by B. L. Mankasi. A few miniature paintings in the Baroda Museum comprising historical portraits as well as manuscript illustrations and belonging to the period from the 17th to the 19th centuries are studied with his usual thoroughness by H. Goetz. In another paper, R. N. Mehta gives a good description of Gujarati *patolas* (coloured silk fabrics) with reference to their antiquity and affinities, their process of manufacture and their various designs.

In the last paper H. Goetz describes under well-arranged heads the antiquities stored in the Chinese and Japanese galleries of the Baroda Museum, which claim to be the best of their kind at present available in India. The Bulletin concludes with a Report on the working of the Museum for the year under review, two Appendices and a number of valuable and well-executed illustrations.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THIS EUROPE: By Girija Mukherji. Published by Saraswati Library, C18-19 College Street Market, Calcutta 12. First impression, November, 1950. Pp. 215. Price not mentioned.

This book deals with the writer's experiences of life in France and Germany specially, when the latter had conquered France and imposed her National Socialism on the major part of Europe. He was caught at Paris, in June, 1940 when Germany had started her rule. The first impression of the victors was their anxiety to be correct in attitude towards the vanquished; they were able to maintain it till in France grew up the Resistance Movement.

This later phase the writer had no personal experience of as he was then in Germany helping Netaji to build up the Azad Hind Fauz and the Azad Hind Organization. This relation enables him to give us a pen-picture of Netaji that will be found of absorbing interest by all Indians. The 8th and 9th Chapters of the book are replete with vivid episodes that give a picture of Subhas Bose as a very human person, and the secret of his hold on people he came into contact with.

There was an element of "indefinable" power that made him the dynamic personality that transformed him and transformed millions of Indians, men and women, in their thoughts and activities, putting a little more iron into their habitual lassitude.

Dr. Girija Mukherji writes with quick perception of his environment. But we have a complaint against him. He was so much absorbed in his own reactions to a world-shaking event, that he appears to have had no space to draw for us the pictures of the "rebel patriots" who had gathered at Berlin. For instance, he came into rather intimate relation with the ex-Sheriff of Jerusalem, Al-Amin Hussein. There were others, Nimbarkar, Netaji's second in command, Rashid Ali Gilani of Iraq and many others who flit through the pages. We are left unsatisfied. We are sure that Dr. Mukherji has a store-house of experiences

● RESULTS SPEAK

HINDUSTHAN'S 1950 Valuation

for the four years ended 31st. Dec. 1950 discloses a **SURPLUS** of over **Rs. 1 Cr. 25 Lks.** as a result of which **BONUS** has been declared in respect of all with profit policies (per Rs. 1,000/- sum assured per annum) on

Endowment Assurance } **Rs. 8**
Whole Life Assurance }

The results have been obtained after strengthening the reserves by reducing the interest basis by $\frac{1}{2}\%$ and providing for depreciation and all contingencies.

In spite of having to work under several adverse factors such as low interest earning, high costs and depreciation the results prove once again Hindusthan's economical management, unimpeachable security and strong financial position in all respects.

● Policies in force	Over Rs. 73 Crs. 16 Lakhs
● Life Fund	Rs. 15 „ 97 „
● Premium income	Rs. 3 „ 40 „
● Claims paid	Rs. 7 „ 20 „



HINDUSTHAN
CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE
SOCIETY, LIMITED.

4, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA

that can throw light on a crisis in human civilization. We anticipate that he will fulfil this expectation; then only we will thank him for giving us a vivid book.
S. C. DEB

EUROPE BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS (1918-1939): By *Sailendra Nath Dhar, M.A.* Published by B. G. Paul and Co., Madras 8. Price Rs. 12-8.

The period dealt with in the volume under review is one of the most momentous epochs in the history of man. The learned author has based his narrative on the vast mass of available materials—documentary and otherwise—and has given an excellent volume to the reading public.

World War I ushered in a new chapter of human history. Bolshevism, Nazism and Fascism are all attempts by shell-shocked and disillusioned humanity to chalk out new paths for itself, while bolder spirits launched out on uncharted seas and began a new experiment in the field of social living, the more cautious and calculating kept nearer shore and sought to preserve the traditional socio-political order in pickles. They, in fact, offered the old wine in new bottles. The covenant of the League of Nations represents an endeavour to outlaw war for all time and to achieve international amity and co-operation. The principle of self-determination scored some notable victories. The re-birth of Poland is perhaps the most remarkable of these victories. The Mandate system sought to sugar-coat the bitter pill of alien domination. The high hopes raised by these experiments were not realized because the great ordeal of 1914-1918 had not purged nations and individuals of mutual jealousies, rivalries and animosities and Europe again drifted to war. The twenty-one years from 1918 to 1939 may therefore be justly regarded as constituting a tragic chapter of history.

Shri Dhar, a life-long student and teacher of history, gives a dispassionate account of the aspirations, achievements and failures of this criminal epoch. The performance, by itself, is no mean achievement. When one further takes into consideration that Shri Dhar is probably the first Indian to write a comprehensive work on European history, his success appears all the more creditable.

The volume is intended by its author for the B.A. and M.A. students of Indian Universities. They will undoubtedly find it extremely useful. What is more, it will be a *vade mecum* to all students of modern European history. "A difficult task honestly done" should be the verdict on Shri Sailendra Nath Dhar's *Europe Between Two World Wars*.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

HUNGER: By Knut Hamsun. New edition. 1949. Rupa and Co., Calcutta. Pp. 310. Price Rs. 5.

After its first publication in 1921 the English version of this world-famous novel by George Egerton has undergone several reprints, and it goes to the credit of Rupa & Co. that they have been able to bring out such a neat volume (printed of course in Great Britain). Hunger and starvation were never so terrible and acute on our earth as they are now. This vivid picture of the effect of hunger on a man's character and morals should hence be popular.

B.

1. SIVAGYAN'S LIFE OF SHIVANANDA: Pp. 224. Price Rs. 5.

2. ALL ABOUT HINDUISM: By Swami Shivananda. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 4.

Published by Shivananda Publication League, Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh, Dehradun, U. P.

The first book is an elaborate biography of Swami Shivananda by one of his devoted disciples. Swami Shivananda, a Tamil monk, is the founder of Divine Life Society and author of a number of books on Hindu philosophy and religion. In one chapter he is hyperbolically acclaimed as a Jagatguru and in two others he is unduly compared with Ramana Maharshi and Jesus Christ. It is useless, if not injurious, to publish the biography of a monk who is still alive and vigorously active.

The second book is one of the numerous popular works of Swami Shivananda. It deals with Hindu scriptures, rituals, ethics, philosophy and sects. The six Darshans, four Yogas, Varnashrama Dharma, Sandhyopasana and many allied subjects are also briefly treated. From the census report of 1931 it is quoted at the end of the book under review that out of 352838000, the total population in India, 239195000 are Hindus apart from the Sikhs and Buddhists. The author, who is a prolific writer, gives in a chapter an idea how bonafide aspirants of spirituality are slowly being drawn to Hinduism from different countries of the globe. Thus Messrs. William Atkinson, Alexander and Nixon of England, Rev. Victor Seplevenko of Bulgaria, Mr. Boris Sacharao of Russia and many other foreigners have embraced the Hindu Faith.

The book will certainly acquaint the reader with essential ideas of Hinduism and awaken in him a genuine hankering to know more about it. But like a spot in the moon there are in this book two striking defects, such as looseness of style and superficiality of treatment. If these defects are eliminated in the next edition its usefulness and readability will be much more enhanced. The title also is misleading, since the book does not contain all about Hinduism.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

SUTRARTHAMRITALAHARI of Krishnavadhuta: Edited with English Introduction by Dr. R. Nagaraja Sarma, M.A., Ph.D., L.T. Madras Government Oriental Series No. LXXVII. Pp. xxv + 82. Price Rs. 3-4.

This is possibly the shortest commentary on the Brahmasutras touching only the main points dealt with in each sutra according to the Madhva School. The classification of the sutras into *Nayas* and *Kakshyas* as well as the titles of some *adhikaranas* appear to be new. The manuscript material used was imperfect and the learned editor had to reconstruct readings in many cases. The Introduction and the 'Index-Glossary' will be found useful.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

PURBA-RANGA: By Amiyaratan Mukhopadhyay. Published by Sadhana Mandir, 55 Narayan Ray Road, Calcutta 8. Price Rs. 3.

This is the first published work of the author. It contains 53 lyrics on love, society and motherland. They bear the stamp of a poetic mind, distracted by odd surroundings. We would expect him to put forth his whole soul into his songs, so that we may carry the tunes in our hearts after we have closed the book.

RIPPLES (A work of translation of the author's Bengali poems): By *Madhusudan Chatterjee.* Thacker Spink and Co. Ltd., 3 Esplanade East, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.

The author has tried to catch the shadows of his fleeting thoughts. The thoughts, sought to be expressed, are not very significant; nor is the mode of expression extraordinary. One can just glance over the pages at leisure.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

GUJARATI

BHUVELNI TAPAS: By Vimal Shah, M.A., and Mrs. Sarada Shah, B.Sc. Published by the Research Department of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 242. Price Rs. 4-8.

Bhuvel is a small village in the Petland Taluka in Gujarat. Village uplift is not possible till every little detail of village life, domestic, social and economic, is known and you cannot know these details till you live in the village and share with its inhabitants its amenities and shortcomings. This is what this educated couple have done and have disclosed every phase of village life, marriage, sickness, funeral, song and play, faithfully and from first-hand knowledge. The inquiry was undertaken under the auspices and guidance of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, of which Sir Manilal Nanavati is the moving spirit. The book is a model one; statistics and suggestions, everything is there. It should inspire social workers to follow in the footsteps of the Shah couple.
K. M. J.

—:O:—

RAGHUNATH DUTT

Raghunath Dutt, a renowned businessman and industrialist and philanthropist, died on March 4 last. Born in December, 1885, he carried on the traditions of his father Bholanath Dutt in the paper trade and the textile industry in Bengal. The loss suffered by his near and dear ones, as well as by his innumerable friends and admirers all over the country and abroad, is shared by us who are indebted to him in many ways in the starting of the Prabasi Press. A man of genius for organisation, keen business acumen, strong common sense, he was a friend to all good causes.

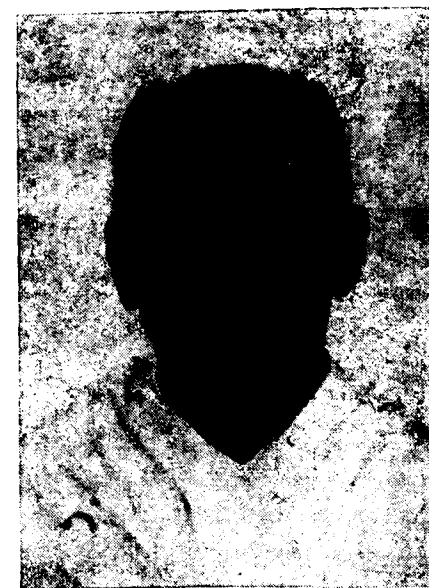
The late Sri Bholanath Dutt founded the famous firm of Messrs Bholanath Dutt & Sons Ltd. in 1866 with a small capital of Rs. 800 only. Raghunath joined his father's business in the year 1904 while he was reading in the top-most class of the General Assembly's Institution, now known as the Scottish Church Collegiate School. He received a sound practical training in business and his father who died in 1908, could leave a flourishing business in his young hands.

Messrs. Bholanath Dutt & Sons Ltd., grew from strength to strength until it came to be recognised as the largest dealer in paper in Bengal, if not in the whole of India.

He succeeded in establishing direct trade connections with paper-makers throughout the world, in the teeth of stiff opposition from foreign import houses in India. Even during the difficult times of the first and second World Wars he succeeded in importing paper from neutral countries to cater to the essential needs of the people of the country.

Apart from the paper trade and allied industries like stationery manufacturing, etc., he was actively associated with the cotton textile industry and, as an ex-President of the Bengal Millowners' Association, rendered valuable assistance to its development in Bengal. He was its Hony. Secretary, Vice-President and later its President in 1944. He was the founder

of the Shree Durga Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills Ltd., and was on the Board of Directors of the Bengal Fine Spinning and Weaving Mills Ltd., and Shree Annapurna Cotton Mills Ltd.



Raghunath Dutt

The National Movement always received his active support and he made it a point to attend the Congress sessions as a delegate. He was a staunch supporter of the Khadi Movement since its inception.

Social uplift work received his support at all times. He was associated with the Ramakrishna Mission and helped them actively in their publications. He was an ex-President and Trustee of the Daridra Bhandar. He was a life-member of the Visva-Bharati, and was a friend to Literary Societies.

Raghunath served his people, served his Creator, and his soul will find rest in His bosom.

CALCHEMICO'S
Quality Toiletries



MARGO SOAP HIGHCLASS NEED TOILET SOAP
CASTOROL PERFUMED CASTOR OIL
LABONNY SNOW & CREAM
RENUKA TOILET POWDER

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL - CALCUTTA



M.B. SIRKAR & SONS

Our new show room and work shop at
167/C, 167/C/1, BOWBAZAR ST. CALCUTTA.
AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNCN
(Opposite Our Old Show Room)

M. B. SIRKAR & SONS

Jewellers & Diamond merchants
Phone: B. B. 1761
Branch—HINDUSTHAN MART
159/1/B, Rashbehari Avenue, Cal.

গ্রাম-ব্রিলিয়ান্ট
ফোন. বি. বি. ১৭৬১
গ্রাম হিন্দুস্তান মার্কেট
১৫৯/১/বি, রাস্বেহারী এভিনিউ কলিকাতা

INDIAN PERIODICALS

To New Ministers

The following is an extract from the speech by His Excellency Dr. H. C. Mookerjee at the Convocation of the Serampore College, January 19, 1952, as published in *The National Christian Council Review* :

My connection with Serampore College is one lasting for three generations. My grandfather, a descendant of the well-known founder of the system of Indian logic known as 'Nyaya,' was, I understand, the first Brahmin convert of the Serampore missionaries, which resulted in the forfeiture of all his claims to his vast ancestral property. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit was utilized in the literary work done by them at this place. After his death his widow, my grandmother, was given a small pension with the help of which she brought up my father.

Left motherless at an early age, my father commenced his studies at a free school run by the London Missionary Society at Serampore when he was about 16 years old. Within two years, he finished what were then known as the Junior and the Senior courses, for he was not only a very hard-working but also a very brilliant young man. During this period, he was, as the son of my grandfather, given a stipend of Rs. 5 per month. After finishing his studies he came to Calcutta and retired in 1885 as the head of the department he had originally joined as a duffry or chaprasi. He told me more than once that though the missionaries were quite willing to continue his help till such time as he could find a suitable opening, he preferred to earn his living as a menial rather than be a burden on them.

While what I am today I owe first to the grace of God and to the prayers and blessings of my parents now in heaven, both of whom were God-fearing people, a fact I cannot forget for even one moment is that the 120 rupees given by way of charity to my father has also contributed towards it, and I do not know how I can ever repay this deep debt of gratitude.

My direct connection with Serampore College began when, as Inspector of Colleges for the Calcutta University, I visited this institution year after year for more than a decade and a half, and when I became an intimate friend and a great admirer of the then Principal, Dr. George Howells. I am referring to all these facts merely to account for my intense and abiding love for, and my personal interest in, this particular institution.

We cannot stand in this Hall today without acknowledging our deep sense of gratitude to William Carey and his associates who, at the beginning of the last century, laboured here and bequeathed to India, and especially to Bengal the results of their many-sided activities in the matter of education, culture and religion. Today we are all well aware of the need for education and social service, but long before their importance was realized, the missionaries of Serampore

were addressing themselves with unflagging ardour and whole-hearted devotion to the great tasks involved in bringing primary education to the children of this district and in providing the opportunity of University education for the youth of our country. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, within a circle of twenty miles around Serampore town, they had established a network of free vernacular schools with not less than 8,000 children on their rolls. In this way they pioneered popular education in this State. To complete and consolidate their plans for Christian service, they built and founded Serampore College in 1818 and offered its facilities to all the sons of India, making the College, as they said, 'free as the air,' thus bringing higher education within the reach of all classes irrespective of caste or creed. The contribution made by the missionaries through their devoted labours, especially in the field of education, literature and social reform, has been recorded gratefully by the historians of the renaissance of Bengal in the nineteenth century.

Through the Charter granted to the College by the King of Denmark in 1827, ratified by Bengal Act No. IV of 1918, Serampore is a University, and is at the present time, exercising the functions of a University in the faculty of Theology. In addition, it is doing the teaching work of a University College in the three faculties of Art, Science and Theology. There is a very definite place in our University life for smaller institutions like Serampore, where students and staff come into intimate contact through residence on the same campus. Here attention can be concentrated on academic work under circumstances more congenial to such interests than those at present prevailing in some larger centres.

It is, however, the work of the College as University with its theological interests that is uppermost in our minds today, and I notice with gratification that this good work is being extended into many parts of India, so that, at this present time, no less than seventeen colleges throughout India are affiliated with Serampore and together with the College here are carrying forward the important work of Theological Education for the ministry of the Christian Church in India, Pakistan and Ceylon. I regard this as a real contribution to the well-being of our country. Serampore with its University Fellowship of Colleges, representative of the various communions of the Christian Church, is providing the Church with an educated ministry, and with trained, devoted and godly leadership—a valuable and greatly needed service to a community desirous of serving God and man and promoting the truest interest of the people.

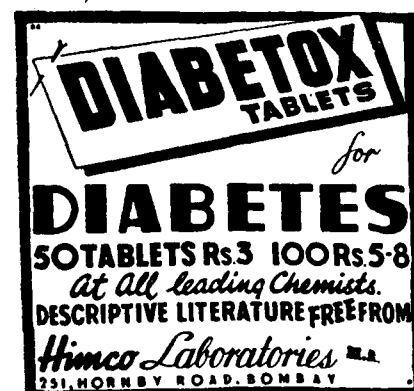
It is worthy of remark that Serampore College, both in the days of its inception more than one hundred and thirty years ago and today when it is exercising its University functions widely, has strenuously endeavoured to combine a high standard of efficiency and attainment with a large-hearted spirit of comprehensiveness and co-operation. Evidence of the former today consists in the good standing accorded to the

degrees and diplomas of Serampore in the field of learning. Proof of the latter is found in the fact that, at this graduation ceremony, so many students from so many different parts of our motherland have earned their degrees on the successful termination of their studies in colleges representing many different Church traditions.

This, it seems to me, has a message for the students themselves. I urge upon them the necessity of these same qualities; the necessity for discipline of mind and life and devotion of effort that characterize the right pursuit of true learning, the abandonment of oneself to truth which, in scriptural language, 'shall make you free,' and the necessity further of that magnanimity that can welcome the co-operation of one's fellow workers in all spheres of life, including the theological, with an utter self-giving that is of the essence of the Christian spirit and the highest mark of the Christian minister.

The call to serve the Church came to me through my father immediately after I had finished my University career. I cannot honestly say that, in spite of the intense religious atmosphere of our home, this had any special appeal for me. I was ambitious, I had obtained a first class first and secured that much-coveted prize, the University gold medal. In addition, I had been offered a State scholarship which in those days meant that I could make an attempt to enter the Indian Civil Service. The examination for recruitment thereto held no dread for me on account of the confidence I had in myself. I was aware that, at the worst, I could get myself called to the English Bar, which would ultimately lead to wealth and position, for competition amongst Barristers-at-law in those days was not so fierce as it became later on. I refused the State scholarship from a sense of duty. I had lost my mother about this time and my father was feeling very lonely. But, then, I thought that by giving up this seemingly great opportunity of getting on in life, I had done enough. Why should I court poverty and, as I thought, insignificance, by becoming a Padre?

It was thus that I failed to carry out the dearest wish of my father, and I feel deeply grieved whenever I recall it. While it is true that I have, in a humble way, tried, I suppose with some measure of success, to serve my community and my country, I do not know whether it would not, on the whole, have been wiser for me to obey my father.



Abanindranath Tagore

The recent death of that great artist Abanindranath Tagore makes timely as well as poignant these reminiscences, as published in *The Aryan Path*, by a devoted French onetime pupil, Madame Andree Karpeles-Hogman :

Romain Rolland in one of his books alludes to those great men whose spirits, like lighthouses, illuminate different parts of the world, preventing our planet from being overwhelmed by darkness. Alas, when one of those lighthouses is extinguished, the world seems darker, the threats speak louder, our lives feel poorer. Abanindranath Tagore's death deprives us of one of those precious lighthouses; all those who have known him and admired him feel that loss deeply. As time goes on one will realize more and more what a great role he played in India's fight for Freedom, and what a forerunner he was, fighting in his own personal, original and silent way. Keeping aloof from politics, avoiding speeches and lectures, rarely absent from his beloved verandah in Jorasanko, retired, modest, completely free of pride or *arrogance*, he has helped India to purify her soul, heart and mind of all harmful European influence.

Bengal, thanks to Abanindra, rediscovered her own inner self, her own art; began to appreciate her folklore and to understand that her rural life, her cottage industries, her popular traditions, were the most precious treasures of her national inheritance. Neither sectarian nor one-sided, his manifold genius had several ways to express itself; his refined, subtle hands had many tools; magician that he was, he could work miracles in his own careless, graceful, witty, aristocratic manner. There are likenesses between him and the masters of the Italian Renaissance; in fact, he is responsible for the Renaissance of Indian Art.

Long ago, in Paris, a little girl was looking at the English magazine, *The Studio*; she came across a reproduction of one of Abanindranath's pictures; an illustration for Kalidasa's *Cloud Messenger*; the long-expression of the lonely figure the dark cloud above the melancholy landscape, the harmony prevailing throughout the whole picture, impressed her in a way she could hardly explain, understand or express. The desire to meet one day the creator of that picture filled her heart with an unforgettable intensity. Years passed by. Unexpected coincidences brought the young girl (now a painter) to Jorasanko. A-ba-nin-dra-nath Tagore (the syllables had haunted the girl, like the lovely verse of some mysterious, far-away poem). He was there in front of her; he revealed India's soul to her; India's art; Bengal's heart. She soon called him her "Guru."

Rabindranath Tagore has described Jorasanko in his *Boyhood Days* but who will ever write the Saga of the whole Tagore family in that mansion filled with art, music, poems, drama, religious and social reforms? The young French painter enters, as into a temple, into that enchanted Castle. A curly pet lamb greets you in the courtyard; an imposing *darwan* leads you up the stairs . . . corridors . . . sunny terraces . . . shady *zenana* . . . graceful, mysterious silhouettes . . . at last: the verandah! An impressive Trimurti, three brothers are there: Samarendranath, with his long lotus-petal eyes, is meditating on philosophy; Gogon-

endranath, with his gay smile and his profile of a Roman Emperor, is busy with some magic kaleidoscope which he has just invented; Abanindranath! High forehead, deep, warm, thoughtful eyes; extraordinary hands, with refined turned-up fingertips. An oasis in the midst of one of Calcutta's busiest quarters, a symbol of the best that India can offer; the heart of Bengal seems to throb on the peaceful verandah. A murmur as of a spring comes up from the *hookahs*; the fragrance of rose-water fills the atmosphere. The three brothers read, work, discuss; each differently gifted, all three closely united. Nothing of the vast world's culture or research seems foreign to them.

Squatting on a low armchair, Abanindra is painting; he dips his fine Japanese brush in an ancient bowl of burnished silver; a perfect pink lotus floats on the water beautiful and pure like the lines and colours flowing from the artist's brush. In short sentences, full of meaning, he sums up his ideas on Art; his teaching is rich and deep; the listener feels that none of Abanindra's words ought to be lost. He hands her a small sheet of paper, where he has hastily written a few sentences:

"The lotus of the mind (Manasa Padma) is blooming because the spirit is resting on that . . . a work of art is the carrier of this perfume of the hidden, Lotus, the unseen flowering of the mind."

"The keener the sight, the surer the hand; the stronger the bow, the swifter the arrow flies. Lines flow unchecked from a good brush, so the perfume of the mind comes out uninterrupted through the finger tips, quick and skilful."

"Manava (Mankind) is God's *Manasa Putra* (child of the mind); all our great works should be born of our Mind. So an artist from the very beginning must learn to express that which his mind sees and feels. This training of the mind should not be deferred till the artist has mastered the methods of drawing, etc. The bird must try to fly from the very beginning, otherwise it will never be able to use its wings. "A perfect imagination and perfect mastery of the brush makes an artist."

Sounds as of an aviary come up to the peaceful verandah from a patio below; the singers are not birds but numerous children of different branches of the Tagore family; one hears echoes of religious performances, of family rituals. Abanindra listens to the lullabies; notes the nursery rhymes; writes down the old fairy-tales; collects all the ancient traditions handed down from generation to generation; questions the old nurses, the grandmothers; writes to village girls asking for the *Alpona* patterns, etc. It is fashionable, nowadays, to take an interest in folklore; to revive or to imitate it; museums are started, exhibitions arranged. But when Abanindra stooped tenderly over the wounded remains of mutilated traditions, he was the only one to do it.

What Hazellius did for Sweden by the founding of Skansen and of the Northern Museum; what Frederic Mistral did for Provence in reviving and preserving its traditions and founding the *Felibrige*, Abanindranath did for Bengal; thanks to him, all the treasures, fast disappearing under heaps of tin boxes, harmoniums and cheap ready-made things, were saved and preserved and became sources of new inspiration.

Two delightful books were the result of Abanindra's researches: his book on *Nursery Rhymes* and his *Alpona and Ritual Decorations in Bengal*. In the

first, he accompanies the naive little songs with short descriptions of village life, of intimate family scenes: one follows the young bride, home-sick for her own family; the mother of the family anxious about the threat of famine. Abanindranath was not only a folklorist, in that book he proved to be a poet, a writer who painted with his pen. The French translation of it brought him admirers who thus understood India better than they could have through its beauty of philosophy: Abanindra taught them to ignore the differences that separate, and to learn about the similarities that unite. In all countries, mothers have used the same words to send their children to sleep, have promised them the same golden treasures of illusion, in order to hide the daily misery which is in store for most of them.

The booklet on *Alpona* has an introduction characteristic of Abanindra:

"Lines must suggest life and movement and they do it all the better if their fluctuations are not of a mathematical exactitude . . . all those lines traced by our Bengalee girls are beautiful, whether they be straight or irregular; their hands, sometimes unskilled; are worth more than most of the hands well trained in art schools."

Abanindranath has not only helped us to penetrate into the rustic garden of folk art, he has opened for us the door of the Shrine where stands, in all its traditional beauty, the statue of Pure Art. His booklet, *Indian Artistic Anatomy*, explains the ancient laws of the *Silpa Shastras*, but warns us to remain free:

"Obedience to dogmas does not make a believer; a man does not become an artist in following blindly the code of his art."



"We must never forget that it is the artist with his creations that comes before the maker of laws and his codes on art."

Sadanga, or the Six Canons of Indian Painting, has spread abroad the understanding of Indian art. Says Abanindranath at the end of his book:

"In mixing the colours of our soul with the black of our ink we can obtain the scale of all tints . . . It is not our eye, but our spirit which mixes the colours."

Abanindranath excelled in what Victor Hugo called "the art of being a grandfather." Several of his books are meant for children: his adaptations of *Sakuntala*; his Indianized *Peter Pan*; his selections from James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* and *Nalaka*, his story of Buddha. His masterpiece in that line is *Khurur Putul* (The Cheese Doll). He made of that old tale a brilliant psychological story, which delights old and young. His own original style lends a modern touch to the whole. "What a perfect film it would make!" exclaimed Madeleine Rolland, the sister of Romain Rolland, also a great lover of India. Selma Lagerlof was so charmed by it that she wrote a delightful introduction to the French translation, *Da Poupee de Framage*. "That is the Eighth Marvel of the World," said Abanindranath, "a preface by the author of *The Adventures of Nils* which I like so much!"

Abanindranath was grand as a story-teller, improvising, imitating and charming his young audience. During one of his stays at Santiniketan he chose a full-moon night when the liquid silvery light of *Chandra Mama* (Uncle Moon) transforms the arid desert into a fairyland. One could hear from far away the drums of the Santal dancers. He entered the boys' dormitory, enjoying the idea of doing something forbidden! The children surrounded him, hanging on his words, following his every movement, their minds flying, far away, into the land of ghosts and fairies that Abanindranath was creating for them. In spite of his success amongst the youngsters, in spite of all the students following him like disciples, in spite of all, Abanindranath declared: "I must go back to Jorasanko!"

"Don't you like being here, Abandada?"

"Yes, but my last grandson is over there; I can

imagine him crying. Nobody knows how to look after him as well as I do."

There was a huge living-room in Jorasanko; Abanindranath's perfect taste had made of it a most harmonious apartment; on the floor: Japanese matting of a subdued green; on the walls: ancient Moghul paintings. No ugly English furniture spoiled that room where everything, created and drawn by Abanindranath, suited Indian customs and ways of living. The artist is sitting on the matting surrounded by those long cushions called *takkas*; near him a *pira*, a small low table; on it a *lota* in two different colours of brass, symbolizing the meeting of the Jumna and the Ganges; a portrait of the artist's mother, drawn by himself; and another picture illustrating a sentence he is fond of: "Life is unsure like the dewdrop on a lotus leaf." That picture has the subtle, refined charm of two of his other masterpieces: "A Girl Combing Her Hair," with a brass jewel-box beside her, and "Radha and a Gopi," gazing at an image of Krishna. Those pictures were exhibited in Paris shortly before the war of 1914 in an exhibition arranged by friends of the artist as well as pictures by all his pupils. The Parisian public spontaneously called the pictures the work of "the Calcutta school."

"No work of art is complete," explains the artist, "unless it unites three things: tradition, originality, nature. A picture which is only original has no solid basis and will not last; one which is only traditional, has no personality; one which simply reproduces nature has no soul."

Through the wide-open window entered suddenly a huge and beautiful parrot; his feathers were all white, except a little crown of yellow ones; he flew straight towards Abanindranath and settled down near him.

"You know that parrot?"

"No, he has been sent to me from heaven as a reward for what I have said: Originality, tradition, nature." And Abanindranath smiled—such a gay, youthful smile which illuminated his unforgettable expressive features!

The Lions of Sarnath

The following article is reproduced from *India and Israel*:

The Wheel in India's National Flag is a Wheel on the pattern of the one appearing on the abacus of the Lion Capital at the top of the pillar erected by Emperor Asoka at Sarnath, in the third century B. C. As the Wheel is part of this Asokan sculpture, this Wheel is called the Asoka-Wheel.

The four lions at the top of the pillar are standing back to back, facing the four quarters. All the four lions have their front legs firmly planted on the pedestal, and their mouths are open as if they were roaring.

Underneath this lion-group is the circular abacus, or base. Under the paws of each of the lions there is on this abacus a twenty-four spoke Wheel. Thus, the total number of wheels on the abacus is four. Between every two wheels there is the figure of an animal relief. The four animals that we observe on the abacus are, going clockwise, an Elephant, a Bull, a Horse and a Lion. Of the four, the Horse is represented as racing along, while the other three are shown standing in a dignified posture.

The lion is, in India, the mount for *Parvati*, consort of *Siva*. She is called *Simha-Vahani*—she who rides the lion.

The four animals are examples of great and conspicuous qualities. And in India, in particular, these animals are invested with sacred associations.

Indian languages are full of terms like *Purusha-simha* (a lion among men), *Purushashabha* (a bull among men), *Purusha-ajaneya* (a thorough-bred among men), *Mahanaga* (the great elephant), *Gajagamana* (she whose gait is as dignified as an elephant's), *Simha-madhya* (she whose waist is as slender as that of a lion), *Vrshaskandha* (the bull-necked one and so on).

India's coat-of-arms, the Lions of Sarnath, bears the inscription *Satyameva Jayate* (Truth Alone Triumphs).

India's national flag has been evolved in seven stages largely through the emblems adopted by the Congress since 1906. Then an ensign of three horizontal stripes, deep green, deep yellow and deep red, was flown in Calcutta. This was altered to include a lotus and seven stars.

The 1916 Home Rule flag had five red and four green stripes with a miniature Union Jack of Great Britain in the top left corner but Mahatma Gandhi's *Charkha* (spinning wheel) was introduced on a 1921 flag composed of horizontal white, green and red stripes. This was disapproved of by a Congress ten years later and was substituted by a saffron flag with a small *Charkha* in the mast-head corner. Later in 1931 the All-India Congress chose saffron, white, and green stripes with the *Charkha* on the white middle.

The Constituent Assembly of 1947 adopted the same colours only replacing the *Charkha* with the *Dharm Chakra* of Emperor Asoka.

In considering the national anthem, the Assembly was faced with the choice of the time-honoured air *Vande Mataram* and Rabindranath Tagore's famous song *Janaganamana*. The first tune by Bankimchandra Chatterjee was given equal status.

Tagore's song was eventually chosen. Described by Gandhi as "not only a song but a devotional hymn" the song combines praise, hope and inspiration in its words and unity in its message.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-3 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, discoloration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL**: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA**: MUST BE TAKEN tonic, with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
261/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 24297

DHOLE & CO.

RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT

CUTA-TONE
for CUTS • PAINS • BURNS Etc.

NEEM OINTMENT
for ITCHES & SORES

BARNACORE • CALCUTTA

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

IN EIGHT VOLUMES OF ABOUT 3,800 PAGES

The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda now comprises Eight Volumes with the publication of hitherto unpublished matter under Vol. VIII

Contents for Vol. VIII

Discourses on Jnana-Yoga Six Lessons on Raja-Yoga
Five Lectures Writings—Prose and Poems—IV Series
Notes of Class Talks and Lectures
Sayings and Utterances—III Series
Questions and Answers Epistles—IV Series

Excellent get-up and Printing. Pages : 577

PRICE : Board-bound, Each volume Rs. 6-0

Cloth-bound, Each volume Rs. 7-8

For details write to :

ADVAITA ASHRAMA
4, WELLINGTON LANE CALCUTTA-13.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S.
(London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of India and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness. Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji!

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.
Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity in life, honour and fame. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha :—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with life-long effects Rs. 184-4.
Mohini Kavacha :—Enables one to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with extraordinary life-long & speedy effects Rs. 387-14.
Nrisingha Kavacha :—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9.
Saraswati Kavacha :—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9.

Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English

"MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"

by Jyotish Shamrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

H. O. :—105 (M.), Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta. 5. Consultation Hours 8-30—10-30 A.M. Phone: B. B. 3685.
Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065.
LONDON OFFICE :—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

George Washington's Birth Anniversary, February 22

George Washington, whose 220th birthday anniversary will be observed throughout the United States on February 22, is fondly remembered by Americans as the "father of the nation." It was Washington who played perhaps the most important role of liberating the American colonies from British rule as well as in guiding the fledgeling nation through its early years as a democratic republic.

Born on February 22, 1732, George spent his youth on his father's large tobacco farm in what was then the British colony of Virginia. At the age of 16 he became a surveyor, and made maps of the wild frontier between the colony and French territory in the interior.

When war broke out between the British and French in 1753, 21-year-old Washington was made commander of the Virginia Militia guarding the colony. Because of his knowledge of the frontier, he was asked to assist an expedition of British troops deep into the wilderness.

The British army was ambushed and its general killed. Young Washington took command and saved the troops. His military fame spread through the colonies. When the French were defeated, he retired to his Virginia farm.

But unrest over British rule grew steadily. In protest against import taxes, colonists disguised as American Indians dumped a cargo of British tea into Boston harbour. Soon fighting broke out between colonial farmers and British troops. Thus in 1775 began the war for American independence.

Washington was called from his farm to command the colonial forces. It seemed a hopeless task to fight trained and well-equipped British regulars with poorly-armed volunteers, but Washington accepted. In a surprise night attack, General Washington captured a British force by moving his army across an icy river.

But his small, badly-supplied army met many defeats. Washington shared its hardships, and kept his men alive one bitter winter by begging food from farmers.

Finally, with French aid, Washington was able to defeat the main British force in 1781. The colonies were free and Washington could return to his beloved farm.

He was, however, soon called to head the new U.S. Government. In 1789, he was elected to the first of two terms as America's President. As the first President of the United States, he guided the new government in its infancy. He inspired confidence in the untried government and gave it dignity. An able administrator by any standard, he was superior in judgement to his brilliant assistants, among whom were Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State and Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury.

The first President personally directed his administration in a way which no modern successor

could hope to do. Besides Hamilton and Jefferson he had only one other department head, the Secretary of War, General Henry Knox. There were no cabinet meetings at first, and the three secretaries were supposed to be assistants to the President.

Jefferson has left an interesting description of the way in which official correspondence was handled by the first President and his three assistants. Every day each Secretary made up a package of letters received, with the drafts of his replies, and submitted it to Washington. The President kept his eye on everything, but he was not dictatorial. Generally he returned the letters without comment, thus signifying his approval; sometimes he attached comments and suggestions in little notes. Sometimes he held up matters until he could confer with a Secretary.

As an administrator, Washington was prompt, judicious but decisive, exceedingly exacting of his subordinates, and probably too exacting of himself.

He was scrupulously fair in his distribution of social favours and very conscientious in the performance of what he regarded as his social duties. Although he found such official occasions as senatorial dinners and formal receptions extremely boring, he thought them necessary and insisted that strict formality be observed.

George Washington's capacity for wrath was well-known. But ordinarily he vented his anger only in private and against men whom he considered disrespectful, unpatriotic or dishonest. He never gained fame as a recantour or a public speaker, though he occasionally told a story at official dinners. Those who knew the President, however, soon learned that he had a quiet humour and a vast amount of sympathetic understanding.

Jefferson, who later became the third President of the United States, looked back upon George Washington, the man who had been his leader and friend, and made this appraisal of him: "On the whole his character was in its mass perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great."—USIS.

Leon Jouhaux

Awarded Nobel Prize for Peace, 1935

Leon Jouhaux was born in Paris on the 1st July, 1879. His father was a mere labourer in the Government Match Factory and his dream was that his son would become an Engineer. But a strike, in which his father actively participated, broke out in the Factory in 1891 considerably reduced the resources of the family. Compelled to leave the school at the age of 12 Leon Jouhaux must work to help his folk. At the age of 16 he joins the Match Factory. During the four years which elapsed he has succeeded, while being an apprentice, to complete his education. He already takes a great interest in the life of the Union but being too young to be an Office Bearer he was

entrusted with the redaction of the proceedings. As soon as he becomes old enough he joins the Union and in 1906 he is delegated by the Bourse du Travail of the city of Angers as a representative to the C.G.T. (French T.U.C.). His restless work, the clarity of his views and his intelligence distinguished him from among his colleagues and in 1909 he succeeds Grifuelles for the Secretary-General of the C.G.T. Thus reaching at the age of 30 a position which makes him the animator and the spokesman of the great French Labour Union.

After World War I, Leon Jouhaux is nominated as Labour Delegate for France to the Committee entrusted to the redaction of Part 13 of the Peace Treaty (International Labour Charter).

At this conference in Amsterdam in 1919 the International Union's Federation was founded and Leon Jouhaux elected Vice-President of that body. He was included in the International Labour Office, since its creation, as a member of the Labour Section in the Administrative Committee. He took an active part in the conference for disarmament (especially for private manufacture of weapons). Leon Jouhaux took resolutely the head of the protestation movement against the admission of totalitarian countries to the I.L.O. During the reforms which followed the victory of the Popular Front in France in 1936 he was appointed General Counsellor to the Bank of France.

In 1940 chased by the police he goes underground. In December, 1941, he was arrested and then deported to Germany. He came back to France in May, 1945.

In October 1945, when the Federation Syndicale Mondiale (F.S.M.) was constituted Leon Jouhaux was elected Vice-President, Sir Walter Citrine being the President. He was afterwards nominated as a delegate to the U.N.O. where he became the spokesman of workers. Leon Jouhaux came into conflict with the majority of the leaders of the C.G.T. to whom he roaches to bind the interest of the C.G.T. and those of the Communist party.

On 19th December, 1947, his followers decided to constitute a new body which assumes the name of "Force Ouvriere" and Leon Jouhaux becomes President. He is elected and re-elected President of the National Economic Council.

On 25th February, 1949, during the full session of the European Movement Congress, Leon Jouhaux was unanimously elected President of the International Council of the European Movement. Leon Jouhaux is an Officer of the Legion d'Honneur.

The high distinction which has been awarded to him lately by the Nobel Prize Commission certainly is the most valuable tribute which would be rendered to a man whose life has been entirely devoted to the progress of the working world through peace.

Informed of the decision of the Commission said the Veteran Syndicalist: "It is not Leon Jouhaux who is being honored; it is the working class which has always striven for peace."—*News from France*, December 1, 1951.

The Novel in America Today

H. B. Lerner has the following words to advocate for the cause of the American novel today:

Modern American prose literature has been called the most original and most intense of our time. Drawing its strongest accents from Nathaniel Hawthorne,

Elgar Allan Poe and Herman Melville, it has found its most vivid expression in Thomas Wolfe, Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner. Poetic force and a tightly-knit realism seem to be its outstanding characteristics.

Any attempt to find a common denominator for the work of America's novelists during recent years is, at best, a hazardous enterprise; but perhaps we can say one thing: The American writer of today is conscious of his task, which is to solve the inner secrets of life and of human relations. He is seeking new paths, in novelistic technique as well as in style. He has recognised the importance of America's special role in our world and therefore searches the history of his country for men and ideas which will possibly aid him and his fellow-men in arriving at an understanding of his task.

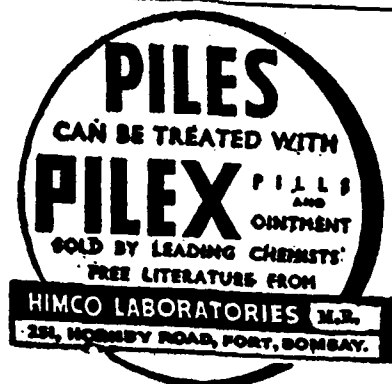
Whatever his theme and treatment, be it the family or the war, social or racial problems, the life of the pioneers or modern youth, be it humorous, bitter, satiric or in a tragic vein, naturalistic or impressionistic, he shows understanding for the moral values of the problem at hand, and he is free of nihilistic or existentialist tendencies toward treating life as meaningless, purposeless. Individuality finds his respect, and the existing society his recognition even as he points up some of its weaknesses.

The evil lives among us, says the post-war author, but it can be overcome, and many paths lead to salvation. He bends his efforts to the search for these paths. Religion plays a considerable role in the novel, as does psychology and even psychoanalysis. All this search for new substance stems, perhaps, from a feeling of loneliness the consciousness of being only a tiny individual in a gigantic world and of seeing so much all round that is lonely, too, and seems to be freezing to death in the chill of everyday life.

The new epic writer no longer studies Balzac, Zola, Flaubert, Samuel Butler, Tolstoy and Turgenev, as did his predecessors after World War I. His models rather are James Joyce, Proust, Virginia Woolf, Andre Gide, Mauriac and Dostoevsky, as well as Franz Kafka, Rilke, Thomas Mann and Henry James. Naturalism, in the word's original sense, seems to have been outlived. Its place has been taken by a neo-realism and a desire to progress beyond it into the realms of the unknown.

II

In the novel as well as in the drama of modern America a "magic realism" has frequently developed, a form of expression which sometimes even charac-



terises the work of the country's outstanding novelist, William Faulkner. Katherine Ann Porter, Eudora Welty and Carson McCullers definitely write in this style.

Among the authors whose fame pre-dates the war, Faulkner shows evidence of a definite development. In this most recent book, *Requiem for a Nun*, he once more paints with icy-hot intensity a canvas of humanity in terror and terror in humanity, this time, however, with the consoling assurance that there is a salvation—through faith. The certainty with which Faulkner, once called a nihilist, made this pronouncement gave pause. But earlier, armed with his breathtaking mastery of minutely accurate portrayal, Faulkner had, in *Intruder in the Dust*, fought stronger than even before for Negro rights and pleaded for humanity as the ethic meaning of our life.

Sinclair Lewis, on the other hand, in the years preceding his death, wrote three novels which told little that was new about him. *Kingsblood Royal*, to be sure, dealt with the problem of a man who discovers that Negro blood flows in his veins and who takes up the fight against hostile surroundings in the American South. The *God-Seeker*, however, was merely an episode, half satiric, half romantic, from the life of the pioneers in the Middle West, and *World So Wide* restated, in a contemporary setting, the theme of *Dodsworth*.

John Dos Passos, once a social zealot, now finds himself in the camp of those who take an affirmative view of life. In *The Grand Design* he delivered an attorney's plea, which could hardly be called progressive, against the Washington bureaucracy under Roosevelt.

Upton Sinclair wrote one volume after the other in his Lanny Budd series—ten in all—a chronicle of world events since 1933 which draws Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, Hitler, Goering and other contemporary figures into its plot. However exciting the adventures of the hero, the young son of a millionaire, were they scarcely were representative of the author of *The Jungle* and *Oil* until he surprisingly satirized the life of California's wealthy classes of today in *Another Pamela*.

Pearl Buck wrote three new China novels among which *Kinfolk* deserves to be singled out. Erskine Caldwell's and John O'Hara's new novels were hardly on the same high level as their former works. James T. Farrell in *The Road Between*, the story of a marriage, wrote another one of his sociological-naturalistic novels.

Ernest Hemingway's *Across the River and Into the Trees*, too, was hardly anything new although it painted with all the pastel shades of Hemingway's emotional colour scheme the melancholia of a mortally ill Army officer who takes leave of Venice and love.

John Marquand, the American Galsworthy, looked through his artist's magnifying glass with a wise and ironic eye at a blue-blooded banker's family in *Point of No Return*. In *Melville Goodwin U.S.A.*, he then pictured the private life of a professional military officer with no less loving precision and cheerful irony.

John Steinbeck, in *The Wayward Bus*, presented, against the backdrop of a trip through California, some characters motivated by primitive impulses, and in *The Pearl* a poetically and dramatically alive allegory about the curse of possession. In *Burning Bright* he then dealt, no less poetically, with the delicate theme of the sterile man and his wife who is ready to conceive a child from a stranger as long as it makes her husband happy.

William Saroyan proved, above all in *The Human Comedy* and also later in his *Tracy's Tiger*, that he has a dreamer's appreciation of the nonconformist and recluse. Thornton Wilder, finally, chose no less a figure than Julius Caesar for his protagonist in *The Ides of March*, selecting the form of a novel in letters in order to let Catullus, Cleopatra and Cicero speak to us, too.

III

The variations of technique and locales, reflected in the works of the more famous American writers, are an even stronger characteristic of the work of the younger generation.

If it is at all possible to make groupings here, one might say something about the war novel, the psychological and sociological novel, the regional novel with historic background, and the religious novel. There are further serious treatments of youth problems, the Negro question, anti-semitism, sexual aberrations, and, in a lesser degree, social problems.

War novels, with the anti-authoritarian and frequently anti-officer tendency which is so typical of America, have been appearing since 1945. Harry Brown's *A Walk in the Sun* was poetic and without pathos. Alfred Hayes' *All Thy Conquests*, Gore Vidal's *Williwaw*, Robert Lowry's *Casualty*, and John Burne Burns' *The Gallery* followed clearly in Hemingway's footsteps; they were unromantic, unheroic and compromising in their masterful rendering of battle's bloody inferno.

Then came a first novel which brought striking success to a complete unknown: Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead*, the story of conquest of a Japanese-held island in the Pacific, was brutal, naked and rebellious, and between the lines of its frequently obscene soldier's slang our social order stood accused as well as the war. Simultaneously, Irwin Shaw's *The Young Lions* appeared, hardly less stark, but frequently more lyrical, a vast panorama of war-torn Europe, of concentration camps and ruined cities, with a wealth of keenly observed types and problems.



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!

Estd-1893

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



Martha Gellhorn's *The Wine of Astonishment*, the chronicle of a battalion of American infantrymen in Europe; Ira Welfert's *An Act of Love*, which was spiced with some bitter commentaries about a world which permitted such bloodshed; and Stefan Heym's *The Crusaders*, which told of the conquest of Germany—all these books also reflected the problem of today's man, the near-futility of escape from chaos, but their tenor was by no means pacifistic, like the war novels of 25 years ago, nor did they preach the gospel according to Karl Marx.

These war novels, and others which followed, are analytical. They accept war as something unalterable, however much they deplore it. The young writers are more concerned with probing men in their relationships with the hell of combat and with themselves than they are with writing against war itself.

This is especially applicable to those works in this group which unfold their plot in the rear areas, like James Gould Cozzan's *Guard of Honour*, with its penetrating portrayal of officers and men in a training camp in Florida, and *From Here to Eternity* by the young James Jones, after Norman Mailer perhaps the most gifted prose writer of the post-war generation. In this very broad canvas of officers and men of all social strata in Hawaii at the outbreak of the war one admires, in spite of the author's preoccupation with obscene language, the technical perfection and the dramatic breadth of this almost mature work by an unknown of yesterday. And one senses the author's main purpose: to lead us back to ourselves. If he chose the surgeon's scalpel, he did it not in order to slash about blindly but to grope his way carefully toward a malignant tumour. The most recent of the war novels, *The Caine Mutiny*, by the young Herman Wouk, for many weeks best seller No. 1, pictures in vivid, realistic colours what happened aboard an American ship during a typhoon in Pacific waters during 1944.

The subconscious, dreams, supernatural and visionary events play a significant role in many of these works. The human factor and the human being occupy the central position, not the events of the times.—*USIS*.

Four Indian Students Get Rotary Fellowships

Chicago, February 27: Four graduate students from India are among recipients of Rotary International fellowships for study abroad in 1952-53.

The one-year fellowship grants range from \$1,800 to \$3,400. They are awarded annually by the worldwide service club organisation as a contribution towards international understanding, goodwill and peace.

Recipients in India are: Manorama Hosali of Bangalore, Bipin E. Mullaji of Bombay, Manjusiri Dutt of Delhi, and Mrs. Avtar H. Singh of Meerut. The Bombay student will study in Britain, the others in North America.

Fellowship grants awarded to students throughout the world by Rotary International this year will total \$285,000. The fellowship programme was begun in



For Sensing, Feeling and Seeing
the Pleasure—

DWARKIN & SON LTD.
11, Esplanade East, CALCUTTA

1947. Since that time, 392 students have received awards. A total of 109 awards were made this year.—*USIS*.

Aldrin for Locust Control

Washington, February 27: Eight more American-built planes will be provided this year to fight the locust menace in South Asia and the Middle East the Technical Co-operation Administration (TCA) of the U.S. Department of State disclosed here.

Two of the planes are now on their way overseas and the others will leave soon. No request for locust assistance this year has been received, but the plane are being sent as a precautionary measure, TCA said.

In addition, TCA officials have purchased 76 ton of aldrin, an insecticide proven extremely effective against locusts. One ounce of this poison will be an effective spray for one acre. The aldrin will be stock piled at Beirut, Teheran and Karachi.

Last year American planes and pilots destroyed 75,000 acres of locusts by aerial spraying with aldrin in India, Iran and Pakistan.

Of the eight planes sent to Iran last year, six are still serviceable, one is salvageable and one wrecked beyond repair. U. S. technicians also trained local pilots in effective aldrin spraying.—*USIS*.



Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, Government of India, performed the opening ceremony of the Soviet Fine Arts Exhibition at New Delhi on March 5



Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt recently visited the Ayurved College Museum (Jamnagar), during her tour of Saurashtra

THE 'MODERN REVIEW'

MAY



1952

VOL. LXXXI, No. 5

WHOLE No. 545

NOTES

The Writing on the Wall

The *Newsweek* of New York in its April 7 issue carries a report of President Truman's speech at the Democratic Party's Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner. Although this speech was intended by him to be his presidential swan-song, it is interpreted by some as being the opening broadside in the Democratic Party's campaign, which might even "carry Harry S. Truman into the White House for another term." Apart from his "Won't-run" bombshell it was a fighting speech in the true "give-'em-hell" tradition, as the following quotation from the report shows:

"H. S. T. Winds Up: In the gaily festooned hall, decorated with mammoth enlargements of his picture, the President lashed out at the Republican Party. It was made up of 'political fakers,' he said, who had brought the nation 'to the brink of ruin.' The GOP had tried to ape the New and Fair Deal line with no success. Now the 'dinosaurs' in the party were planning to 'go back to prehistoric times.' But this group would 'only get the dinosaur vote—and there are not very many of them left.'

"Mr. Truman struck out at GOP corruption during the Harding Administration, taunted the Republicans for twenty years of political defeat, and questioned the sincerity of their anti-Communism."

With a few alterations, for example, "by reading 'Congress Party' in the place of 'Republican Party,' this diatribe might well be levelled against Pandit Nehru's Party administration. And unless he carries out the reforms in the Congress, which he promised the nation time and again, as an election stunt, the fate of his party would be that of the pre-historic reptiles, as so elegantly put by President Truman, in the not-so-very distant future.

Look at the mess the "dinosaurs" in the Nehru Cabinet have made—and are still making—of the railways. There is no comfort for the ordinary man

and practically no security. As we go to press there is the following news-item in the morning papers (April 30):

"Sri N. V. Gadgil, Union Minister for Works, Production and Supply, was overpowered by two ruffians who entered his first class compartment on the Bombay-Madras Mail in the early hours of this morning and removed a few of his personal belongings. Sri Gadgil who offered resistance sustained only minor injuries. He continued his journey after medical aid at Kurudwadi.

"The Minister who is travelling to Hyderabad told pressmen at the station the intruders entered the compartment, somewhere between Bhivwadi and Pomalwadi, about 200 miles out from Bombay, and pulling him out of the upper berth, where in the early morning he was sleeping, demanded all his cash. On his refusal, they obliged them the intruders thrust a handkerchief into his mouth and tied down his hands. They also threatened the Minister with a knife causing minor scratches on his elbow.

"As the train was slowing down for halt at Pomalwadi, the intruders jumped out of the compartment and escaped."

So it seems that even a gilded colleague of the puissant Nehru can be subjected to mayhem while travelling in a mail train!

We assure Sri Gadgil of our sincere sympathy, but we cannot help thinking that the incident was just a line of writing on the wall.

Corruption is rife everywhere, and the life and property of the common national of the Indian Union is no longer secure in the railways. We ourselves have suffered and within our limited circle of intimate friends and relations there are four who have been robbed while travelling by train during the last three months.

Another dinosaur wrecked the Post and Telegraph

NORWESTER
By Niharman Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

system, particularly the telephones. Who is there in this part of the world who can rely on the telephone in an emergency? We had an urgent occasion, at about midnight of the 29th, to get into communication with a relative who had a telephone. After frantic attempts had been made to induce the somnolent operator to put us through, we were silenced by being disconnected at the switch board! And our telephone remained dead and inoperative for the rest of the night. This was not our first experience of similar tactics, but this was the most troublesome experience. We are told we should have complained. But to whom, and to what purpose?

Then consider the wonderful *khichri* which our erstwhile M.P.s and legal luminaries have cooked up for a Constitution. Every possible loophole has been left for the law-breaker and the disruptionist while the suffering nationals cannot obtain even a modicum of justice in redress of the wrongs inflicted on them. The law is today more in favour of the subtle and slimy blood-suckers who are waxing fat at the cost of the hard-pressed law-abiding common man.

As an example of the bestial ruthlessness of those bloodsuckers, the following news-item which appeared in the *Statesman* for April 16, is illustrative. It seems that the common man can expect no compunction from those ghouls even though he be at death's door:

"A large quantity of drugs and medicines, suspected to be spurious, were seized in the Canning Street area, by the Enforcement Branch, Calcutta Police, in one of its biggest raids so far. About 30 drugstores were searched and penicillin, streptomycin, chloromycetin, 24,140 Cibazol tablets, 158 phials of Angier's Emulsion, 43 phials of Ferradol and some other medicines were seized. Twenty-five phials of tetanus anti-toxin were found in a pan shop in the area and three persons, including the owner of the shop, were arrested."

The gangsters who are in the above racket have an all-India organisation, as is well-known, with headquarters in Western and Northern India.

Turning to the security of the nation and the Union, it is known all over the country what intrigue in the Defence Services is leading to. And on top of that there is the perennial hot-air flow of *Ahimsa* when the budget estimates for Defence are discussed. We have a Navy we are told. But how does it stand? Here is part of the answer, out of the press interview at Madras on April 21:

"Vice-Admiral C. T. M. Pizey, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy, told a Press Conference that it was difficult to say at present when India would be able to acquire her first aircraft carrier.

"They could buy a carrier next year if they had money but the technical personnel necessary to man her was a specialised part of the naval aviation and it would take at least ten years to train them.

"Meanwhile, Admiral Pizey stated, the Navy was

planning to establish as a first step in naval aviation, a naval air station at Cochin and form a fleet requirement unit early next year which would provide co-operation and anti-aircraft gunner training for their ships, also sea-reconnaissance and other duties. 'Our policy is to keep in step with modern trends and train our technical personnel accordingly, so that we will be able to man the latest type of aircraft and ships as and when we acquire them,' he added.

"Indian Navy's ultimate aim, he said, was to build up a balanced modern navy with an air component, and supporting shore organisations and training schools. Owing to the need for exercising the strictest economy over expenditure and also owing to the difficulties in obtaining new ships, they had not been able to acquire more ships."

Lastly, let us turn to the economic aspect, for ruin generally means financial collapse, although we ourselves consider moral bankruptcy to be even worse. We find the following special report, in the *Statesman* of April 22, originating from New Delhi:

"Resistance of American, British and other foreign buyers continues to affect India's export trade, seriously upsetting her balance of payments position.

"First noticeable in the last year's second quarter, the total value of her exports has continually been shrinking since then, and was down to Rs. 172 crores in the October-December period. This compares with Rs. 212 crores in the last year's first quarter, when the figure, helped by devaluation and post-Korean war developments, reached its peak.

"The decline in exports has been in sharp contrast with the rise in imports, explained especially by big food and cotton purchases. A widening gap between imports and exports was the result. The adverse balance of trade in last year's second quarter amounted to Rs. 15 crores, which rose to Rs. 55 crores and Rs. 62 crores in the following two quarters.

"Buyers' resistance shows no sign of softening. The high prices, caused largely, according to some quarters, by export duties and the unsteadiness of the existing level, are stated to account for relatively small demands from abroad.

"The Government seems worried about the unsatisfactory position; withdrawal or relaxation of export duties on some raw materials and manufactures, suspension of destination control on the export of jute goods and the increase in cloth export quotas are some of the recently announced official measures to stimulate outward trade.

"There has been a marked fall in the demand from abroad even for manganese ore and mica, which were very eagerly sought by Western countries before they had decided to slow down their defence programmes."

The Government "seems worried" we are told, but what can the Government do? It has neither a Horatio Hjalmer Schacht in charge of the Finance

portfolio nor does it possess the power or initiative to check economic trends. The Finance Minister has British blinkers on and the Commerce Minister does neither possess the experience nor the drive to counteract the mischief. As such we are wallowing in the trough of Britain's wake. To substantiate our statement we quote from the *Newsweek* of New York for March 24:

"Call it a trade slump. Call it deflation. Call it a recession. (But don't call it—unmentionable word—a d—n). Whatever the term, it was evident by last week to economic experts and just plain businessmen that an international economic disturbance was blowing up. Around the globe from Japan to France, the storm signals were flying—as they were in the United States.

"The disturbance might blow itself out as did the now almost forgotten 'American recession' of the spring of 1949. The experts, as skittish as weather forecasters, refuse to make predictions. But one thing was predictable: A storm couldn't come at a better time for the Russians. For on April 3 the Soviets open their much-advertised International Economic Conference in Moscow—a propaganda show devoted to extolling the now banned East-West trade.

"What did the storm signals indicate? While the West still talked of fighting inflation and while inflation still gripped many countries, a steady deflation was under way in others. Raw-materials prices skidded. Inventories overflowed. New orders fell off. Even shipping costs eased. Finally, inevitably, world trade shrank as governments imposed restrictions to meet the situation. The process fed on itself. To balance its accounts, power X restricted trade with power Y. To balance its accounts, power Y thereupon reduced imports from power Z.

"The storm center was Britain. The Conservative government had already cut imports by \$1,400,000,000. Last week the first Tory budget outlined further import cuts and other deflationary measures. And now the British feared the accelerating effect of a world trade crisis on their internal crisis. *Newsweek's* London bureau cabled:

"A chill wind is blowing through the so-called fully employed welfare state which the Churchill government inherited from Socialism. Deflation shows a personal side as people try to save instead of spend. London streets are clogged with empty cruising taxis; tailor shops are dark and empty; and higher bus and subway fares have brought out swarms of bicycles.

"It is now frankly recognized that there is a growing danger of a collapse of international trade, especially in the 'soft' sterling areas that have hitherto provided a basic market for Britain's consumer-goods exports.

"The situation was brought home with a resounding shock when Australia cut imports of British goods

by \$408,000,000. Actually, shrewd and perhaps pessimistic business analysis had seen earlier signs: the collapse of the Alexandria cotton market, panic in the Indian bullion market, repercussions in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, idle plants and labor in Japan, and slackening of United States consumer demand.

"On February 11, the total British unemployment figure hit 393,500, the highest since 1947. Since the Australian cuts, there have been open predictions that the British jobless by the end of the year will reach and perhaps exceed 1,000,000."

The statement goes on to discuss possible repercussions and winds up with reports from all quarters of the globe. With regard to India and Pakistan the summary states:

"India-Pakistan: Recently stock and commodity prices broke by 30 to 50 per cent. This was a speculative shake-out. But it was also a consequence of the drop in the price of jute, which accounts for 40 per cent of India's foreign-exchange earnings. Pakistan grows the jute India processes and is thus also heavily hit by the price-drop, as well as by the fall in cotton prices. Nearby Ceylon, depending on faltering rubber exports, last week imposed stringent import restrictions."

Need we proceed further? The fall in our prestige has been proportionate, as exemplified by Pakistan's decision to impose a permit system on her Eastern Section, without even a warning to India. True, we are again plodding behind the caravan, as indicated in the following press release:

"The question arising out of Pakistan's decision to introduce a permit system between Eastern Pakistan and the Eastern States of the Indian Union is understood to have been examined at a conference held on April 21 at the Branch Secretariat of the External Affairs Ministry in Calcutta. Representatives of West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Tripura, and India's Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca were present.

"Pakistan's decision to introduce the permit system has now been authoritatively confirmed here."

If any warnings were needed then the fall of the Pepsu Congress Cabinet would have sufficed. The new Cabinet is unique as the following news indicates:

"Pepsu's non-Congress Cabinet, first of its kind in India, will consist of three Ministers in the beginning. Eventually its number will rise to seven—two more than the outgoing Congress Ministry."

"We need a Cabinet of seven to ensure the stability of the Government," said Mr. Gian Singh Rarewala, leader of the United Front Party, now entrusted with the task of forming a Ministry.

"The trio, who will initially take over the Government according to present plans, will comprise the Chief Minister, Mr. Rarewala, Mr. Bhupindra Singh Mann (Akali) and Mr. Inder Singh, who has seceded

from the Congress. The remaining four names have not yet been decided. 'We were entrusted with the task of forming a Ministry only 24 hours ago,' explained Mr. Rarewala.

Another principle settled is that Sikhs and Hindus should have equal representation in offices of Ministerial rank. In the Congress Ministry Sikhs predominated.

The departure from precedent is apparently intended to impress on the public that communal considerations will not prevail when the United Front assumes office. The people's fears are thereby sought to be set at rest.

Thus in the new Cabinet of seven, there will be 3 Hindus, 3 Sikhs and 1 Harijan. The Speaker, also a United Front nominee, is a Hindu. His office is considered at par with Ministerial rank. To preserve the communal balance, the Deputy Speaker is intended to be a Sikh."

But of what significance are such warnings where dinosaurs are concerned. Like burlesque "Lilies of the Fields" they carry on, these dinosaurs of ours. And verily, like the dinosaurs of old, they repent not, nor yet do they heed the Writing on the Wall.

Sheikh Abdullah's Speech

The official organ of the Congress *The People* has the following remarks to make regarding the volte-face of Sheikh Abdullah:

"Judged from the point of view of statesmanship as well as expediency the speech delivered by Sheikh Abdullah on April 10, is most disappointing and deplorable. A great leader must essentially be a psychologist, but Sheikh Abdullah a man of wild impulses, at times uses unguarded language. It is admitted on all hands that for very good reasons Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's main fire during the last elections was reserved for the communalists, because communalism is regress to medievalism and in the India of to-day, the distribution of civic, economic and political rights on religious basis is altogether unthinkable. In a way the greatest triumph of Shri Nehru has been the liquidation of communalism in India.

"It is strange that Sheikh Abdullah is still unconvinced of it. In a country of 35 crore souls, who have been guaranteed civil liberties, sledge hammer education is out of question and intellectual regimentation is neither possible nor desirable. No country is absolutely immune from fanatics or mischief-mongers. The atmosphere or the political climate of India at the moment is quite healthy and the dominant note is what it should be. In other words, the demon of communalism is dead and buried.

"Talking on a low plane, one is constrained to remark that any Indian Muslim who holds that 'the

communal spirit still exists in India' renders a distinct disservice to the four crore Muslims of this country. In case any Indian Muslim feels that certain things have been left undone, he should know that the nation is on the right track and that ere long there won't be any cause even for minor, petty complaints. The glorious heritage of the spirit of large-hearted tolerance and accommodation, the present constitution of India, the teachings of the Mahatma and the long vision and the untiring efforts of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, constitute an effective guarantee against a resurgence of communalism.

"By making statements in an irate mood Sheikh Abdullah has unconsciously played into the hands of the enemies of Indian Muslims. To the Pakistan leaders and journalists he has given involuntarily material which they are sure to exploit till the crack of doom.

"Indeed, it is a great compliment to the robust commonsense and keen intelligence of India and is something to the eternal credit of all Indian political parties that they have all along treated the Kashmir question as an issue of paramount national importance.

"To imply that Kashmir under Sheikh Abdullah is the only oasis of verdant nationalism in the Indian desert of scorching communalism is to betray mental confusion."

There has been very considerable jubilation in Pakistan over this speech and much fiery denunciation by the press in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. But we ourselves are inclined to think that it was in the main just a spot of kite-flying by an ambitious politician, who considers Nehru to be a veritable Caesar, capable of forcing the Hindus of India to undergo untold sacrifices for the sole benefit of Kashmir in general and the Muslim Kashmiri in particular. But what else can one expect if Pandit Nehru, like Don Quixote, insists on tilting at Communist wind-mills at every instigation from our Ministry of Muslim Intrigue?

Kashmir and the U.N.C.I.P.

Meanwhile the latest phase in the U.N.C.I.P. negotiations has been made public with the release of Dr. Frank Graham's report.

Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations Representative for Kashmir, reported that progress had been made in the question of demilitarising Kashmir, but that one issue still remained unresolved between India and Pakistan.

Dr. Graham reported that the chief remaining obstacle in the way of demilitarisation was the difference between the parties over the number and character of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation.

His recommendations were:

1. That, taking notice of the progress made in the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir through withdrawals of forces from both sides of the cease-fire line, the Governments of India and Pakistan refrain from taking any action which would augment the present military potential of the forces in the State.

2. That the Governments of India and Pakistan, taking into account their agreements under the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions and their acceptance under the 12 proposals, should

(a) Continue their determination not to resort to force and to adhere to peaceful procedures and to follow faithfully their agreement to instruct their official spokesmen and to urge all their citizens not to make statements calculated to incite the people of either nation to make war against the other with regard to the question of Jammu and Kashmir.

(b) Observe the cease-fire effective from January 1, 1949, and the Karachi agreement of July 2, 1950.

3. That the Governments of India and Pakistan, as a means of further implementing the resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, should undertake by July 15, 1952, further to reduce the forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

4. That the United Nations representative's negotiations with the Governments of India and Pakistan be continued with a view to:

(a) Resolving the remaining differences on the 12 proposals, with special reference to the quantum of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation, and

(b) The general implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1950.

Dr. Graham said, "The United Nations representative had been requested to give his understanding of the term 'State Armed Forces.'

"In the U. N. C. I. P. resolution of August 13, 1948, no mention is made of 'State Armed Forces.' The term appears in paragraph 4(1a) of the U. N. C. I. P. resolution of January 5, 1949.

"The United Nations representative believes that the term 'State Armed Forces' is one which must be given careful consideration in preparation for the carrying out by the United Nations representative and the Plebiscite Administrator of their responsibilities under paragraphs 4(a) and (b) of the resolution of January 5, 1949.

"It was stated that on the date (July 15, 1952, the date on which he had proposed that demilitarisation should be completed) there would remain on each side of the cease-fire line the lowest possible number of armed forces based in proportion to the

number of armed forces existing on each side of the cease-fire line on January 1, 1949.

"After this suggestion was made the United Nations representative found such a wide difference of position still remaining between the two Governments on the issue of the quantum of forces that, without prejudice to further negotiations on this question, and as a practical matter, another approach to this problem should be explored.

"It was stated that the completion of the programme of demilitarisation would be without prejudice to the functions and responsibilities of the United Nations representative and the Plebiscite Administrator with regard to the final disposal of forces as set forth in the January, 1949 resolution.

"The United Nations representative has been requested to give his understanding of the expression 'final disposal' of forces.

"Paragraphs 4(a) and (b) of the January 5, 1949 resolution confer upon the Plebiscite Administrator certain responsibilities with respect to their implementation. It would, therefore, be premature for the United Nations representative, without consulting the Plebiscite Administrator and without having further discussion with the two Governments, to give an opinion on this matter.

"During the negotiations a reference was made to the powers of the Plebiscite Administrator with regard to the 'final disposal' of forces referred to in Paragraphs 4(a) and (b) of January 5, 1949 resolution. This is a matter that enters into the general question of the powers that the Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir and it has already been a subject of discussion between the U. N. C. I. P. and the Governments of India and Pakistan. The United Nations representative does not deem it appropriate at this moment to enter into discussions on this subject.

On the remaining points of difference between the two parties, Dr. Graham reported their positions to be as follows:—

(a) The Government of India maintains its position concerning the minimum number of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation, i.e., on the Indian side 21,000 regular Indian army forces, plus 6,000 State militia.

On the Pakistan side a force of 4,000 men consisting of persons normally resident in Azad Kashmir territory, half of whom should be followers of Azad Kashmir and the other half persons who are not followers of Azad Kashmir.

(b) The Government of India also stated that, should the situation be favourable it would be ready, at the end of the period of demilitarisation, to enter into consultations with the Plebiscite Administrator and with the United Nations Representative to con-

sider a further reduction of forces on the Indian side.

(c) Of the three other principal points of difference emerging from the second report of the United Nations Representative, the Government of India considers that two, namely, a definite period for demilitarisation and the date for the formal induction into office of the Plebiscite Administrator can be settled without difficulty, provided agreement is reached on the scope of demilitarisation and the quantum of forces that would remain at the end of the period of demilitarisation.

Regarding Pakistan's views he reported:

(a) Pakistan agrees that the demilitarisation programme envisaged by the United Nations Representative should be completed not later than July 11, 1952.

(b) Pakistan insists that the demilitarisation programme should embrace all the armed forces in Jammu and Kashmir without exception, namely, the Pakistan Army, the Azad Kashmir Forces, the Indian Army, the State Army and the State Militia.

(The tribesmen and Pakistan volunteers are stated to have already withdrawn from the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line).

(c) Pakistan agrees that at the end of the period of demilitarisation, there should remain on each side of the cease-fire line the lowest possible number of armed forces based in proportion to the number of armed forces existing on each side of the cease-fire line on January 1, 1949.

(d) Pakistan agrees that the Plebiscite Administrator should be inducted into office not later than the first day of the demilitarisation period referred to in (c) above.

Concerning withdrawals of troops from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of India has agreed to withdraw unconditionally and without prejudice to the negotiations concerning proposals for demilitarisation submitted to the Governments of India and Pakistan, one division with supporting arms, from its side of the cease-fire line in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which it estimates to be a force of approximately 18,000 men.

The Government of Pakistan had tended that the Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir were greatly augmented in the summer of 1951 and that even after the withdrawal of one Indian Army division, the strength of the Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir would be far in excess of the Pakistan forces in the State.

Dr. Graham also reported that the Government of India had recently issued orders for withdrawals to distances varying from 70 to 450 miles of those military formations of the Indian territory to within 30 miles of the Western Indo-Pakistan border. These withdrawals were in the process of being carried out.

The Government of Pakistan had indicated that most of the forces "which they had been compelled" to move to the Indo-Pakistan border during the summer of 1951 had been withdrawn to their "peacetime stations."

Outlining his own views on the general problem, Dr. Graham said that throughout his negotiations it had been evident that many of the questions dealing with the demilitarisation of the State were related to problems affecting the preparation of the plebiscite and with the responsibilities of the Plebiscite Administrator.

Among these responsibilities was the final disposal of the forces to remain on each side of the cease-fire line, with due regard to the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite.

"In short," Dr. Graham's report said, "the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir had now reached a stage in which further considerations will affect the prerequisites for plebiscite and therefore, are counter-related with the responsibilities which the Plebiscite Administrator will one day be called upon to exercise."

"It is my firm conviction that besides the questions of the final quantum of forces, there are other factors which have a bearing on demilitarisation, which need now to be taken into consideration."

"I am not at the present time in a position to give a considered statement on all these factors. I feel however that with further explorations into the relationships between the last stage of demilitarisation and the first stage of preparation for the plebiscite, I would perhaps be able to place the question of demilitarisation in a perspective which would favour its solution."

"Further reductions of troops on each side of the cease-fire line are directly related to the preparation of the plebiscite. In addition to having the advice of the civilian and military members of his staff, I deem it necessary that the Plebiscite Administrator designate (Admiral Chester W. Nimitz) be associated with me in studies and consideration of common problem."

The conclusions drawn by the report were: "Progress has been made in the acceptance of an increasing number of the twelve proposals for agreement on demilitarisation. On October 15, 1951 in his first report the United Nations Representative reported to the Security Council that the two Governments had accepted four of the twelve proposals. On December 19, 1951, in his second report, he reported to the Security Council that four more of the 12 proposals, or a total of eight had been accepted by both Governments."

"He can now report acceptance, by Pakistan, of the remaining four proposals with certain qualifications regarding the character of forces to be demilitarised. India maintains that if agreement can be reached on the issues of the number and character of

forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line, the other two remaining differences (i.e., the period of demilitarisation and the induction into office of the Plebiscite Administrator) can be solved without difficulty.

"The chief remaining obstacle is the difference over the number and character of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation."

And thus the U.N.C.I.P. negotiations have meandered along to another field.

Nothing Like Leather!

The *Hindustan Standard* carries the following news item, in its April 21 issue, originating from New Delhi on April 19:

"The *Times* of London, generally considered a model newspaper, seems to have become a Pakistan propaganda organ."

This is the impression one gets from the issue of the journal dated April 5, 1952, which carried the following item:

"INFUX OF MUSLIMS INTO WEST PAKISTAN"

From Our Own Correspondent

"Karachi, April 3.—Riots which marked the recent Holi (Hindu festival which marks the advent of spring and at which coloured water is thrown) in the secular State of Bharat have caused a fresh influx of Muslims into West Pakistan. The number of those who crossed the border without entry permits last month was 5,147. According to an official spokesman, refugees tell harrowing tales of loot and arson by Hindu communalists, causing widespread alarm among the minorities. Some newspapers say that communal riots took place at several places in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and other provinces."

The *Dawn* had on April 4, published the following report on the same subject:

"HOLI RIOTS IN BHARAT: FRESH MUSLIM EXODUS"

"The recent Holi riots in 'secular' Bharat have caused a fresh influx of Muslims into West Pakistan. Since then 5,147 Muslims crossed the border via Khokhropar alone."

The refugees have told harrowing tales of loot and arson by Hindu communalists. Their tales show widespread alarm among the minorities there who have been guaranteed protection under the Bharat Constitution."

A comparison of these two reports brings out the fact that the *Times* report is nothing more than a repetition of the *Dawn's* even to the use of sarcastic references to India. For instance, the Pakistani daily refers to "secular Bharat." The *Times* copies it by referring to the "secular State of Bharat." Incidentally, this is the first occasion when the *Times* has used the word "Bharat" for "India."

Further examination of the two reports brings out the fact that either the author of the two reports is

the same person or that the *Times* Karachi Correspondent's special assignment is to pick out false and fabricated accounts about India."

There can be no doubt that these faked reports have the same origin. Perhaps the same filthy news-hound has polluted both papers. But what is there to be aghast about in that? Do we not know who used to supply the *Times* of London, the *New York Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and other foreign papers with poisonous anti-Indian propaganda even in very recent times?

As for the *Times* being a "model newspaper," we suppose even Jezebel was admired, sometime in her career, as a polished courtesan. And we believe we shall not be very far out if we venture to guess that this Jezebel is trying to "stage a comeback" now that her old courtiers are back in power.

Stalin-Radhakrishnan Talks

There has been a great deal of speculation about the talks between Dr. Radhakrishnan and Marshal Stalin at the farewell interview. The official organ of the Congress *The People* of New Delhi has given an indirect report which is likely to be substantially correct. The report is as follows:

"Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, retiring Indian Ambassador to Moscow, who returned to India this week brought with him a message of goodwill and offers of economic aid from Marshal Stalin, I learn from reliable sources in New Delhi."

"Far from being a move towards East-West parleys for global peace so widely discussed in the world's Press, the recent Stalin-Radhakrishnan conversations in Moscow, it appears, actually centred on Indo-Russian relations with the emphasis on the divergence between the two governments on matters of policy."

"Well-informed circles state that the interview was more than a mere personal tribute to Dr. Radhakrishnan."

"It was a positive gesture of friendship towards India and a deliberate expression of the Russian desire to be friendly with India. In order to come to a sincere understanding Marshal Stalin, I gather, was frank to the point of being blunt with Dr. Radhakrishnan who, I understand, responded suitably."

"The highlight of the talks, it appears, centred firstly on India's attitude towards Communism and secondly India's attitude towards the offer of economic co-operation from Moscow."

"Speaking very cordially, M. Stalin is stated to have asked Dr. Radhakrishnan why the Government of India 'consistently curbed civil liberties by imprisoning members of the Communist Party and people who were directly or indirectly friendly towards them.'"

"Dr. Radhakrishnan is understood to have explained that Shri Nehru had repeatedly declared

that the Indian Government had nothing against the Communist Party as such but they had naturally to put down forces of violence which sought to disrupt law and order and the administration.

"The fairness of the Indian Government's attitude and policy towards the Communists, Dr. Radhakrishnan is reported to have said, was shown by the recent elections in which Communists had been returned in considerable numbers at the polls even in areas where Congress Governments were in power.

"Marshal Stalin is then reported to have asked why the Indian Government had not accepted the repeated Russian offers of economic aid.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan, it is understood, said that it was true that several Russian spokesmen both in India and Russia had spoken of the Russian readiness to help India in the economic field, but there had been no practical or concrete suggestion or proposal.

"Last year, when India's food difficulties were most acute, the U.S. Government gave India two million tons of wheat while little or no help came from Russia although the Indian Government looked forward to help from Russia as much as from U.S.A. and the Indian people had particularly looked forward to getting food from Russia more confidently than from U.S.A.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan is said to have assured M. Stalin that India needed foreign aid and would gladly and eagerly accept economic aid coming from the U.S.A. or Soviet Union provided such aid came 'without strings.'

"Dr. Radhakrishnan is also reported to have asked whether it was consistent for Moscow Radio to carry on a tirade against the Government of India and India's national leaders while Russian spokesmen were promising economic aid to India. M. Stalin is reported to have promised to look into the matter.

"In spite of the thrusts and parries during the conversation, it would appear that the talk was most cordial and some concrete evidence of Russian desire to give economic help to India would become available in the next few days."

The last paragraph is, of course, pure speculation on the part of the special correspondent of *The People*. But if the report has any solid basis then there might be some interesting developments.

Railway Regrouping

In spite of bitter opposition, the original regrouping scheme of the Railways, finalised in 1950, has been very substantially altered in respect of three zones. The bitterest controversy has centered round the formation of the Eastern and North-Eastern zones. Provincial and other parochial considerations have

been allowed to take precedence over the interest of the railways and the nation. The conference of the railway workers and the public of West Bengal have made a very reasonable demand that in view of a drastic change in the original plan, an expert committee should be set up to examine the new scheme and pending examination by the committee the scheme should be held in abeyance. Following is the resolution:

"A resolution was adopted urging the Government of India either to implement the original proposals of the Ministry of Railways announced in January or to stay further steps in the implementation of the revised scheme and get the whole question examined by a 'committee of accredited experts and impartial administrators.'

"The conference called upon the West Bengal Government to 'support this demand in every possible way.' It viewed the issues involved from a national standpoint free from provincialism.

"A 20-man committee, with representatives of various political parties and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee as president, was appointed to take effective measures for 'resisting the imposition in hot haste of the unscientific and pernicious regrouping scheme.'

"The conference condemned the manner in which the scheme of the Railway Board, circulated in January for setting up the Northern, North-Eastern and Eastern zones with two headquarters in Calcutta, and retaining the Allahabad division in the Eastern zone, had been substituted by the new proposals 'to serve certain parochial interests, as admitted by the Railway Minister himself.'

"According to the conference, the revised proposals were bound to adversely affect not only the 15,000 railway employees in Calcutta, but were calculated to bring about disastrous results on the commercial, economic and social spheres in the northern and western parts of the country. They would result in dislocation of traffic in coal, jute, tea and timber, and cripple Calcutta Port.

"These would also create difficulties in maintaining a smooth supply of wagons; hamper Calcutta's huge suburban passenger traffic; and cause hold-ups at river transshipment points across the Ganga. Proper control and operation of the strategic railways serving the States on the eastern border of India would be difficult, if not impossible."

The Railway Ministry of the Government of India have so far said nothing which would convince the public about the reasonability of the present change. All the chambers of commerce of importance in Calcutta and also all the important newspapers have strongly criticised this change. The Railway Ministry has completely failed to meet their arguments from the standpoint of the needs of the trade

and commerce and also from the point of view of future food and military strategy. The decision to shift the headquarters of the North-Eastern Railway from Calcutta—contrary to the original plan and proposal in the Parliament by the Railway Minister himself while presenting the Railway Budget—to Gorakhpur has been strongly opposed. It has been argued very reasonably that movement-control of such a big railway from an up-country station would be difficult, and entail unnecessary heavy expenditure. Instead of meeting these arguments the Railway Ministry summoned a conference of the representatives of Provincial Governments of U. P., Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. This is probably the first time where provincial political interests have been placed over the interests of railways in a discussion of pure railway policy. The West Bengal Government had been vacillating from the very beginning and the irresponsible attitude of this Government is responsible for much of the unnecessary hardships that would follow the change in the original plan. We expected Pandit Nehru to rise in the occasion and take a stern attitude against the introduction of provincial considerations in a matter of national importance, which would have been consistent to his utterances on provincialism made as late as in March in the Calcutta session of the A.-I. C. C.

The inclusion of the Allahabad Division in the Northern Railways against a clear recommendation of the Kunjru Committee indicates a very dangerous trend in our national life. In respect of the whole changed scheme the people on this side have demanded an expert committee to go into the question. But the fate of such committees can be imagined when we find such a glaring deviation from the clear and unambiguous recommendations of the Kunjru Committee. Such actions are likely to increase the lack of confidence in the Government's utterances and decisions and strengthen the hands of the disruptive forces.

The exclusion of the Sealdah Division from the North-Eastern Railway has been a half-hearted step towards placation.

The construction of the Ganges Bridge at Farakkabad would link up the railways on both sides of that river. The laying of a third line on the broad-gauge track on the Sealdah Section and the construction of the Ganges Bridge would make the through traffic of wagons from Dibrugarh to Calcutta possible. Amin-gaon has got a wagon ferry. With headquarters in Calcutta and these two adjustments the operational efficiency in the North-Eastern Railway would have increased and the interests of trade in Eastern India would have been better served. The modern practice of maintaining railway headquarters near a port has been completely disregarded by the Government of India.

The railway and the public in West Bengal have called a general strike for a day, on May 7 to register an active protest against the alteration of the original Regrouping plan. This is a protest of national interest against provincial pettiness. A constitutional question should be raised. The Parliament approved the Railway Minister's Budget speech which declared that the original regrouping plan would be implemented. The Government have changed this decision without consulting the Parliament. Can they do this? Does it not amount to a contempt of the Parliament?

The Regrouping plan itself has been done in a most slipshod fashion. As it stands, one centre will have to handle about 45 per cent of the total ton mileage of all the railways, the other five centres handling only 55 per cent between all of them. If we know anything about the crass muddle-headedness of the powers-that-be, then confusion will be worse confounded in the matter of allocation of staff, etc. But what more can be expected of Pandit Nehru's Ministry, now that the last sane influence has been removed by the passing of the Sirdar.

Indians in Ceylon

People in India have noticed with regret the reported discriminatory decision of the Ceylon Government regarding their nationals of Indian origin, which would mean disenfranchising one-tenth of that country's population. Ceylon, we apprehend, seems to be destined to figure as a second South Africa with bitter contempt for Indians. The course which Ceylon is pursuing will in the long run plunge the country into a critical situation, similar to that which confronts the Dominion of South Africa. The political motive behind the Ceylonisation policy is to oust the Indians, who have contributed immensely to the progress and development of the islands from time immemorial.

If this policy of Nationalisation is rigidly adhered to, only about one in 20 of citizens in Ceylon of Indian origin who exercised their vote in the last general elections would be able to participate in the coming elections. It virtually means disenfranchisement of the bulk of those people. This has naturally caused a general resentment in India where no one wishes to tolerate injustice to Indians overseas.

The standpoint of the Ceylon Government has been explained by Mr. C. C. Coomaraswamy, High Commissioner for Ceylon in India in an interview in Calcutta, as follows:

"He emphasized that there was no question of depriving Indian citizens of Ceylon of their just rights. There was absolutely no anti-Indian feeling in that country.

"He said there were about 800,000 Indians in Ceylon. Most of them were labourers in tea and rubber

estates. Before independence there was free movement of people between India and Ceylon, and Indian residents were enrolled as voters automatically.

"After independence however, Ceylon, being a small country, thought it proper that people from outside should not be allowed unrestricted entry. The Ceylon Citizenship Act was passed defining who should be regarded as citizens of Ceylon. A special concession was given to Indians and Pakistanis to enable them, under certain conditions, to register as citizens of Ceylon under the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act. The concession was that Indian or Pakistani bachelors who had resided in Ceylon for ten years, and married people who had resided there for seven years and who had made Ceylon their home, could become citizens of that country by applying for registration.

"A period of two years was given to file applications for registration. This expired last year. Unfortunately, Indians completely boycotted the registration procedure for 14 months, after which there was a rush. As a result there was considerable delay. Altogether about 200,000 Indians applied for registration as citizens. There were not many Pakistanis in Ceylon.

"In the old voters' list there were nearly 200,000 Indians. From the rolls revised in 1950 the names of those who had not been registered as citizens had been removed. Only about 8,000 Indians had been enlisted as voters. During the last election seven Indians were returned to the Legislature because of the numerical superiority of Indians in several constituencies.

"The coming election had been hastened by the death of Mr. Don Senanayake. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, thought that since a new Ministry had been formed there should be no delay in holding a fresh election. But this could be done only on the basis of the 1950 revised rolls.

"In future, Mr. Coomaraswamy said, those Indians who had applied for registration as citizens within the stipulated period and had the requisite qualification, would be included in the electoral roll."

The Ceylon Indian Congress, representing the Indians in Ceylon, as an explanation of their stand stated that their earlier decision to boycott the registration under the Indian-Pakistani Citizenship Act, was in protest against the humiliating and almost impractical conditions which had been laid down. This boycott was from August 1949, when registration first began, to April, 1950, when it was lifted. From April, 1950, to August 5, 1951, the closing date for making such applications, nearly 250,000 applications, covering a total of 750,000 people were made. Up till now only an infinitesimal fraction of applications have been disposed of. All prayers and

representations for the extension of the date of registration beyond August 5, were refused.

The request of the Ceylon Indian Congress to the Prime Minister to enable the disfranchised Indians to exercise their right of voting has been unceremoniously turned down. No better fate was met by the representation of the Indian envoy in Ceylon. Mr. Senanayake is reported to have held on to his ground that legally no other register except the last certified electoral register (1950) could be used for the coming general election and his government is powerless to annul the 1950 electoral register as Parliament is not in session now. Under such circumstances the Ceylon Indian Congress has finally been compelled to launch a *satyagraha* campaign to obtain voting rights for Indian settlers who have decided to become Ceylonese citizens, as they have no other course open to them to assert their rights.

France and Indo-China

French colonialism is making a last ditch stand in Indo-China. Recently the tone of the militarists has changed and their utterances are more in tune with what we used to hear in the days prior to freedom.

The new French High Commissioner and first Resident Minister in Indo-China, M. Letourneau, said on his arrival in Saigon on April 21 that he would wield his full civil and military powers with "renovated methods."

He would "revise the French Services, taking into account the realities of war and the needs of command," and he would "help the structure of the administration find its true form."

"In an hour when France, though aided by generous help from the USA, has reached the limit of her means, austerity is the moral obligation for all individuals," he said. He would impose it by deeds rather than words.

There were, he said, two outstanding facts: (1) The independence of the Associated States within the French Union; and (2) the common war against a common enemy.

There was no doubt of this independence. It was not a question of winning it against France but of needing French help to defend it.

A French Army communique claimed that French Union forces had smashed their way into Indo-Chinese villages after hand-to-hand fighting with Viet Minh troops about 22 miles north-east of Hanoi. So fierce was the Viet Minh resistance that the French had to use artillery and air support.

The Viet Minh forces were elements of the 316th Division encircled last week in the two-day "Operation Polo" carried out by the French.

France has lost more officers each year in the Indo-China conflict than graduated from her Military

Academy according to M. Monnet, Chief Economic Planner of the French Government, now in New York.

"I cannot overemphasise the drain which this war imposes on France, a drain both in material goods and of even more precious human resources," M. Monnet told the 50th anniversary luncheon of the Federation of French Alliances in the United States and Canada.

Spain and Moroccan Independence

In contrast with France in Tunisia, Spain is pursuing a new line, more in keeping with what is known as democracy, be whatever the reason. We find the following statement in the *Worldover Press* bulletin of March 7:

"Further details are now available concerning Franco Spain's encouragement of Moroccan nationalists (first revealed by *Worldover Press* last November 30).

"According to two recent articles in *l'Observateur*, influential weekly of the French non-Communist left, the Madrid dictatorship has already made substantial concessions to nationalist feeling in the Spanish zone of Morocco and is hinting at autonomy. Naturally enough, the Arabs have adopted a "wait and see" attitude, but the difference between Franco's actions and those of "democratic" France is making a big impression.

"The story began last fall when General Garcia Valino, new high commissioner, arrived in the Spanish zone promising reforms. Shortly afterward (December 13), a conference between Valino and General Guillaume, "resident general" of the French zone, crystallized the difference between the French and Spanish policies. Whereas Guillaume wanted better coordination between the two governments, Valino insisted that Spain felt force was "useless" against the nationalists.

"On January 10, Valino invited Abdel Khalak Torres, chief of Spanish Morocco's nationalists, to discuss the situation. Their cordial interview resulted in the abrogation of emergency measures decreed by the previous High Commissioner, the legalisation of the reformist nationalist party, and authorisation to publish nationalist newspapers and to hold meetings.

"Toward the end of the month, the Caliph of Tetouan, who represents the Sultan of Morocco in the Spanish zone, joined Franco on a hunting party in Andalusia. Others present included Valino; Spanish Foreign Minister Artajo and members of the nationalist parties. Franco confirmed the reforms which had already been initiated, but added coyly that Spain alone could not modify the status of the Arab state, and suggested that the nationalists address their demands to the French.

"No one, of course, imagines that Generalissimo Franco has moved toward this new collaboration out of sheer love for democratic principles, and this last action shows clearly that one of his main purposes is

to usher the French out of North Africa. (A highly placed Spanish government official had already admitted as much to a *Worldover Press* correspondent). Another, but less important, consideration is the heavy cost of the colonial administration—about one billion pesetas every year.

"(The important French farm paper, *Moniteur du Progres Agricole*, declares that Spain wants to kill French Morocco's markets for citrus fruits by under-selling in England and Germany. It cites figures to show that Germany is buying more from Spain and less from French Morocco.—Editors, *Worldover Press*.)

"For its part, *l'Observateur* suspects American pressure behind Spain's move. It points out that among those present at the hunting party was General Gonzales Gallarza, Franco's air minister, whose visit to Washington a year ago touched off the secret negotiations for bases. Some of these bases, particularly air bases, could well be located in Spanish Morocco, and if Franco granted some autonomy to the region, it could be helped with Point Four Funds as well, *l'Observateur* believes. Certain people, says the journal, are even thinking of setting up an American university at Tetouan similar to the one at Beirut."

The Indo-Pakistan Islam League

Newspapers have told us that the plans of Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zamman have miscarried. But there were other stalwarts in the field. One of these is Inayatulla Khan, better known as Allama Mashruqi, "wise man of the East," a combination of the scholar and the crescentador, a man determined to reconquer the earth for the Crescent. During the British regime, he had the *belcha* (the spade) for a symbol of labour which was quite frequently used as a weapon to strike the enemy down. The *Press Trust of India* sent out from Lahore on April 15 last the following news which we reproduce for certain interesting details of the Allama's plans:

"Allama Mashruqi, the former Khaksar leader, told the court here on 14th April that one of the objectives of the Indo-Pakistan Islam League—which he founded—was to secure for Pakistan lawfully and constitutionally such Indian territory as was culturally Muslim.

He made the statement in the course of the examination-in-chief in the High Court by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardi, when he was produced in connection with the hearing of his habeas corpus petition, before the Chief Justice Mr. Mohammed Munir.

In his affidavit, Allama Mashruqi alleged that he was arrested a short time before the general elections in Punjab (Pakistan) with a view to preventing him from contesting the elections against the Muslim League.

Mr. Suhrawardi: Was there any feature of the

Islam League to which the Pakistan Government took objection on the ground that it may be objected to by India?

Allama Mashruqi: I do not consider the protection of Indian Muslims which is one of the objects of the Islam League as an objectionable thing.

Mr. Suhrawardy: Were you ever asked by Government to desist from sending literature to Muslims in India about your plans to conquer Indian territory?

Allama Mashruqi: No such thing was asked by the Government. It is ridiculous to suppose that I had a plan to conquer India.

The Allama said that the Islam League was a constitutional organisation and not military or militant in nature.

Mr. Suhrawardy: Have you a private army?

Allama Mashruqi: No. I have been discouraging the idea. There is no need for a private army since there is an Islamic Government.

Mr. Suhrawardy: Have you ever disobeyed the orders of Government?

Allama Mashruqi: Absolutely not. I always respected Government orders.

Chief Justice: What was your plan to conquer more territory from India for Pakistan?

Allama Mashruqi: I wanted to achieve that by creating world opinion in favour of our demand. It could be done by telling them that Pakistan given to the Muslims was insufficient for their population.

Chief Justice: What was the cause of your arrest?

Allama Mashruqi: The cause of my arrest was that I was an obstacle in the way of their (Muslim League's) success in the elections.

Mr. Abdul Aziz Khan, Advocate-General, in the course of his cross-examination, produced a pamphlet issued by the Islam League in connection with the conference to be held at Karachi.

Advocate-General: Was it intended that a body of 10,000 Razakars armed with fire-arms, bows, arrows, sticks, axes and belchas should attend the conference to make it successful?

Allama Mashruqi: Yes. I know it was intended and the Islam League had made an announcement in this connection.

Advocate-General: Is the code of the Razakars and the Islam League the same as that of the Khaksars?

Allama Mashruqi: No.

Advocate-General: Did you intend to raise an army of your own?

Allama Mashruqi: If I had wished that, I would have continued the Khaksar organisation.

Advocate-General: Are you aware that during September 1950 there was a ban on carrying of arms and on military parades within the limits of the Lahore Corporation?

Allama Mashruqi: I am not aware of it.

Advocate-General: Is it a fact that the Islam League held public meetings during the months of October, November and December, 1950, when the Razakars defied the ban on carrying of arms?

Allama Mashruqi: No ban was defied. At least, not to my knowledge.

After the cross-examination of Allama Mashruqi, Mr. Ghiasuddin Ahmed, Home Secretary of the Pakistan Punjab Government, was examined as a witness.

In reply to a question from the Advocate-General, Mr. Ghiasuddin Ahmed said that the order extending the detention of Mashruqi was issued under the direction of the Pakistan Punjab Government.

He added that the order was issued to prevent him (Mashruqi) from resorting to activities in which he was engaged before his detention. Mr. Ahmed replied in the negative when the Chief Justice asked him whether the object of the Punjab Government order extending Mashruqi's detention was passed with a view to prevent him from fighting the elections in the Punjab.

Advocate-General: Was he arrested for his anti-Indian activities?

Ghiasuddin Ahmed: No. Nor was his arrest ordered because of his activities regarding Muslims in India.

It seems that in comparison to the Allama, Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman is a mere visionary.

Britain, Egypt and Sudan

"Almost completely forgetful of Sir Lee Stack, Britain has included in her demands the practical abolition of Condominium in Sudan and the British control of the Nile which is the jugular vein of Egypt. And yet it was Egyptian and not British gold that had been poured into Sudan ever since it had been conquered by Egypt under Mohamed Ali Pasha—two generations before the British occupied Egypt. It was then lost by British Commanders such as Hicks Pasha, Lupton Bey, General Baker, and Gordon himself, whose death was due to the vacillation of the British Government and the delay in her sending a relief expedition under Wolseley. Indeed, if the Egyptians had withdrawn from the Sudan their force, which numbered as many as 40,000 troops at the time that the Egyptian army of the Delta was dispersed at Tell-el-Kabir, and abandoning the Sudan to its fate, had rather fought the British with the help of that army, the British would in all probability have never secured a footing in Egypt, and the whole of its history would have been written differently. As it was, having lost the Sudan to the Mahdi after their victory at Tell-el-Kabir, it was up to the British to recover it with the exclusive help of their own men and entirely by the expenditure of their own money. But this is

never the British way. What we find throughout the early years of the British Occupation is that admittedly "the immense responsibilities involved were most imperfectly understood by the British Government." It is always: "We cannot lend English or Indian troops: if consulted, recommend abandonment of Sudan within certain limits" (Lord Granville to Sir B. Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer); or: "Her Majesty's Government can do nothing in the matter which would throw upon them the responsibilities for operations in the Sudan"; or, again: "Her Majesty's Government recommend to the Ministers of the Khedive to come to an early decision to abandon all territory south of Assuan, or, at least, Wadi Halfa." For a dozen years no impression was made on the Khalifa who ruled over the Sudan after the Mahdi. But when Lord Salisbury, encouraged by an improvement in the condition of Egyptian finances and of the Egyptian army, decided to make an attempt "to recover gradually the Sudan provinces abandoned by Egypt in 1885 on the advice of Mr. Gladstone's Government," it was almost entirely at the cost of Egypt, and mainly with the help of the Egyptian forces that Sirdar Kitchener conducted his operations. In the period from March 1895 to December 1898 the expenditure incurred on these operations amounted to a sum of two and a half million sterling. But towards this expense the British gave a grant-in-aid of £800,000 only. The balance of the expenditure was borne by the Egyptian treasury. And after that year the deficits of the Sudan budget were paid by Egypt alone until it finally resolved that the Sudan budget should balance itself. And yet the Sudan Government was a Condominium! After this can it be said that it is not in the fitness of things that in the Sudan Britain should act as "the predominant party in its control," when the Sudan was a paying concern, and with the Upper Nile dammed and controlled, it can equal, if not surpass, Egypt in the extent and quality of its cotton?

By all that is solemn and holy Egypt should never have been subjected to the indignity and injury of having the Army of Occupation billeted upon her. We quote below just a few of the pledges given by British Ministers to Egypt, and we defy any one to say that anything less than the demands of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul, embodied in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's despatch to 7th October last to Lord Allenby, is compatible with them.

"I, Admiral commanding the British Fleet, think it opportune to confirm without delay once more to Your Highness that the Government of Great Britain has no intention of making the conquest of Egypt, nor injuring in any way the religion and liberties of the Egyptians. It has for its sole object to protect Your Highness and the Egyptian people against

rebels." (Sir Beauchamp Seymour to Khedive Tewfik, Alexandria, July 26, 1882, published in the Official Journal of June 28).

"I can go so far as to answer the honourable gentleman when he asks me whether we contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt. Undoubtedly, of all things in the world that is a thing which we are not going to do. It would be absolutely at variance with all the principles and views of His Majesty's Government and pledges they have given to Europe and with the views, I may say, of Europe itself." (The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons, August 10, 1882).

"You should intimate to the Egyptian Government that it is the desire of His Majesty's Government to withdraw the troops from Egypt as soon as circumstances permit, that such withdrawal will probably be effected from time to time as the security of the country will allow it, and that His Majesty's Government hope that the time will be very short during which the full number of the present force will be maintained."—Lord Granville, December 29, 1882, Egypt, No. 2 (1883), p. 33.

"Had I been commissioned to place affairs in Egypt on the footing of an Indian subject State, the outlook would have been different. The masterful hand of a Resident would have quickly bent everything to his will, and in the space of five years we should have greatly added to the material wealth and well-being of the country by the extension of its cultivated area and the consequent expansion of its revenue; by the partial if not, total abolition of the Corvee and slavery; the establishment of justice and other beneficent reforms. But the Egyptians would have justly considered these advantages as dearly purchased at the expense of their independence. Moreover, H. M.'s Government have pronounced against such an alternative."—Lord Dufferin's despatch, February 6, 1883; Egypt No. 6 (1883) p. 63.

The above was reproduced in the *Comrade*, Maulana Mohammed Ali's paper, from either the *London Spectator* or the *Nation and New Statesman*. It gives away the story that it was British money and the British sword that had enabled "Sardar" Kitchener to reconquer the Sudan. In the present context, this 30-year old extract has a value of its own.

In an article (October-December, 1951) published in the *India Quarterly*, organ of the India Council of World Affairs, Dr. Rashid El-Barawy gives certain facts which should be known. The population of Sudan at present is 7,54,70,000, five millions of which are Arab-speaking and Islam-professing. They inhabit the central and northern parts of the country. "There are eight administrative units (provinces) in the whole country, three of which are in the southern part, viz: the provinces of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr El-

Gharal. The southerners are pagans and speak a variety of languages."

"In 1898, the new virtual masters (the British) of Egypt found it expedient to reconquer the Sudan. The campaign was successful and a convention was signed on 10th January, 1899 between the British and Egyptian Governments establishing the Condominium which has persisted ever since. The following are quotations from the afore-mentioned convention.

... whereas it is desired to give effect to the claims which have accrued to her Britannic Majesty's Government, by right of conquest, to share in the present administration and future working and development of the said system of administration and legislation

Art. II.—The British and Egyptian flags shall be used together (with the exception of the town of Suakin).

Art. III.—The supreme military and civil command in the Sudan shall be vested in one officer termed the 'Governor-General of the Sudan.' He shall be appointed by a Khedivial Decree on the recommendation of her Britannic Majesty's Government and shall be removed only by Khedivial Decree, with the consent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

Art. IV.—Laws, as also Orders and Regulations with the full force of law, for the good government of the Sudan, . . . may from time to time be made, altered, or abrogated by Proclamation of the Governor-General.

Art. V.—No Egyptian Law, Decree, Ministerial Arrete, or other enactment hereafter to be made or promulgated shall apply to the Sudan, or any part thereof, save in so far as the same shall be applied by Proclamation of the Governor-General in the manner hereinbefore provided.

With the signing of the Convention of 1899 real authority was concentrated in the hands of the British Governor-General, provincial Governors, and other civil and military officers. The role of the Egyptians in the administration as well as in framing the policy to be adopted in the Sudan rapidly dwindled. In 1914 when the British Protectorate was proclaimed over Egypt, the Sudan, to all practical purposes, turned into a *de facto*, if not *de jure*, British colony.

Expert and efficient administrators, the British improved the standard of living of the Sudanese, established highly beneficial health centres and opened primary schools in the main towns.

The Egyptians, however, question the legal validity of the Convention of 1899, which established the Condominium. By the Ottoman *Firmans* the Khedives of Egypt were not to give away or share with any foreign Power any territory belonging to the Ottoman Empire. As the Sudan was a part of that Empire,

Khedive Tewfik acted illegally when he signed the Convention.

Again, critics of the document objected to the principles and wording too. The Sudan was not 'reconquered' but it was merely restored to the lawful authority which had been temporarily suspended by the Mahdist rebellion. Britain, too, has no right to a share in the administration. Whereas Egypt's military and civilian losses during the insurrection totalled 270,701 men, the campaigns of 1898-99 cost England only 1,400 men. Since that time the works of rehabilitation and reconstruction have cost Egypt the enormous sum of one hundred and fifty million pounds.*

These legal arguments apart, human nature in Egypt acted as did it in India. A "Graduates Congress" was held, and as a result of discussions with other parties, it presented a memorandum dated September, 1945, asking for:

"1. The establishment of a free democratic Sudanese Government in union with Egypt and in alliance with Great Britain.

2. The appointment of a joint commission, half of its members representing the Condominium and the other half representing the enlightened class among the Sudanese and to be appointed by the Congress. The purpose of the commission was to draft a scheme whereby the management of affairs was to be transferred to the hands of the Sudanese in the shortest time possible.

3. The freedom of the press, public meetings and associations, travel and trading, within these public laws which conform to true democratic principles.

4. The amendment of those laws which restrict these freedoms."

The various parties in Sudan represent the right, centre and left of the people. They are:

"The Unionist Party: At a general meeting in 1944, the Unionists' policy was formulated as aiming at the establishment of a free and democratic Sudanese Government. As regards the relationship with Egypt they approve of the dominion status in which 'different States enjoy equal rights and sovereignty.' They also aim at the termination of the Condominium by peaceful means. A free Sudanese Government can be free to enter into agreements or sign any treaties with any nation. The Unionists represent in the main the educated section of public opinion.

The *Ashigga* (Blood Brothers) Party: This is, by far, the most influential political organization in the country, and it claims the representation of about 88 per cent of the Sudanese population. The party demands the establishment of a democratic Sudanese Government in union with Egypt under the Egyptian Crown. The Sudanese would enjoy equal rights with

*Egypt-Sudan, Collection of Documents (Published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cairo, 1947).

the Egyptians in Egypt and would incorporate their armed forces with those of Egypt.

The *Unity of the Nile Valley Party*: This party came into existence in 1946 and it stands for complete unity of the Nile Valley, i.e., the creation of a unified State in which Sudanese and Egyptians enjoy equal rights and obligations. This unity may be achieved by all means, peaceful or otherwise.

The *Liberal Unionists*: This appeared as an offshoot of the main Unionists' Party. It aims at the achievement of freedom of the Sudan within the unity with Egypt. Though pro-Egyptian and Unionists, their teachings, however, are somewhat vague.

The above-mentioned parties represent the policy of union (or unity in the case of the U.N.V.P.) with Egypt. They believe that such union derives from common racial, religious and linguistic ties, and it also satisfies the common interests of the Sudanese and Egyptians alike. As an estimate of the influence and strength of those parties standing for union with Egypt, the elections for the first Legislative Assembly provide ample proof. The parties appealed to the people to boycott the elections, and the campaign was successful."

Since then, the return of Winston Churchill to power as head of the Conservative Party, has not improved matters. This Party is at their old game, and do not appear to realize that the days of Britain as dictator and fashioner of conduct in politics are gone. But none so blind as those who would not see.

Indian Emigration to Borneo

Doctor Chandrasekhar, U. N. expert on Emigration and Immigration problem, has written an article on the above subject on the 23rd last in the *Madras Hindu*:

"The Government of India recently announced that the Government of British North Borneo has requested them to permit 10,000 Indians with their families, preferably from South India, to emigrate to British Borneo for permanent settlement. The Borneo Government is understood to have offered the immigrants attractive terms which will give them complete equality of status with all other British citizens in that colony. The Borneo Government also consented to provide land for the settlers to raise rice and other tropical and sub-tropical crops. In addition, other avenues of employment, such as Government service will be open to our settlers. . . .

Borneo presents excellent opportunities for Indian emigration. Including the North British territory it is the largest among the islands of the Indonesian Archipelago and the fifth largest island in the world. It occupies an area of 293,496 square miles and is comparable to the combined area of Madras, Bombay, Mysore and Orissa States or almost as big as England

and France put together. The island enjoys a warm and equable climate, the temperature ranging between 72 and 93 degrees—roughly comparable to Madras and Bangalore. With a torrential rainfall of an average of 160 inches per year and about forty well-watered rivers, Borneo has enough water for irrigation purposes. These rivers, particularly the Baritos and the Kapuas, not unlike the Cauvery, bring down a lot of silt which goes to make up the fertile coastal alluvial plains. . . .

No census has ever been taken of the population of Borneo but estimates put the figure at less than three millions, of whom 600,000 live in British controlled North Borneo. Apart from a handful of Europeans, there are small groups of Chinese, Arabs and Malaysians. The largest population group is composed of the aboriginal inhabitants, the Dyaks. There has long been a slight Indian element in the population—their number in 1948 was estimated at 1,300. Already a small nucleus of an Indian settlement is there which could be of some help to the new Indian immigrants.

The island is comparatively rich in mineral resources and yields bituminous coal, gold, copper, tin, nickel and oil. The exact yields of the minerals are not available, but it seems possible that they could support several large-scale industries. The population of two and a half millions in an area of some 290,000 square miles yields a crude density of about 8.5 persons per square mile. It is obvious that the area can support many times its present population if all the available tillable land is brought under the plough. The problem is one of inadequate agricultural labour—an agrarian Asian population that would settle down and work the land. As Lord Milverton pointed out recently: 'The great and final problem for all British Borneo is labour.' They need agricultural labour to help populate and develop the empty spaces of Borneo. Hence their present request for Indian settlers.

A century of experience of Indian emigration to various parts of the world has taught us valuable lessons. Indian settlers have, on the whole, fared well economically in California (U.S.A.), British Columbia (Canada), the Fiji Islands (Pacific), Trinidad (British West Indies) and British and Dutch Guianas in Latin America. There have been certain political and social disabilities but they have been largely overcome with the advent of our political freedom and a gradual understanding of our culture and living patterns on the part of the receiving countries. On the other hand, we have the distressing situation in South Africa, East Africa and other regions of Africa, where intense racism and economic discrimination have reduced the Indian settlers to a very sad plight. There are also countries nearer home, Ceylon and Burma, where newly won political freedom and extreme nationalism have led to discrimination against our countrymen.

A retrospective survey of Indians Overseas reveals that many painful mistakes were made by the sending

and receiving countries and by the settlers themselves largely out of ignorance. To-day, there is no need to repeat those mistakes. If our Government should insist on the fulfilment of certain basic conditions, such as the following, before they permit our nationals to emigrate to Borneo (or for that matter, to any other area in the world) Indian settlers will be able to build up happy communities and do a worthwhile job in the opening up of virgin territories in tropical and sub-tropical regions. In doing so, they will not only help to develop Borneo but will also better themselves economically, apart from contributing a little to the solution of our population problem."

We are in full accord with the views expressed in the last two paragraphs of the quotation.

Goa

The report on Goa published in the *Nagpur Hitavada*, repeats the same story of discrimination. The writer, Duston Rodrigues, with his Portuguese name, has an Indian heart throbbing in response to Indian sentiments and aspirations.

"The Portuguese 'empire' of 1312 square miles is a territorial pinpoint in the subcontinent of the Indian Union. Goa comprises a coastal strip of territory 63 miles in length and about 20 to 25 miles in depth.

What kind of economic resources could be located in this territory even assuming that it is rich in mineral wealth? The Portuguese impose heavy duties on Indian imports because that it is the only substantial source of revenue. But the Goan people are prevented from having the full benefit of Indian trade, production and other advantages of an integrated economy.

Goa has become a terminus of smuggling and black-marketing. Indian goods sent to Goa are traded with the Arabs, who transport them to the Middle Eastern countries. Gold is imported into Goa for smuggling into India. The Government has introduced a licensing system under which the smuggling operations bring large profits to the Portuguese. The Arabs' undeclared gold is sold illegally and cheaper. This too finds its way into India and the smugglers and their agents, flourish on this trade.

Recently the Governor-General of Goa issued import permits for 1,000 kilos of gold valued at Rs. 80 lakhs. This is brought to Goa by the Arab traders in their 'dhows' for two-way carrying and smuggling traffic. The Portuguese Government has permitted the import of bullion on the condition that the merchants should deposit the cost of the gold in the official monopoly bank, the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (National Overseas Bank), which issues currency without gold backing and keeps deposits without paying interest. These deposits must be made in dollars.

The cost of the gold in dollars works out at Rs. 160 lakhs. It must be remembered that good

dollars, earned by the mining industry, have been developed recently in Goa, mainly by Indian enterprise. The Government through its levy retains a percentage of the dollars earned by manganese exports to the dollar areas, including Japan. The Portuguese require foreign exchange to finance imports of essential commodities like cereals for feeding the population. The Portuguese evidently think nothing of gambling away their foreign exchange in profitable speculation, as the bullion operations for re-export are illegal under the Indian law.

The irony of the situation is that the Salazarist Press has been demanding the mining operations should be 'nationalised' and the Indians ousted. As a matter of fact, it is mainly Indian capital, technical skill and even labour to some extent that have brought prosperity to the owners of the mines.

A Japanese purchasing mission recently negotiated a contract with a Goan firm for exports of 500,000 tons of iron ore a year. But it is doubtful whether the deal can be put through successfully for the simple reason that transport facilities in Goa are far from satisfactory. There is also no grading of the ore, and the mining industry has not been organised to handle large orders.

Many nationalist Goans have expressed their concern over the uncontrolled draining of Goan resources through exports of this type. There are also strategic considerations from the Indian viewpoint. Naturally the Portuguese are not worried, they are concerned with grabbing quick profits in a desperate bid to maintain their foothold in Goa.

No comparison could be drawn between the Portuguese individual organisation and Indian. The former are not only primitive but are actually anarchistic. There are no mining laws and regulations or effective inspection. There are no regulations for safety of human life in what is universally regarded as hazardous work.

The Goan people remain dumb because of the Press censorship, police thought-control and terror and other acts of the foreign dictatorship. Our great country is marching towards progress, and Goans are being condemned to a life of stagnation and socio-economic backwardness while their white masters literally live off their sweat."

There are similar plague spots elsewhere under foreign domination. It is about time active measures were set on foot to sterilize them. Perhaps that will happen when we get a truly national government, that will give priority to the interests of the people and rant less about *ahimsa*.

South Africa

Sri Manilal Gandhi undertook a fast which he broke on March 28 last. It was inspired by the Govern-

ment policy of segregating all people who happen to have black, brown and yellow colour of their skin. The Supreme Court of South Africa had held this policy, given shape to in the Separate Representation of Voters Act, as invalid. And the Prime Minister, Dr. Daniel Malan, announced in Parliament on March 21, last that he would propose resolutions which would have the effect of depriving Courts of their right to test the validity of laws passed in the Parliament.

"The Government passed the Act through the two Houses of Parliament separately and by a simple majority. This ignored the provision of the 'Entrenched Clauses' of the South Africa Act (Constitution) that legislation disqualifying voters on grounds of race or colour must be passed by two-thirds majority vote of both Houses sitting together.

"The Government maintained the entrenched clauses could be ignored because the Statute of Westminster has made South African Parliament sovereign.

"It quoted in support of this argument a judgement of the Full Bench of the Appellate Division in 1937 presided over by the then Chief Justice Mr. James Strachan that the Parliament could adopt any procedure it thought fit and the 'procedure of Parliament like everything else is at the mercy of Parliament'."

Parliaments change their spirit and practice with the change of parties. So, a simple majority vote cannot permanently bind the citizens. This is their hope. But the White domination in South Africa, about 300 years old, has not changed, because the White "masters" pretend to believe that their scriptures are in favour of racial and colour discrimination.

India's Food Problem

The *Bombay Chronicle* in its April 18 issue had the following editorial:

"The news that the Central Food Research Institute at Mysore has perfected a process of making synthetic rice leaves us somewhat cold. We live in a synthetic age. Very recently scientists have been forecasting the possibility of building a synthetic moon and now there is a report about the possibility of making Man to order. In the context of these achievements, the mere processing of groundnuts and tapioca mixed in the right proportion into a new product which looks like rice and can be cooked like rice is nothing to shout about. Considering the question even more seriously as a contribution to our food problem it does not seem to us of any greater significance than the invention of a new dish. The basic problem in India is to increase our food resources. Tapioca, which is a food, is being now consumed in one form or another. Lots of delicious dishes are made out of it as it is. So too with groundnuts. No part of the ground-

nut crop now produced is being wasted. Therefore, the production of synthetic rice is not a process of producing wealth from waste, but of the mere conversion of food from one form into another. We need not necessarily object to this, even if it means nothing more than providing a better market for groundnuts and tapioca and useful employment for some people. But a note of caution should be sounded that none of these achievements should distract attention from the basic problem—the problem of increasing the total food output of the country."

On the same date appeared a news sent out from Kabul on April 16 that Afghanistan will be able to export wheat to India and other countries as a result of successful tapping of its water resources. One of the 115 American experts engaged in South-West Afghanistan gave this information to a *P. T. I.* correspondent.

"The projects are: The Arghandab Dam, the Kajakai Dam and the Boghra Irrigation Project.

The Arghandab Dam is in the final stage of completion and water is being stored behind the huge earth-filled structure which is about 50 metres high and has a storage capacity of nearly one and a half million acre feet of water. A power house is provided in the plan for generating 85,000 kilowatt of current.

Plans are under way to expand dairy farming and animal husbandry. Afghanistan, already self-sufficient in wheat (except in drought years), should soon have a considerable surplus.

The Kajakai Dam on the Helmand River, about 100 miles west of Kandahar has been under construction for the past 18 months and is expected to be completed early in 1953. This giant earth-filled storage dam would be about 100 metres high and would have a reservoir capacity of three and a half million acre feet. This would provide enough water to irrigate five hundred thousand acres of land in the Helmand valley. It would develop a hydro-electric project capable of generating 120,000 kilowatt of energy for industries that might be established in that area.

The Boghra Irrigation Project, located near the town of Girishik, is a project comprising approximately 90,000 acres of arid land and 60,000 acres of previously irrigated lands."

Our innumerable major and minor projects in this line have shown results. But these do not keep pace with our ever-growing demands.

Famine

This dread word has begun to appear in the press, and in private talks. Madras, Uttar Pradesh areas, West Bengal's 24-Parganas are reported to be in its grip.

Famine is almost an endemic phenomenon in India, China and other Asian countries. The old arrangements for irrigation have broken down. But there are hopeful

signs of attaining a balance between food and population. The Indian Government's plans, and help from outside raise or revive these hopes. The Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation of the United States, the Nuffield Foundation of Great Britain have come forward to help. As the following news shows:

"The trustees of the Ford Foundation have approved a grant of 18,73,485 dollars to the Government of India to cover the current expenses of organising and operating 25 additional centres for training staff required for carrying on the work in the projected Indo-American community development programme, the Foundation announced.

"The Foundation grant will cover the entire recurring non-capital cost of these centres for the first two years, half the third year and one-third the third year and the fourth year. The Government of India will share in the cost of operating these training centres in the third and fourth years and will assume full financial responsibility for them from the fifth year. The capital cost required to establish these training facilities will be met from the Indo-American fund.

"This is the second major grant from the Ford Foundation to aid the Government of India in its 'grow more food' drive. The first 1,000,000 dollars to assist in organising 15 village development projects and setting up five training centres was announced in December 1951."

Indian Communism at Work

This variety of politico-economic theory has become synonymous with opportunism, and an eagerness to exploit conditions of scarcity for its own purposes. In their election manifesto, the Indian Communists put particular emphasis on the partition of India as a crime for which Congress leaders were sought to be held up to contempt. But public memory is not as short as that, and most of us remember the crusader's zeal with which our Communists had espoused the cause of Pakistan in the name of "self-determination." The same opportunism characterizes their food tactics. They are for State control of food crops as a basic policy of theirs; at the same time they excite peasants to resist such requisition as has been done at Telengana, Rayalseema, Diamond Harbour and Midnapore. In the 27th April issue of their Bengali-language daily—*Swadhinata*—they make a great feature of Dhaneshkhali heading towards the conditions at Rayalseema; it seemed that the writer gloated over the worsening food situation in the 24-Parganas District, the sub-metropolitan district of West Bengal. These tactics may mislead for a while some people, but most of us come to realize, sooner than anticipated, that these are demagogues who can only work for disruption.

Acharya Vinoba's discourse on "Equality and

Communism" as quoted in the *Harijan* of April 19, is very illuminating in the above context. He said:

"*Samya-yoga* (practice of equality) takes its stand on the inner unity of man. It recognizes the great principle that all life is one. And on the foundation of that spiritual unity, it seeks to build an equitable order in which everything will have its right place. The creation of the Lord is full of the manifold splendour of diversity. In any order which we may create for the welfare of man, we cannot and need not destroy this diversity. *Samya-yoga* is opposed to inequalities; it is not opposed to right discrimination. A mother loves all her children equally; nevertheless, she feeds her weaker darling on milk, which she may not give to others. This is an instance of wise discrimination. The cow lives on fodder and man on grain. A *Samya-yogi* (practitioner of equality) cannot ignore this difference, and will therefore discriminate between the two in feeding them. And because *Samya-yoga* makes use of the light of discrimination, it provides scope for development to every individual. *Samya-yoga* bases itself on inner unity and armed with discrimination it seeks to build on that secure foundation a justly balanced order. *Samya-vada* (communism) on the other hand, is blissfully ignorant of the Spirit, which it denies. And because Spirit alone can base the equality we want to create, communism is an institution with no base. It seeks to impose equality from without, an equality which is wholly artificial. It does not provide scope for the development of the personality of every individual. And because it aims at an artificial equality imposed from without, it is led to employ violent means. Thus the two orders, though both seek equality are as apart from each other, as heaven and earth."

Sarvodaya Sammelan

The three-day Sarvodaya Sammelan concluded its sittings on April 15 last. It held its session at Sevapuri, 20 miles distant from Banaras. And it is reported to have pledged itself to collect donations of 25 lakhs acres of land all over India within the next two years for Acharya Vinoba's "Bhoodan Yagna."

The conference was attended by over 2,000 constructive workers, including a large number of women. It devoted most of the time to discussing questions relating to the "Bhoodana Yagna" movement.

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, Chief Minister of U. P., addressing the concluding session this evening, expressed his gratefulness to Acharya Vinoba Bhave for creating a wave of moral consciousness among the people by launching his "Bhoodan Yagna" in this State.

Shree Hare Krushna Mahatab, Minister for Commerce and Industries, also addressed the conference saying that it was not possible for any Government

to carry out any social reform only by legislation, unless a proper atmosphere was created by popular opinion.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, General Secretary of the Congress, said that Shree Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President and himself were keenly interested in the success of "Bhoodan Yagna."

We expect the best of results from this movement. It revives the hopes that Gandhiji had roused. And it is Acharya Vinoba Bhave alone who appears to represent the Gandhi technique in this unbelieving age when even Gandhiji's great followers have succumbed to temptation and departed from his teachings.

The Basis of Socialism

In connection with the *Bhoodan-Yajna*, the following remarks of Acharya Vinoba are extremely illuminating. They are taken from the *Harijan* of April 19:

"Dr. Lohia says that *Bhoodan-yajna* will take 300 years to achieve its object. I had calculated that at the present pace it will take 500 years, if I had to do it alone. When Dr. Lohia says that it will take 300 years, I take it that he is going to help me fully in my mission, and reduce the period by 200 years at least. We must have faith in human goodness. That is the basis of service.

"Socialism is based on the postulate that the society is essentially good. If you believe in the essential goodness of society, you must agree to what I say. It is like the *kalp-vriksha*, the heavenly tree which fulfils all desires.

"It has been alleged by the Socialists that I do not want legislation. The allegation is misconceived. I do want legislation but preparatory to that, I first want to create the right atmosphere without which legislation cannot bear fruit.

"I do not deny that one can serve his people even through the power of office. I have often said so, but I add that power, as a means of revolutionary service, is useless. I therefore want all of them, those who have won the elections as also those who have lost them, to take to service. Both of them accept the view that they cannot win power without service, and that they cannot serve without power. But the latter half of this belief is a dangerous delusion. They begin by saying: power for service, go on to—service for power, and eventually end by installing 'power' as the chief deity on the altar of worship, though they continue to pay lip homage to service. They have to do this because, unfortunately for them, without service they cannot ascend to power. Thus real disinterested service becomes impossible and parties tend to accuse one another of greed for power and cease to co-operate even for those things on which there is common agreement. I therefore appeal to you to take to service without any thought of power.

"The poor are looking expectantly to us for help. They are looking to all parties. I therefore invite you all to come and help me so that what I would be able to achieve in 500 years, if I had to work alone, and in 300 years with the co-operation of Dr. Lohia, and in 100 years with help of the Congress, may be accomplished in the short span of five years with joint efforts of us all."

This patient and dignified statement of Acharya Vinoba throws in full contrast the light-headed impatience of the much younger man. When will Dr. Lohia realize the terrible damage he is doing to his party through his indiscreet remarks?

Maktaba Jamia

On more than one occasion we had an opportunity to call attention to the great work being done by this institution. The Jamia Nagar neighbourhood is a centre of that composite culture that Akbar strove to build up. The head of the institution was till the other day Prof. Zakir Hussain, Gandhiji's fellow-worker in giving shape to Basic Education. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that we make room for the following. Shree Justin Mahendra Sharma writing on behalf of the Managing Director for the Book Club says:

"Maktaba Jamia Ltd. is the publication branch of the Jamia Millia Islamia which must be well-known to you as a national university founded by Mahatma Gandhi, M. Mohammad Ali, H. Ajmal Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad; and nurtured by Dr. Zakir Hussain.

"The Maktaba has so far published about 800 books in Urdu and Hindi. During the upheaval of 1947 almost all our stocks were destroyed, and we had to start all over again.

"Now we have before us a scheme to translate some of the best novels, short-stories and plays from various foreign and Indian languages into Hindi and Urdu. This year we have so far selected the following books to be translated: 1. *Portrait of Marriage* (P. Buck); 2. *Fathers and Sons* (Turgenev); 3. *Moon is Down* (Steinbeck); 4. *The Moving Force* 5. *Time Plays* (Priestley); 6. *Rebecca* (du Maurier); 7. *Eternal Husband* (Dostoevsky). Besides these books we intend to select one Bengali, one Gujarati, one Malayali and one Tamil book also, and a story from each of these languages.

"To popularise our scheme we have started a Book Club, and for an annual subscription of Rs. 10/- a member is supplied books covering about 1500 pages and worth about Rs. 15/-.

"We should welcome any suggestions from you in this connection which in your opinion would help us in our undertaking."

The only suggestion that we can make is that this club should establish 'correspondent members in all the provinces, and that through them it should

attempt to publish, once or twice a year, a book of New Writings, taken from all the major languages.

Shree Brajendranath Banerji

By awarding the Rabindra Memorial Prize of Rs. 5,000 to Shree Brajendranath Banerji, the West Bengal Government has done the proper thing. The school of history developed by Acharya Jadunath Sarkar is in its third generation. Brajendranath belongs to the second; he has followed the master in his careful devotion to details in original sources, and has brought out evidences of Bengal's recent past. His *Sambad-patre Sekaler Katha* has opened a new vein in historical research.

Peary Lal Banerji

This Bengali lawyer of Allahabad was Advocate-General of Uttar Pradesh. He died on March 22nd last of heart failure. Popularly known as "P.L.," he upheld the traditions of inter-provincial and inter-cultural understanding that prominent Bengalis had built up in India. Their names are too numerous to be mentioned. Peary Lal was an upholder of that tradition. May his soul rest in peace.

Stafford Cripps

The following news from Zurich (Switzerland) dated April 21 announced the death of Stafford Cripps, one of the most consistent of the supporters of the "Welfare State." He was only 63 years:

"His death was announced in a statement issued by Lady Cripps, who was at her husband's bedside until the last. A few minutes after 23 hours, Stafford Cripps had 'passed away peacefully.'

"For more than two years he had fought courageously for life against constant pain and suffering. The end was a triumph of death over a weak body and never over the great spirit which filled it.

"Sir Stafford Cripps will be remembered in India for the Cripps Mission to India in 1942 and as the Joint Author of the Cabinet Mission plan of 1946. Cripps landed in India in summer of 1942 while the Japanese were still knocking on the doors of India. But the hurried triangular conferences in New Delhi between Cripps and the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow on one hand, the Congress leaders on the other and the Muslim League leaders on the third, broke down.

"The Cabinet Mission of 1946 of which Cripps was a prominent member came to India in a more propitious atmosphere. The mission's final plan was drawn up by Cripps, Lord Alexander and Lord Pethick-Lawrence and formed the basis of transfer of power.

"Born on April 24, 1889, Stafford Cripps was educated at Winchester, the famous English public school. He won a science scholarship to Oxford University but his papers were so exceptional that they were sent to Sir William Ramsay, the great chemist of London University, who called him to work as an experimentalist in the University's laboratory.

"This scientific training was to stand him in good

stead when he was appointed Assistant Superintendent in a Government explosives factory during the 1914-18 war. Soon he abandoned science for law and followed the footsteps of his father, Lord Parmoor. It was his father's transition from conservatism to a vague Christian socialism which started Sir Stafford's own political evolution.

"In 1930, he became Solicitor-General for Ramsay MacDonald's second Labour Government.

"The so-called 'revolutionary' stage of his career followed the fall of this Government in 1931 for, Stafford Cripps then became the champion and later the Chairman of the Socialist League.

"Sir Stafford was knighted in 1930, became the 'bad boy' of the Labour Party. His conflict with Labour Party leaders grew until, in 1939, he was expelled for his continued agitation for a 'popular front' including Communists. He was not readmitted to the Labour Party until 1945.

"When the second World War came, Sir Stafford retired from the bar and put his services at the Government's disposal. His most important job of that period came in April 1940, when Mr. Winston Churchill sent him as special Ambassador to Moscow while the Nazi-Soviet Pact was still strongly in force.

"Afterwards Cripps was successively Lord Privy Seal, with a seat in the War Cabinet and Minister of Aircraft Production. In 1945, Prime Minister Clement Attlee appointed him President of the Board of Trade.

"In 1947, he was made Minister for Economic Affairs with the task of co-ordinating Britain's efforts for recovery and finally became Chancellor of Exchequer on the resignation of Mr. Hugh Dalton. The weight of his burden began to tell upon his health.

"In 1949 and 1950, he went several times to Switzerland for treatment and had to take complete rest. Finally in October 1950 his resignation from Chancellorship was announced and in November Cripps returned to the Zurich clinic where he was put in plaster to rest his back. In January, 1951, he was transferred to Leysin clinic.

"In May, 1951, he retired to the Bircher Benner Clinic where he improved. In September, his doctors stated he was completely cured and the following month he returned to England with Lady Cripps after a year's absence. Cripps went on resting at his country home at Stroud, Gloucestershire, until it was announced early this year that he had flown to Switzerland in an ambulance for a check-up.

"Early this month (April) Lady Cripps said no more bulletins would be issued for some time since in the circumstances they would serve no useful purpose."

His career had been brilliant as Board of Trade President, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. His "austerity" measures have stood the test of time, not even Churchill being able to change or modify these.

HOW CAN WE DEFEND FREE CULTURE?

By Dr. F. S. C. NORTHROP,

Sterling Professor of Philosophy and Law, Yale Law School

In considering this question, it is necessary first to determine what other people think about it. Our nearness to Europe and the historical derivation of so much of our culture from Europe leaves us reasonably well acquainted with the European attitude. But what is the attitude of Asia?

Under the term Asia we shall include not merely the Far East, but also Islam. There are, to be sure, differences between nations in this vast area. For our present purposes a consideration of the identities will be sufficient.

Most Asian nations are recovering from rule by Western powers. The resentment of the West which this has engendered still persists. Asians feel that not merely their European rulers but also the United States have used Asian economic resources to feed the industrial machines of the West without regard for the best interests of Asia. They believe also that in this process Western values, ways and institutions quite foreign often to those of their own indigenous culture were imposed upon them. Western codified law, missionary and educational institutions and the necessity of mastering Western languages are examples.

Moreover, Westerners justified their presence on Asian soil usually in two ways. Either they were protecting Asians from worse rulers or aggressors or they were bringing to Asia a superior culture and "know how." To Asians, these explanations merely added insult to injury; they amounted to the assertion that the native people were inferior both physically and culturally.

This background must be kept in mind if we are to understand our recent failures to win Asian co-operation for the defence of the free world and if we are to learn how to avoid these failures. The failures show in two ways. First, there is the neutral and even negative official reaction of India and many other Asian peoples to the presence of American troops in Korea even when their presence there is an officially ordered police action of the United Nations. Second, there is the same neutrality and even criticism of American efforts exhibited unofficially by Asian scholars at the Pacific Relations Conference at Lucknow in 1950 and at the Conference for Cultural Freedom at Bombay in 1951.

These negative reactions become in part at least understandable when one notes that both the U. N. police action and the scholars' conferences had two emphases. One emphasis was upon the imperialistic,

dictatorial nature of Communism and the necessity of a policy of military containment including the securing of American air force bases throughout Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and Asia in order to protect Asians and ourselves against this Communist threat. The other emphasis was upon the superiority of the American way of life and the contribution of American "know-how," as implemented by what some Senators have termed "a hard-hitting Voice of America and Information Service." The anti-Communist approach of the military police action and the professors' conference tend to impress Asians as illustrating what they term American hysteria with respect to Communism and another instance of the traditional Westerners' practice of having reasons convincing to himself for stationing Western troops on Asian soil. The cultural and economic program with its stress on the American way of life and "know-how" tends similarly to strike Asians as another instance of the Westerners' assumption of cultural superiority.

The crucial question now arises: Can anything be done to correct this situation? If our previous methods of enlisting others in the joint enterprise of protecting the free world have backfired in this manner, what other methods can we pursue which have a chance of succeeding?

It has become popular recently to suggest increased economic aid as the sole answer. That this aid is necessary, the annual famines of India and many other countries make evident. That it is wise to give it, if Communism with its claims of economic well-being is to be countered with something constructive, is obvious. But what guarantee is there that this increased economic aid will not be taken as but another instance of Western economic imperialism and of the Westerners' sense of superiority to be used as an entering wedge for imposing an economic and political imperialism?

If nothing else but the economic aid is provided, there is no such guarantee. In fact, the chances are likely that even if our economic program succeeds, we will accomplish little more than turn over to the Communists a more economically efficient Asia rather than the present, famine-ridden, more poverty-stricken one.

Why such a pessimistic conclusion concerning the effectiveness of intensified economic aid alone? The answer to this question becomes evident if one asks another question: Have the Russian Communists, who

won China and the five per cent of the Indian population who voted Communist in the recent Indian election, been taxing the Russian people in order to pour economic aid into China or India? It is hardly necessary to add that the answer is No. The Russians have drawn man-power and food from China, instead of giving aid. The best that Moscow and Peking have done in India is to promise an occasional 50,000 bushels of wheat or rice which have never arrived. The Communists have achieved their present success in China and South Asia partly by picturing an Asian economic utopia, but mainly by winning the minds and deeds of young Chinese, Indian and other Asians to the Marxist-Communist ideology. Instead of spending countless sums of money to send in military equipment, armies or economic aid and thereby running the risk of suggesting to Asians, as other Westerners have done, that they are imperialists, the Russian Communists have exported ideas. By winning local native Asian leaders to the Communist political and economic philosophy, the Soviet Union has placed itself in the enviable position of sitting comfortably and peacefully at home, not guilty of dispatching its army even under the United Nations into Asian territory, while the native Asian leaders do the Communist fighting for them, always in the name of throwing out the American and other Western "imperialists" now so patently on Asian soil. With the native Asian leaders thus converted to Communism, the Communist Asians finance Asia's program of economic reconstruction themselves. Russian military and economic aid comes in only very sparingly afterward as in North Korea if at all. These considerations make it clear that it will do little good to introduce even prodigious economic aid into non-Communist Asia in the quantity necessary to lift the Asian masses out of their present poverty if, during this process, we allow the Communists to continue their present program of capturing the leadership of the Asian masses with the Marxist-Stalin-Mao ideology.

Consider also the Asians themselves. Are they likely to use the increased economic aid with the care necessary to make it effective if the aforementioned suspicion of our motives continues? The introduction of Western aid, advice and ways into an Asian culture is difficult under the best of circumstances. Our aid to Chiang Kai-shek's regime, which ended up all too often in the hands of the Communists with huge private profits in the pockets of the Generalissimo's friends, is a powerful reminder. How much greater will the likelihood of failure be if the present masses of Asians do not regard us as trustworthy fellow free men?

The crucial question, therefore, must be faced: What is necessary to create the sense of mutual trust without which no joint United Nations' action to deter, or police, aggression and no program of economic aid can be effective? To answer this question it is

necessary to shift our attention from what the Asians think about us to what they think about themselves.

It has been the fashion recently to describe Asians as intensely nationalistic. The spirit of nationalism has set India and the rest of the non-European world aflame, we are told. So far as the Westernized leaders and the many Asian students with a superficial smattering of Western learning are concerned, this is true, or at least this is the way in which most of them like to think of themselves. It is also an effective argument for them to use with Westerners.

But how far down into the Asian masses does this spirit of nationalism descend? Merely to ask this question is to realize that it cannot go very deep. For nationalism, as we understand it, is the creation of the Protestant Reformation and the liberal political thought of the modern West. Above all this the masses of Asians know next to nothing.

In a recent article in the magazine section of *The New York Times*, Philip Toynbee, writing from Iran in the midst of the oil dispute, noted that one completely misunderstands what is happening there if one regards it as the rise of nationalism in the Westerners' meaning of this word. Instead, he noted, one must look to the indigenous Islamic culture for an understanding of what current events mean to the masses. They are aware of the departure or decline of Western imperialism. To them this means not the arrival of modern Western liberal democratic nationalism, but the departure of barbarism and the resurgence of Islamic civilization.

Let us shift the scene from Teheran to Peking. The occasion is the arrival of President Mao's Communist armies as they take over North China. A British anthropologist who was present informs me that the marching Communist troops were watched by fascinated crowds of tens upon tens of thousands of Chinese. Their fascination arose from the fact that the Communist troops were singing old Chinese folk-songs. Thereby, the Communists were giving the Chinese the feeling that in rejecting Chiang Kai-shek, with his American political associations and forms, they were throwing off something that was foreign and artificial and returning to their own selves and the vital rebirth of their own indigenous cultural traditions. In similar fashion throughout the Islamic world from North Africa, through the Middle East, Pakistan, Indonesia to the Philippines and throughout the Buddhist, Hindu and Confucian world of Indo-China, Siam, Ceylon, Burma, and India, the Communists have kept alive the native Asians' image of America, Britain, France and Holland as imperialists and through native leaders have identified themselves with the resurgence of the indigenous cultural traditions. Only a few days ago *The New York Times* carried a dispatch from Karachi, Pakistan, dated March 20, 1952, reporting that Burmese Buddhists on the border of East Pakistan "have turned Communist"

HOW CAN WE DEFEND FREE CULTURE?

359

and attacked Burmese Muslims driving them over the border into East Pakistan. So great is the appeal of the native culture, even when allied with Communism, upon the rank and file, that when the Burmese government sent its army to put down the disturbance, "instead of fighting the Buddhists the army troops sold their guns to them and walked off back home." Truly, it is not nationalism but the resurgence of indigenous culturalism that is sweeping the world.

The secret of the Communists' success is that the Russians are aware of this development and have allied themselves with it everywhere. The key to our aforementioned failure is that we are still operating within, and from, the standpoint of the provincialism of a Westerners' world. The Communists have been winning leaders in Asia and influencing the masses in the Islamic world every day because they have given them the impression that Communism is on the side of the revival of the indigenous culture. We, conversely, have been losing all too often because our approach has been that merely of attacking Communism or of suggesting that co-operation with us entails recognizing the superiority of our particular way of life. These approaches have little appeal in Asia since the masses of Asians know neither what Communism is nor what our way of life means. But an appeal to their folk-songs, symbols, sagas, values and century-old ways of life, these things, the masses of Asians do understand. Moreover, as Gandhi demonstrated for India and Iqbal and Jinnah showed for Pakistan, to such an appeal they respond by the hundreds upon hundreds of millions.

We know, to be sure, that the final aim of the Communists is the complete antithesis of the preservation of the native culture. No Western ideology or way of life is so completely antithetical to Asian values, traditions and habits as is Communism. This makes their approach all the more significant for our problem.

Suppose that we identified ourselves with this resurgence of Islam and of Confucian, Taoist, Hindu and Buddhist Asia, not hypocritically and merely in the initial stage of contact as do the Communists, but sincerely and always as a matter of permanent principle. Suppose that we not merely urge the Asians to preserve their particular cultural values and traditions for mankind but emphasize in addition that we value and prize them. Suppose also that we point out the danger to them of copying our ways or those of any one else. And let no one make any mistake on this point. The danger of importing ways from the Western world, whether they be American or Russian, is real. The danger is that the Asians become alienated from their own culture, thereby ceasing to be themselves while at the same time not becoming thoroughly grounded in the scientific, philosophical, religious and other cultural roots of the West necessary to under-

stand it and apply it effectively. The result then is a falling between two stools. The people become so superficially Eastern and so superficially Western that they are nothing.

To put the matter even more concretely, suppose that there came from the official statesmen of the United States' official pronouncements backing the revival of Islam, of Hindu, Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian Asia coupled with the affirmation of the wisdom of the Asian peoples building their political institutions in the light of their own revitalized cultural traditions and values.

Consider what would happen were this done. Instantly the Asians' image of us as a people continuously suggesting the inferiority of his particular culture would be broken. Broken also would be their conception of us as a people putting forward reasons convincing from our cultural standpoint for placing our troops on Asian soil. In short, would we not have the solution of our problem? Is not the key to the protecting of the free world the revival of Asian, Continental European, African and Latin American values, not the attack upon Communism or the high-pressure selling of our own values?

Such a resurgence can do more than set the masses of Asians aflame. Were the Chinese today to recall their own great Confucian culture, they would become acutely aware of its basic doctrine of filial piety. The incompatibility of this with Communism, which replaces not merely family loyalty but every phase of one's personal life with a 19th Century made-in-Germany Marxist loyalty to the nation dictated by Mao and spelled out by Lenin and Stalin, would be too patent to need anyone else's commentary. Similarly the more the other Asian people return to their own Hindu, Buddhist or Islamic roots, the more they become aware of the inescapably religious core of their life and institutions. Once this occurs they themselves will know and decide what to do with materialistic, atheistic Communism.

Consider also the likely change in the Asians' attitude toward us. Initially this policy upon our part will give us little advantage relative to the Communists since we will be doing later what they initiated. But very soon the merely short-term character of the Communists' identification with native values will become evident as their longer term aim of completely replacing Asian ways with Marxist Western ones begins to take its toll of one thing after another that the Confucian, the Taoist, the Buddhist, the Hindu and the Muslim cherishes. Then our permanent policy of backing indigenous values as a matter of principle and practice will begin to tell.

At this point may not our Asian good neighbors respond as follows:

"A free America which is big enough to respect my civilization and its values in this way is worthy of my hearty respect. For the protection of this

way of looking at freedom we can be comrades. From such a United States I can accept temporarily economic aid and some of the Western technological, political and philosophical ways and beliefs necessary to make it effective, while at the same time preserving my self-respect. And should we both find it together to be necessary I can even permit the presence of his troops beside mine off our sacred Asian soil without any fear of the loss of our cherished spiritual and cultural values or of my political freedom at his hands. Certainly an America which stands on the permanent principle of encouraging any people to be themselves, to build their institutions in the light of their own native traditions and values and to draw from outside only as they choose after the native plant is vibrant and thriving—such a free people I can trust."

Is not such an Asian image of us the true United

States of America? Is not this our way to the preservation of the free world?

One final caution remains. Pronouncements of principle alone will not suffice. Words must also be matched with deeds. This will present problems to be ironed out with our European colleagues with their lingering imperialistic yearnings. Any other principle of procedure is not likely, however, in the long run to have the support even of the European people. For, imperialism is a defunct policy not merely for Asia and America but also the nature behind the politicians in Europe.*

* The author is gratefully indebted to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for the research grants which made this inquiry possible.

LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

ONE of the most tedious of winters has ended unexpectedly in an electrifying atmosphere. Less than a week ago people were going about with stagnant and resigned faces, sick to death of austerity and rising prices and the dreary sameness of the outlook. Now, as a result of the Budget, the whole scene is transformed. Austerity is in the dustbin and progress in the air. Instead of the drastic operation we expected to undergo we have been given a tonic. The steep increase in Income Tax, which seemed inevitable, has not been imposed. Indeed it was difficult to see how it could be increased—rising as it does to 19/6 in the £. On the contrary two million people are exempted altogether and everyone else's taxes are to go down. While those who work over-time will find it taxed at a lower rate. This is typical of the whole Budget which departs from precedent in several directions. Everything is set in a different light, or approached from a new angle, and the general effect is a welcome loosening up.

Did the Chancellor know that his Budget would meet some need in the public mood? It has certainly done so. Indeed I think its chiefest gain will prove to have been psychological. People are intensely interested in it. They feel pleased even when they find it hard to say why. Naturally they are relieved about Income Tax. But they are surprised too at their indifference to the reduction in the food subsidies and the ending of the clothing utility scheme. Of course, it is a help, especially in wartime, to have subsidised food and controlled clothing. But to carry over such aids into peace time, when men and women should be able to

pay their way, is to treat people like poor relations and induce poor relation lethargy.

In former days I have sat through many Budget speeches, bludgeoned with figures and wishing that Chancellors would not take themselves so seriously. Only Mr. Winston Churchill, I think, managed to distill any humour out of the business. But how I wish I had been there to hear Mr. Butler expound this strange and near-romantic Budget and, for a diversion, to watch its reception on either side of the House. Reading the accounts in the newspapers I was reminded of one of the Fool's songs in *King Lear*. "Then they for sudden joy did weep and I for sorrow sung. . . ." For the Opposition—and the Government benches—found they were being treated to a non-ganda. Propaganda, in fact, somersaulted from one side to the other. (On the principle that the only ultimately worthwhile propaganda is that which is concerned with the truth as one sees it?). As a result, no one knew quite what to think or what expression to wear. The Opposition, at first, were full of indignant joy as they heard of the £160 million cut in the food subsidies and anticipated the hardships that would follow (and the resultant votes that would come to them). But clouds appeared as the Chancellor proceeded and it was revealed that the cut would be off-set by increased family allowances and pensions. As the *Spectator* points out:

"There is no avoiding the fact that it is more than balanced by an increase of income tax reliefs amounting to £228 million in a full year, higher

LONDON LETTER

family allowances amounting to £37 million, and considerable increases in pensions. Pensioners and wage- and salary-earners as a class obviously gain more than they are likely to lose, even though the balance of gain and loss as between upper and lower wage-earners is not as equitable as it should be."

To pause for a moment on this last reflection. The Budget has still to be discussed and perhaps these lower wage-earners can still fare better. To achieve this is not only a matter of justice: it is urgent political wisdom. This is the only flaw, so far, that the Opposition can find to settle on and they intend to make the most of it. Indeed, what hopes the Opposition had set on the Budget! It was to be their salvation. Like the Kings of old, who went to war abroad when they could not settle domestic strife at home, Messrs. Attlee, Gaitskell and Morrison were looking to vociferous indignation over the Budget to divert the electorate from the spectacle of Mr. Bevan's successful revolt against their leadership. But Mr. Attlee's reaction to the Budget speech was one of transparent dismay. One was reminded forcibly of Shylock's collapse at the trial in the *Merchant of Venice*. For Mr. Butler's proposal to tax profits, that darling ruse of the Labour Party, was perhaps the unkindest cut of all. As Shylock wanted to go home, so Mr. Attlee wanted to go and get at his slide-rule. . . .

I must leave the Budget now but I feel a great temptation to digress on the Chancellor. It would be an interesting task to sort out the sheep and the goats in his Budget. And then, as regards the goats, to decide whether he in fact saw them for what they are but, like the steward in the parable, concluded that a little opportunism would do him some service. The increased housing subsidies, the petrol tax, the tax on profits—surely these are all goats. As regards housing, when food subsidies are on their way out what logic is there in this increase? It is the opinion of the *Economist* that the housing subsidies are 'even less defensible distortions and even less necessary expenditure.' (My own view is that the increased subsidy is a smoke-screen. The Conservatives, before the General Election, committed themselves to a huge housing programme. But they cannot carry it out because, amongst other things, of the shortage of currency. The housing programme needs timber and there is no money to buy timber abroad). Hardest of all to understand is the petrol tax. This is, in intention, a disinflationary Budget. Yet the price of petrol, which affects everybody and everything that must be moved, is to go up by 7½d a gallon. An inflationary tax if ever there was one! Moreover, it will spread a lot of bitterness. The public feel mulcted already by the recent rise in bus fares. What hope is there now of these fares being reduced? And it is most unfair to the taxi-drivers. Their charges have increased less than any-

body's, but they have risen quite recently. As a result we have been growing accustomed to the sight of the cruising taxi, driving slowly through the streets in search and in hope of a fare. The new tax will be the *coup-de-grace* for many of them. But above all what are we to make of the tax on profits? Here there is a real principle at stake. A tax on profits is the little brother of the capital levy.

Mr. Butler is, on this head, an enigma. The *Spectator*, without enlarging on this intriguing reflection, informs us that 'Mr. Butler always reserves his stoniest stare for profit-earners. . . .' (It is a pity that Party loyalty will probably dissuade any successful industrialist from taking on the Chancellor, over the radio, in a debate on this theme). I cannot for the life of me see anything but robbery in a tax on profits merely *qua* profits. Profits should not be taxed, taxes are a matter for human beings. Tax them by all means. But to tax profits—a merely more grandiose way of helping oneself to the till—cannot be a good thing for business. Or for employment. . . .

What is behind this stony stare of the Chancellor? Is it, as the *Economist* seems to think, just pandering to the Opposition? They see this tax on profits as merely 'a disingenuous attempt to steal the clothes of the Opposition.'

But the Opposition is no longer interested in mere clothes. It is falling apart into equal halves and the question is: which half will come out on top? On one side there is the old parliamentary guard—Messrs. Attlee, Gaitskell and Morrison—and on the other there is Mr. Bevan and his followers. Last week the two sides engaged in battle for control of Labour policy and Mr. Bevan all but snatched the victory. In a debate on Defence he and about sixty of his followers twice disregarded the Party whip. And in the ensuing inquest, when Mr. Attlee wished to move a censure motion, the Party leadership was again set at naught. Instead of his censure motion a watered down compromise resolution was moved and carried. Even for this resolution the voting was tepid. One hundred and sixty-two votes were cast for it and seventy-three against. (Had the sixty rebels of the Defence debate gained another thirteen sympathisers?)

Perhaps the growing influence of Mr. Bevan is of more import to the country than the Budget or anything else. It certainly looks as if he were prepared to stake everything on a bid for leadership.

"I shall try to convince my colleagues," he said, "that they should take a vigorous part in the struggle against Toryism, so that we can go on together. But if we cannot go on together we shall go on alone."

No sign of a wish to meet his colleagues there. Only a wish to convince them! Several powerful trade union leaders, it is credibly stated, are disgusted with Mr. Bevan's lawlessness and are determined to rid the

movement of him. In particular the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, Mr. Arthur Deakin, has said:

"The trade unions view with considerable alarm the action of those people who are not prepared to abide loyally by the decisions of the party."

But Mr. Bevan is not so easily disposed of. Alas and alack he is in appearance and tactics very much like the race of dictators to which we have become accustomed in this century. And he appeals to the same latent arrogance and caesarism that is very near the surface in all badly adjusted individuals. A most interesting article on this subject appears in the current issue of *Time and Tide*.

"The important thing here," it says, "is that Mr. Bevan's political line more nearly expresses the 'unconscious' of the Party's rank and file than does the line of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison. The Socialist rank and file is blind to economic reality and so regards any attempt by the Government to get the country to live within its means as a malicious and reactionary attack on the Welfare State. The Socialist rank and file has never taken a national view about foreign affairs . . . In the months which have elapsed since the election it is Mr. Bevan who, from the rank-and-file point of view, has been 'delivering the goods.' He is the man who has been 'bashing the—Tories!' and the rank and file want them bashed."

Bevan the basher, in fact, is the rising political portent.

The Trade Union leaders who support Mr. Attlee are the most conservative of men. After years of patient effort in building up their wage negotiating machinery, and their political strength through the Parliamentary Labour Party, they feel nothing but contempt for the policy of bash. To them there is little to choose between Bevanism and Communism. Just as Communists take the law into their own hands and advocate strike action against the Butler cuts, so Bevanites take the law into their own hands and try to by-pass the Parliamentary leadership. But the Trade Union leaders are up against the eternal problem in politics: how can common sense be made to appear uncommonly attractive. (Common sense itself, as someone has remarked, is itself curiously uncommon . . .)

Mr. Bevan, evidently, is out to ramp and rage and roar. In these circumstances it seems that the duty of the Parliamentary Labour Party is plain: they should direct all their energies to defeating this Jolly Roger. The country's interest, their own interests, all point that way. Never mind the Budget. Budgets can be left to their fate. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and before the year is out the electorate will have discovered whether the Budget was good or bad. But before the year is out, if the Labour Party does not keep its head, its leadership may have passed to a man who cares nothing for our European commitments and who lives only to promote and embitter the class war.

The morning after the Bevan revolt the Labour newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, treated him to a lecture in two columns. It opined that 'the Labour Movement as a whole is becoming tired of this minority's egotism.' Mr. Bevan called this a smear campaign. (He is always resentful of the Press—another of the characteristics he shares with Dictators). But is the *Daily Herald* so very certain that 'this minority' is a proper description to give to his party?

Trade Union leaders seem alive to the dangers in the situation. But the Parliamentary leadership is hopelessly at sea. They seem to think that their attacks on the Budget will plaster their wounds. As if the public cared what they think on the subject, compared with their curiosity as to what is being done about Bevanism. The Budget, in any event, is such a mixed grill that it cannot be analysed on Party lines.

On the night following the Budget Mr. Gaitskell was put up to broadcast the Labour view. It was an astonishing performance. I have asked several people what they thought of it and more than one has murmured 'Uriah Heep.' To begin with, it was conceived in that least convincing of all strains, the more in sorrow than in anger strain. And to end with, it very much regretted that the Budget was bound to lead to higher prices and so inevitably to strike action. We all went to bed with that one thought carefully planted in our minds, the thought that we were expected to strike. . . .

Thinking over that speech, and wondering how an ex-Chancellor could ever have made it when he must know as well as anybody just now near a matter of life and death is our present economic plight, I started to review the whole idea of a parliamentary opposition. We have heard so often that it is the duty of an Opposition to oppose. But a rider to that surely is that it is also the duty of an Opposition to be guided by a sense of responsibility. Especially should that be true of the English Parliament in which the Opposition has official recognition and whose leader is paid £2,000 a year.

Nineteen fifty-two, perhaps, will be remembered in England as the year in which we saved the pound. Or the year in which Mr. Bevan split the Labour Party. Or perhaps, in the long run, neither of these things will seem so important. Some people, at any rate, will remember it as the year of the Leonardo Quincentenary Exhibition. Of all the painters in history there is none to equal Leonardo. Not only his work but his life—he would not have admitted any distinction between them—has a perennial fascination. He is acclaimed the most gifted of all human beings. And with reason! As an adjunct to the present Exhibition several lectures are being given in London, each dealing with a different aspect of his genius. The titles include his *Treatise on Painting*, his research on the Heart and the Blood, on the Structure and Action of

the Human Body, on Architecture, Engineering and Aeronautics. Leonardo took all knowledge to be his province. He is the only man, says the official catalogue, who has attained the first eminence in science and art alike.

This last is a most deeply moving reflection. How fortunate was Leonardo who set out to understand the world he lived in and yet never lost his vision of heavenly beauty. Scientists in our own day tend to be terribly devoid of faith. It is this lack of any hope in their lives which is said to be the reason why so many of them feel drawn to the material elysium of Communism. But Leonardo never ceased to be fascinated by what he could see. And what he saw he re-created.

The Exhibition, which is being held in the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy, consists mainly of a number of drawings lent by the Queen from the royal collections at Windsor. There are also several scientific models, made to scale from Leonardo's drawings. And a few paintings, not by Leonardo but based on his designs. (Two of Leonardo's paintings can be seen at the National Gallery. One, *The Virgin of the Rocks*, is always there. Another, a *Portrait of a Woman from the Liechtenstein Collection*, is temporarily on loan).

Some people have expressed disappointment in the Exhibition. The drawings are so small—being studies or preliminary sketches—and in consequence so difficult to see properly in the midst of a great press of people. The ideal thing of course would be to have the galleries limited to about twenty people at a time. (And they are pouring in at the rate of a thousand a day). Still even a cursory look round leaves some unforgettable impressions. I shall always remember a drawing of horses in battle. They seem not merely to fly through the air but to be shouting aloud as they fly. And there is a whole series of studies for the heads of the various Apostles who were to appear in 'The Last Supper,' Leonardo's most famous painting of all—now alas, according to the experts, a re-painted ruin.

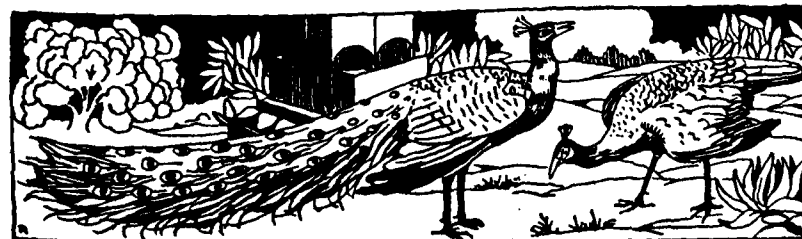
But when the visitor gives up temporarily in despair, tired of elbowing and being elbowed, he can find

much in the catalogue to give him fresh courage to return to the struggle. Leonardo was fascinated by water. He planned to write a book on its nature and movement. And amongst the present drawings is one of an old man and of water and on it is a note—in Leonardo's left-handed mirror writing—in which he comments: 'Observe the movement of the surface of the water, which resembles that of hair . . .' I recalled this note when I went to the National Gallery to look at the portrait which is on loan. The hair round the face has the ripples of water but at the side and towards the back of the head it is as still as a deep pond. (How much 'movement', by the way, is modern hair allowed?)

That note of Leonardo's makes one wish to possess his note-books. No doubt in those pages—there are more than five thousand of them—one would learn to look at the world with something of his vision. (I remember reading somewhere that in another of his notes he points out that the best way to view architecture is to look at it in the rain).

Leonardo is a theme on which the last word will never be said. It is amazing to think that this nonpareil of painters has left only eighteen paintings behind and even of these some are unfinished and some have fallen into decay. Another strange thing is, as some friends and I agreed when we were discussing him the other day, one never thinks of him in terms of colour. With him the concept is everything. Leonardo indeed was an inspired creator. It is said that he was himself bemused by his own compositions. No one has ever painted eyelids as he has done. They are more eloquent than eyes. And, as we stand in front of this portrait in the National Gallery, we may recall that he himself is said to have stood for hours in front of it too—trying to read the meaning of those famous eyelids. . . . 'Why think we of fathers,' cried Rosalind, 'when there is such a man as Orlando in the world'—and why think we of Bevan and Budgets when there is the immortal Leonardo, equally great as scientist or artist, to reassure us that the world is good.

Westminster, London, 16th March, 1952.



NEW RESPONSIBILITY OF CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS

By PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

WITH the brilliant success of the Congress at the recent general elections in most of the States, a very heavy responsibility has devolved on all Congressmen. Extensive tour of the rural areas during the elections has convinced me that the Indian villager is full of robust commonsense and possesses a keen sense of discipline and patriotism. He is now wide-awake and can no longer be fooled by politicians. He is essentially non-communal and broad-minded and has in him all those basic qualities that make for stable democracy. He has voted for the Congress because he wanted to give another fair chance to the oldest political party with Pandit Nehru as its head. But this is also the last chance that he has liberally conceded. If the Congress does not fulfil his legitimate expectations during the next five years, he will not hesitate to vote against the Congress as decisively as he has voted for it this time.

If the Congress is to do any substantial work for the good of the people during this new phase of life, the first essential consideration is unity and co-operation among various Congress groups in the States. Without such unity no solid constructive work could ever be possible. Fortunately, it has been possible to achieve unity among rival Congress groups in Madhya Pradesh and some other States. It is our earnest hope that this unity would survive all attempts of fostering disunity and misunderstanding. Any attempt to engender fresh conflict among Congressmen would be the greatest sin against Motherland.

But unity is only a means and not the end. The main objective is the establishment of real Swaraj among the masses. Substantial good must be done to the common man without further delay. Time is of the essence. They have waited patiently long enough: to expect them to wait quietly for a longer period would indicate lack of political vision and wisdom. I am sure the new Ministries are fully conscious of this urgency and realise the dangers that lurk ahead. With the menace of Communism starting us in the face, no ministry can afford to be self-complacent and easy-going. Five years is a long period. In fact, we should be able to achieve substantial results within twelve months. And this is quite possible if there is the requisite will to do good to the people quickly.

Before any solid constructive work is at all possible, we have to root out mercilessly all factors that lead to nepotism, favouritism and corruption. My visit to

more than a dozen countries of the world two years ago fully convinced me that people can tolerate many kinds of inevitable hardships that befall a nation, but they cannot and should not tolerate favouritism and corruption in the Government. The fall of Chiang Kai-shek is a stern warning to all of us. Our Ministers and Government servants should not only be honest but should have the reputation of being so; like Caesar's wife they must be above suspicion. If anybody fails to achieve such reputation, he should be weeded out without any leniency.

After setting their own house in order, the Ministries should give very high priority to the reform of the civil service machinery which has become proverbial for inefficiency and corruption. These defects, instead of decreasing have considerably increased with the advent of independence. Even the best of schemes prepared by the new Governments could be easily sabotaged by such a Civil Service. It is, therefore, imperative to overhaul the administrative machinery with a strong hand. In China, the new Republican Government has been able to achieve rapid reforms by "shooting" corrupt officials. In India, we should have no hesitation in summarily prosecuting corrupt Government servants and sending them to jail for life. Shri A. D. Gorwala's report on Public Administration should be carefully studied by the new Congress Governments and the Civil Service and Police administrative machinery must be radically reformed without loss of time.

A popular and democratic Government is ultimately responsible to the people. It is, therefore, essential that the public should be constantly kept in touch with the plans of the Government. It is necessary to evolve a suitable machinery for maintaining living contact with the people so that they may understand the difficulties of the Ministries. If the public is taken into confidence from time to time, the Governments could remain popular even if they are not able to introduce certain reforms for obvious difficulties. Oftentimes the solutions of intricate problems facing the Government could come not from the Secretariat but from the common man.

The basic problem in India is the poverty of the masses. Without improving the economic condition of the people it is impossible to cut much ice in other spheres of national life. The problem of unemployment and, what is more, under-employment must be faced boldly and realistically. Elementary arithmetic would easily prove that under-employment in the rural

areas cannot be liquidated without a wide-spread scheme of cottage and village industries. The age-old village industries like spinning and weaving, oil pressing, dairy farming, gur-making, carpentry, leather-work and black-smithy should be revived at all costs. This would inevitably mean a blow to the large-scale urban industries; but without administering such a blow it will be impossible to brave the rising tide of Communism.

In order to ameliorate the economic condition of the people in any substantial measure it is necessary to revolutionize public finance. At present our tax structure works in such a manner that the finance raised from the rural areas is spent mostly on the urban areas. This must stop now. In fact, the flow of money should be turned the other way. The villages have suffered long enough; finance should now flow from the cities to the rural population. While framing the next Budget, care should be taken to see to it that taxes raised in the villages are mostly spent for the welfare of the village folk. In Madhya Pradesh and several other States there are thousands of village panchayats already. But they are not in a position to do much constructive work owing to paucity of funds. I suggest that a decent portion of land revenue raised from each village should be handed over to the village panchayat for the improvement of roads, wells and public buildings. Instead of erecting huge Hospitals and Medical Colleges in cities it is desirable to spread a net-work of small medical centres in the countryside. Instead of tarring the city roads it is better to construct semi-metalled roads in the rural areas. During my recent election tours I was very much impressed by the poignant hunger for roads among the village folk. This hunger is legitimate and must be satisfied as early as possible. In short, let the new Ministry avoid doing 'big' things in cities and concentrate on 'small' programmes for the villages.

With the abolition of Zamindari and Malguzari in the States, fresh problems have cropped up in the villages. The powers of the patwari are being misused and the difficulty of fuel and pastures is being keenly experienced by agriculturists. These difficulties should be solved speedily with vision and sympathy. Moreover, there is a natural hunger for land among the landless labour in the countryside. The new Governments should strain every nerve to distribute adequate land to the unemployed as quickly as possible. What has happened in Telangana may happen at any time in other States. It is, therefore, wise to forestall the Communists by trying to redistribute land as evenly as feasible. Acharya Vinoba's mission of Bhoodan could also be popularized by the new Ministries and a Law to facilitate land transfers should be passed by the Legislatures.

The "Grow More Food" campaign has not so far been a success for obvious reasons. The Department

of Agriculture must be "whipped" into fruitful activity; today it is, unfortunately, the most inactive and, perhaps, inefficient of all the Government departments. Thousands of acres of cultivable waste land is still lying idle; it could be reclaimed without much effort if the State announces that land if not cultivated by the owner within a specified time would be taken over by the Government. Civil servants who send endless circulars about growing more food do not care to grow a single sheaf of corn in their own big compounds that lie barren all the year round. This is, certainly, a mockery of democratic Government. Schemes of compost manuring, bunding village nallas and digging wells for irrigation should be encouraged in place of high-sounding plans for river-valley projects and giant dams. The prices of food crops and other commercial crops like cotton should be fixed in such a way that the cultivators are automatically encouraged to grow more food. Instead of paying low procurement prices to the cultivators it is wiser to sell subsidised ration at the "fair-price" shops in cities. Taccavi loans instead of being paid in cash should be distributed, as far as possible, in kind to avoid the possibility of misuse and dishonesty. Special care should also be taken to grant such loans only to the really needy villagers. The Agriculture Department must be very active and vigilant if all these plans are to be successfully implemented.

Above all, the educational structure that obtains even after the attainment of political freedom has to be radically re-oriented. The system of Basic education placed before the nation by Mahatma Gandhi many years ago must be allowed to become the very foundation of our educational organisation from the primary to the University stage. It is not enough to open a few Basic schools in the States as experimental centres. It is high time the Gandhian scheme is given a fair trial on a mass scale. The Five-Year Plan has also recommended Basic education for adoption by State Governments. So far as our villages are concerned, it is now beyond dispute that the system of Basic education is the best in many respects. For the cities, new basic crafts may be tried by the Education Department. The existing educational institutions are too academic; they are not correlated to the realities of national life. There is hardly any emphasis on character, moral values and discipline. If we desire to change the whole tone of national life on a lasting basis, we have to begin by making primary and secondary education an ideal training ground for citizenship. Colleges, instead of remaining centres of mere "liberal" education, should be evolved into national centres of training for specific "careers." There should be harmonious combination of technical, liberal and scientific education at all stages. Professional education in Medical, Engineering, Law and Commerce Colleges should be properly planned to

suit the actual requirements of respective professions. Social or Adult education is good but only upto a point. Moreover, it should never be forgotten that mere literacy is not social education.

The Indian villages have become proverbially notorious for dirt, filth and squalor. This state of affairs must be remedied in a free India. A countrywide movement for sanitation and cleanliness ought to be launched. This work has already been started in Wardha city and the surrounding villages under the direct guidance of Acharya Vinoba. It is not so much the question of finance as of the will to be clean. The Congress Seva Dal and other Youth Movements could participate in this national endeavour.

As regards health, the allopathic system of medicine is, undoubtedly, too expensive for our villages. The State Governments should try to open small health centres in villages by patronising indigenous systems of medicine. Biochemic and homeopathic medicines could also be tried with profit. Knowledge of the elementary principles of nature cure should also be spread among the village folk.

These are only some suggestions; they are illustrative and not exhaustive. If the new Ministries so desire each point could be elaborated into practical details. The people look to the new Governments with high hopes and expectations and I am confident that the Ministries would not disappoint them.

—O—

STRAIGHT FROM THE HEART A Question and a Suggestion

By MIRA

A question continually haunts me. I have long hesitated to ask it, yet without asking it I can get no peace. It is this:

"How many people in India, even amongst the Gandhian group, really believe in the whole of Bapu's ideals for a free, self-sufficient, happy nation?"

Of course, a counter-question immediately arises—"What do I consider these ideals to be?"

Let me enumerate them according to my belief. I put down in the form of the first basic steps which should be taken if we sincerely want to get on to the True Path.

In the first place the Constitution has to be scrapped, and we have to begin on an entirely new basis as follows:

(1) The whole Government administrative machine to be ruthlessly simplified and reduced.

(2) A new form of elections to be planned culminating in small governing bodies both at the Centre and in re-adjusted States.

(3) Candidates for election to pass through stiff non-party training and tests before being eligible.

(4) Kishans and Mazdoors to be associated with Government in high places.

(5) The Law to be simplified and decentralized in a manner harmonious with the spirit of India.

(6) The Army and Navy to be disbanded and simply a strong Police force to be kept for maintenance of internal order, the officers and men of which to be trained up to a very high standard of morals and honour.

(7) Air Services to be done away with.

(8) Control and reduction of motor traffic, tractors, etc.

(9) Localized (regional) self-sufficiency to be developed to the full, both economically and administratively, and the whole strength of the Nation to be concentrated on agriculture, animal-husbandry, forestry and village industries, which must be fully protected from foreign and internal competition.

(10) Balanced distribution of land and labour.

(11) All Vanaspati, Biscuit and other fancy-food factories to be closed down, and all cloth, sugar, oil, rice and flour-mills to be progressively done away with, a short time being allowed for setting up the village production of these articles. Likewise manufacture of all luxury goods to be strictly curtailed.

(12) All grand buildings connected with Government and Government representatives to be given up, and everyone to live in humble style befitting representatives of India's masses.

(13) Foreign Embassies and Legations to be reduced to a minimum and such as may remain to be run on the simplest possible lines.

(14) All big development projects such as hydro-electric, irrigation, artificial manure and other schemes to be held in abeyance until they have been thoroughly investigated, the opinion of the Kishans of the districts affected being taken fully into account. Where there is not strong opinion in favour of these projects, they should be closed down forthwith, and all efforts should be concentrated on small localised

schemes which can be controlled by the Kishans themselves and which can give immediate results.

(15) All foreign loans to be refunded as soon as possible and future dependence on foreign countries to be avoided.

(16) The present Education System to be scrapped and Basic Education of the Sevagram type to be introduced throughout India. Details regarding higher education can be worked out in due course, but the present Colleges and Schools to be closed down forthwith and students for the time being to be put on to useful development work.

(17) Control of Cinema, Radio, literature and advertising especially with regard to luxury, vice and crime.

(18) Encouragement of healthy art and literature, which will, in fact, grow spontaneously out of the atmosphere created by the above.

This is merely an outline, and as I have said above, of the first fundamentals only. Far away in these vast mountains I have no one to consult but the Himalayan forests and eternal snows (for fundamentals indeed the best advisers), and naturally the points adumbrated here will undergo additions and embellishments when discussed and worked out in consultations with others.

Now for the suggestion—it is this:

Those of us, be we many or ever so few, who have full faith of this kind, should join hands and act—how? By getting into direct contact with the masses, particularly the peasantry, and acquainting them with the whole of this programme. They are really nearer to Bapu than the intellectuals and politicians, and yet what have we done up to now to enlighten them on many of these matters? Take for instance, the question of disbandment of the Army. Have we done anything to educate the mass mind in this direction? Yet this is the very foundation-stone on which any Gandhian Nation has to be built, and it is just because all Gandhian schemes, put forward in these days, side-track this issue, that they have no bottom to them.

I know it is sometimes argued saying, because after the attainment of Independence Congress took to the use of all the orthodox methods of State for dealing with riots, wars and other problems, that Bapu approved of it all. There could be no more cruelly unjust interpretation. Whenever Bapu saw that people had no faith in a particular kind of action, he never tried to force them. During those last tragic days of his life Bapu watched the dropping of his ideals one after another. Not only the Army, but all the paraphernalia of Imperial State were taken over by Congress as if to the manner born. I was with Bapu in Delhi until the latter half of December 1947

and silently witnessed the suffering of his soul. Time and again Bapu used sadly to say: "My word carries no weight in these days." In a silence-note he gave me on some Monday, in answer to a question he wrote:

"These are not the old days. Now there are wheels within wheels. You can do no useful service by seeing these military men except as friendly faces who will give you a warm welcome but nothing more. That is my reaction. The thing is beyond me except in my own way which 'has no vogue to-day'."

We must also remember that, because Bapu did not carry the message of disarmament to the masses, it is no reason for us to hold it back at this hour. We know full well that Bapu never developed theories until they became a possible proposition. Academic questions he never put before the masses. So long as India was under foreign rule disbandment of the Army was not a live question at all, and Bapu concentrated the whole force of the country on the attainment of Independence, leaving these freedom questions to follow in their natural sequence. That being so, does it not amount to a betrayal of Bapu's cause to go on side-tracking this fundamental question any longer? Now is the very moment, both in Indian and World History, when those of us who believe should concentrate with all our strength on the work of enlightening the masses regarding the full-fledged Gandhian ideal, based on disarmament and the rest. If they respond to the idea the Leaders will ultimately bend to the popular demand. Our word has no influence on the Ministers and Government officials to-day, because we are out of touch with the masses on these vital points. The people have been left to the mercy of the professional politicians with their Manifestos, Plans and Programmes, and have been completely confused and misguided by the continual use of Bapu's name for boosting all sorts of different theories. Meanwhile we sit by wringing our hands, because the people at the tops won't listen to us. We must go to the people at the bottom and tell them of the real Bapu, then the people of the tops will begin to prick up their ears.

All this has nothing to do with the General Elections as such. They will go their own way, which certainly won't be Bapu's way. Obviously preparation of the public mind, on such lines as set forth above, cannot be achieved in weeks or months. How long it will take is in God's hands, but He will surely bless our efforts if we whole-heartedly throw ourselves into this sacred task, and the time required may not, after all, be so very great.

If faith can move mountains, how much more can it move the masses.*

* We have received this communication from Srimati Mira Ben, Gopal Ashram, Pilkhi, Tehri Garhwal.—Ed., M.R.

By JOHN BROUGH, M.A., D.Litt.,

Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London.

It may appear somewhat hazardous at the present day, when the study of the Greek and Latin classics is already in decline, to suggest that there might be a value for the English student in the study of a classical literature even more remote from our own civilization. I shall, in fact, take it as axiomatic that the study of a classical literature and civilization is a worth-while pursuit; and if this is granted, my task is then simply to show that the Sanskrit classics of India need not fear comparison with the established masterpieces of Greece and Rome.

It is now more than 150 years since the West discovered the existence of India's classical language and literature, and since that time Western scholars have assiduously studied them in all their aspects. In India itself, of course, the tradition has throughout remained unbroken. But in Europe hardly anything of this literature has become known outside the very narrow circle of specialists. Many reasons can be suggested for this neglect. Not the least important is a certain exuberance in the Indian imagination which many find distasteful and certain aspects of Indian religion can readily produce a feeling of repugnance in the Western mind. The curious development of theosophy has undoubtedly caused much harm to the reputation of Indian literature and thought. Another important factor has been the infamous minute of Lord Macaulay advising the Government of India that the whole range of Sanskrit literature consisted of puerilities and fairy-tales. It is unnecessary to comment that Macaulay's opinion was not founded upon an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit. It must be admitted that it would not be difficult to collect a large Sanskrit library which would justify Macaulay's strictures; but after all every literature contains dross. There is the further misfortune that Sanskrit has been very badly served by translations into English. With some notable exceptions, the majority of English renderings of the great poets are so outrageous that in comparison the traditional school "cribs" of Latin and Greek authors are elegant and graceful. In addition to these considerations, the chief obstacle in the way of a wider appreciation of Sanskrit literature is the difficulty of the language itself. This is especially so in the case of the great poets, and the unfortunate result is that many who have started the study of Sanskrit, reading perhaps simpler works such as the fables of the *Hitopadesa* or the story of Nala, have stopped there, and not realized that any more valuable literature existed in Sanskrit. Whatever the cause, it is unquestionably a widely held opinion that India has little of value to offer us in literature or philosophy, or at least, nothing remotely comparable to the

contributions in these fields of classical Greece and Rome. Thus, a general History of Philosophy (quoted by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta in the Introduction to his *History of Indian Philosophy*) dismisses India from consideration with the contemptuous remark that Indian theories "consist, in the main, of mythological and ethical doctrines, and are not thoroughgoing systems of thought." The only possible comment is that the author of this remark must have been reading Indian mythological and ethical writings in mistake for philosophy. This was written in 1914, but it is to be feared that even at the present day, Europe is little better informed about India.

The study of Classical India in the widest sense would include history, archaeology, art, the history of science and religion; and in all these fields there remains a great deal of new research work waiting to be done. But "from fear of running on endlessly," as the Sanskrit commentators say, I shall confine myself to a few aspects of Indian thought and literature.

One of the most notable intellectual achievements of India was the early development of linguistic study. In the phonetic and morphological analysis of their language the Indians had achieved by the 4th century B.C. results far in advance of anything known in Europe until modern times. It is well known that the Sanskrit grammar of Panini was to a large extent the stimulus which brought into being modern comparative linguistic studies at the beginning of the 19th century. In addition to purely formal analysis of language, the problems of general linguistics and the theory of meaning were discussed with a penetration and insight which still command our admiration. The majority of important problems in these fields were already familiar in the early centuries of the Christian era, and were summed up in masterly fashion in the 7th century A.D. by Bhartrihari in his *Vakyapadiya*. This work, surprisingly modern in its general intellectual outlook, is composed in verse, like the majority of Indian technical treatises; but unlike most of these works, the *Vakyapadiya* is a striking piece of writing, and at times attains the status of memorable poetry, reminding us of the high seriousness of Lucretius. The philosophic maturity of Bhartrihari, however, places his work on a very different level from that of the Roman poet, who is no longer worth reading for his philosophy. It is of interest to find in the *Vakyapadiya* a mention of the famous paradox of the liar—though this of course can hardly be taken as evidence of Greek influence. It is stated and answered in a single couplet: "The proposition 'Everything I say is false' cannot apply to itself, for otherwise the intended meaning is not conveyed." This is virtually the same

answer as the modern statement that a propositional function cannot be its own argument.

Closely related to the theory of meaning is the theory of knowledge and of inference; and here also the Indians made considerable progress in the early centuries of the Christian era. The well-known criticism of J. S. Mill of the Aristotelian syllogism—namely, that the consequence cannot be deduced from the major premise, since the major premise itself cannot be known to be true unless the consequence is already known to be true—would not be applicable to the Indian syllogism. This was normally propounded in five propositions, the major premise being explicitly derived by induction from experience. The development of logic is in fact a good example of the independence of Indian thought. Such an eminent authority as Burnet went so far as to say that of all the peoples in the world, only the Greeks and the Indians seem to have produced philosophies, and that in the case of the Indian there were grounds for believing that their philosophy was ultimately due to Greek influence. It seems to me very doubtful whether such an influence can be legitimately claimed. Such common ground as exists—for example, a theory of classes which with some distortion might be compared with the Platonic theory of ideas, or a conception of substance and form (*dravya* and *akriti*) not unlike the Aristotelian terms seems to have resulted merely from the nature of the material investigated. There is at first sight a curious coincidence in the general term for philosophy in Greek, and *darsana* (literally "seeing") in Sanskrit. But this is probably illusory. The Greek term primarily denotes investigation, whereas the Sanskrit is derived from the conception of the direct insight of the saint, and is thus perhaps better translated as "doctrine." This translation must not, of course, be taken to support the common opinion that Indian philosophy consists almost entirely of mysticism and theology. These elements admittedly exist, but it is not by them that India's achievement in the field of philosophy should be judged. As an instance of the important place which India merits in the history of human thought, I should like merely to draw attention to the fact that as early as the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. a Buddhist school had developed theory of subjective idealism, some sixteen centuries before Bishop Berkeley.

I have already mentioned the theory of meaning in connection with linguistic studies. This theory was later developed and expanded by writers on aesthetics to include poetic meaning. The outstanding work here was the *Dhvanyaloka* of Anandavardhana, in the 9th century A.D. The study of poetics in India is of course very much older than this. But most of the earlier works on the subject are formal studies of rhetoric, minutely analyzing and classifying the figures of sound and sense. Alongside this formal treatment

there developed the theory of *rasa* or poetic emotion, which was in the first place propounded in connection with the aesthetic appreciation of the drama. Anandavardhana saw the essence of poetic meaning in the suggested or implied sense rather than in the literal meaning of the words of the poem. The most important kind of poetic meaning, he maintained, was the suggestion of the poetic emotion, *rasa*, which is clearly something quite different from the actual experience of the corresponding emotion in everyday life. This doctrine of suggestion was severely criticized in succeeding centuries. Kuntaka, for example, denied the existence of the implied sense, and, reviving an older theory, maintained that the essence of poetry was the striking and effective use of unusual, non-everyday language (*vakrokti*). In the end the theory of suggestion prevailed, and together with the classification of poetic emotions formed the keystone of almost all the important works on poetics after the 12th century. As I have already said, a fair proportion of the vast literature on poetic theory in Sanskrit is somewhat arid rhetoric. But even when this is discounted, there remains much interesting literary criticism and aesthetic theory at least as well worth reading as Aristotle's *Poetics* or Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and in many ways much more sensitive in its approach to poetry than either of these works.

I propose now to give some indication of the scope and general characteristics of the literature of Sanskrit which is worth reading for its own sake. This restriction will, of course, exclude the bulk of the works of the Vedic period, whose interest lies almost entirely in the field of the history of religion—though they also provide invaluable material for the history of the Sanskrit language, and consequently for the comparative study of the Indo-European languages. An exception, however, must be made in the case of the oldest of the Vedic works, the *Rigveda*. In this vast liturgical collection of sacrificial hymns there are many pieces of inspired poetry, intermingled however with much that is derivative and tediously sacerdotal, and also, it must be confessed, much whose meaning is still obscure. Among the more striking hymns are vivid accounts of the battle of the god Indra with the demon Vritra, a myth which has been interpreted by some modern writers as a portrayal of the thunderstorm defeating the drought and releasing the rains. Most attractive, too, are many of the hymns to the goddess of Dawn, *Ushas*, who drives the beasts to pasture and impels all living creatures to action. Greeted by the kindling of the sacrificial fire, she returns day after day, wearing away the life of mortals. The poets picture her with a wealth of imagery as a young maiden clothed in bright garments like a dancing girl, unveiling herself before her lover. Of a more strongly moral character are the hymns to the high god Varuna, and some of the best of these are

strongly reminiscent of the penitential Hebrew psalms:

"And I said in my heart: when shall I appear before the presence of God? How shall he leave his anger and delight in my sacrifice? When shall I in gladness behold the merciful God?"

"What was the sin, O Varuna, that I have greatly sinned, that thou so afflictest thy servant who sings thy praises? For thou art blessed and are not deceived. O tell me, that I may in innocence swiftly come before thee in adoration" (R.V. vii. 86).

After the Rigveda there is very little of poetic value until the classical period. Some of the Upanishads, it is true, contain memorable passages, both in prose and in verse; but this is for the most part of the poetry of mysticism, and its literary appeal is thus limited.

The great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, which provide the mythological and heroic backcloth for much of the classical literature, are re-acted in the post-Vedic classical language, and it is probable that they did not attain their final shape before about the second century B.C. But there is no reason to doubt that much of their material is considerably older. It is impossible to make any literary judgment on the Mahabharata as a whole, being as it is the work of generations of poets. It contains nevertheless not only vast quantities of tedious didactic material, but also much poetry that can still be read with pleasure, most notably in some of the inserted episodes such as the well-known stories of Nala and Savitri. The Ramayana, on the other hand, is in the main, except for the first and last books the work of a single poet; and not being overloaded with didactic material, it is more readily accepted as an epic by European taste. In later times the author, Valmiki, was accorded the title of "First of Poets." This judgment is in fact largely justified, for in the Ramayana we find a definite attempt at conscious poetic embellishment; and in the use of similes and other figures of poetry most of the chief characteristics of the later classical poetry are foreshadowed. To quote but a single example of a striking simile, taken from a brilliant description of winter:

"The moon's beauty is usurped by the sun, and she shines but feebly, shrouded in mist, like a mirror blind with breath."

After the epics we have unfortunately very little evidence for the development of Sanskrit poetry until we meet it in a form already fully matured in the works of Asvaghosa in the 2nd century A.D. It is true that some evidence can be gleaned from inscriptions; and Patanjali's great commentary on Panini's grammar has preserved for us a number of tantalizing fragments. Some of the verses of the Pali canon, in particular the Songs of the Elders, can also be adduced as evidence of the type of development which Indian poetry was undergoing between the end of the Vedic

age and the earliest classical poems. But in spite of all these one cannot help feeling that there is a gap in the tradition, and much has undoubtedly been lost.

In this classical Sanskrit poetry, India shows a marked contrast to Greece. In the latter case most of the great literature was already written before the spread of Hellenistic civilization. In India, on the other hand, the greatest flowering of Sanskrit poetry comes at a time when the language was no longer living and developing as a popular speech. This is a surprising state of affairs, and it is almost as if mediæval Latin or Byzantine Greek had produced poets to outshine Virgil and Homer. None the less, Sanskrit had remained so vigorously alive as the language of all educated men that the situation is perhaps not so paradoxical as at first sight it may appear.

In some of its less admirable characteristics, classical Sanskrit does indeed show tendencies similar to those of Alexandrian Greek literature. Thus both indulged in trivialities such as the composition of stanzas which could be written in the shape of an axe or an altar. And in one direction Sanskrit was able to go far beyond the artificiality of Alexandria, namely, in paronomasia. The Sanskrit language has a most alarming capacity for punning; and in later times the art of equivocate was developed to such a degree that we find poets who compose whole epics with a double meaning in every stanza, so that a single work may be read in one way as the story of the Mahabharata, and in another way as that of the Ramayana. Even triple punning on this epic scale is not unknown. To be fair to the authors of these works, it must be admitted that the unravelling of their meanings involves an intellectual exercise at least comparable to chess, and rather superior to the modern crossword puzzle. And, of course, there are occasions when a double meaning can be used with pleasing effect. Thus for example, in Bhavabhuti's drama *Malati-madhava* the heroine's maidservant brings a message to the hero who is engaged in weaving a garland of flowers; and with the modesty which the situation demands she speaks to him apparently only about the flowers:

"Sir, the even spacing of the flowers on the thread makes your plaiting most attractive, and my mistress is curious about it. Such skilful floral work is quite new to her. She would like very much to have this fresh garland to wear round her neck."

But by the punning force of some of the words, her speech can also be taken to mean:

"Sir, the excellent qualities of both of you, being mutually compatible, would make the union of such noble persons desirable, and my mistress is eager for it. The working of the god of love is new and strange to her. May you fall in love with her, and come to clasp her in an embrace."

Tricks of this sort however are merely embellishments of poetry, and in a great poet like Kalidasa they appear hardly at all. They are indicative

nevertheless of a general characteristic of classical Sanskrit poetry, namely, that it is a highly intellectual literature. I use this term here in preference to "learned," which in this context might be misunderstood to imply a scholarly aridity which, though admittedly present in much second-rate work, is not predominant in the great poets. Alexandrian writings have occasionally been described as "literature of the study," a term of disparagement which is not so easily applied to Sanskrit. It is easily understandable, however, that many modern critics should make free use of the description "artificial," and the term *mahakavya* is frequently rendered as "artificial epic." But the implications of the epithet are no more justified than they would be if applied to the *Aeneid* or *Paradise Lost*. If by artificial we mean simply that it is not folk-poetry, then the *Raghuvamsa* can be classified alongside the *Argonautica*; but Kalidasa is none the less a much greater poet than Apollonius. The artificiality of the great Sanskrit poets has a much closer analogy in the artificiality of Pindar or Æschylus. Nothing, after all, could be further removed from Wordsworthian simplicity than a Pindaric ode or a chorus of the Agamemnon. And if we stigmatize an occasional lapse from our own canons of taste on the part of a Sanskrit poet, we can balance it against Æschylus' "ox upon the tongue." But it would be generally admitted that it was worth-while to labour at Greek in order to come at length to read Pindar and Æschylus. And for Sanskrit, my former teacher, Professor A. B. Keith, who found ample occasion to criticize the literary taste of Sanskrit poets in matters of detail, wrote in the Preface to his *History of Sanskrit Literature*:

"The neglect of Sanskrit Kavya is doubtless natural. The great poets of India wrote for audience of experts; they were masters of the learning of their day, long trained in the use of language, and they aim to please by subtlety, not simplicity of effect. They had at their disposal a singularly beautiful speech, and they commanded elaborate and most effective metres. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that their works should be difficult, but of those who on that score pass them by it may fairly be said '*ardua dum metuant amittunt vera viat*.' The Kavya literature contains some of the great poetry of the world."

The range of this literature is very considerable. At the summit stand the great epics, *Mahakavyas*, most of which take their themes from the old epics or the legends of the Puranas. Here we have the famous names of Asvaghosa, Kalidasa, Bharavi, Bhatti, Magha, and a whole host of lesser writers. Here we have no reason to dissent from the judgment of Anandavardhana given in the 9th century: "Out of the constant succession of competent poets which the passing years bring before us, only a mere handful—Kalidasa and a few others—rank as great poets." In the shorter kavya poem (*khandakavya*) Kalidasa is

equally pre-eminent; and his masterpiece in this field, the "Cloud Messenger" (*Meghaduta*), inspired such a multitude of imitations that "messenger poems," both in Sanskrit and the later Indo-Aryan languages, form by themselves a distinct literary type.

In the drama, India has nothing directly comparable to the great tragedies of Greece, and tragedy as such is definitely excluded by the dramatic theory. There are nevertheless in some of the great dramas moments of pathos handled with great tenderness and imagination; and although Aristotle's pity and terror tend not to come together in Sanskrit, both are recognized among the emotions (*rasa*) proper to drama. A wide range is covered by the extant plays, from the romantic legends of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* and *Vikramorvasiya* to the political intrigue of Visakhadatta's *Mudrarakshasa*, from short one-act comedies such as "The Saint and the Lady" (*Bhagavadajjukiya*) to the ten-act *Balaramayana* of Rajasekhara. Sanskrit drama is not likely to attract the Western reader for its dramatic qualities. It is in general weak in characterization, and with few exceptions uninventive in plot. On the other hand, in its best examples it contains much excellent poetry, and is worth reading for this alone. We are, of course, not in a position to judge the full artistic impact of an ancient Sanskrit play, which in its presentation on the stage made full use of the arts of music and dancing.

The great prose romances, which also rank as *kavya*, are a more difficult, and on the whole a less rewarding, branch of literature. The exuberance of Subandhu and Bana makes "Euphuus" almost tame in comparison. In the romantic tales of these authors the story counts for little, and often appears to be merely an excuse for the display of technical dexterity. Every rift is indeed overloaded with gold. We find descriptions consisting of pages of sesquipedalian adjectives, and an endless flow of double meanings. Against these writers, however, we can set Dandin, who shares many of their characteristics, but does not carry them to such great excess. His picaresque novel, *The Adventure of the Ten Princes*, is a masterpiece of brilliant and witty prose.

It is difficult to choose from this extensive classical literature examples which are sufficiently typical to convey something of the quality of the poetry, and which are at the same time capable of a translation which shall preserve at least some fragment of the force of the original. At the best a translation can give only a hint of the nature of the foundations of literal meaning upon which the poet built his poem, and at worst many involve a degree of sacrilege comparable to the transcription of a Bach chorale for a brass band. I have chosen therefore to quote a few stanzas from Bhatti rather than from Kalidasa. Kalidasa after all needs no justification. He is one of the great poets of the world, and no one has ever ques-

tioned his right to the first place among the Sanskrit poets. Bhatti, on the other hand, though admittedly of lesser stature, has suffered rather more than he deserves in the esteem of Western critics because of the form of his epic. His theme in the *Ravana-vadha* (familiarily known as the *Bhatti-kavya*) is the story of the Ramayana; but he undertakes at the same time to illustrate in minute detail the rules of Sanskrit grammar and poetic theory. We should not, however, allow this to prejudice our judgment of the poem unduly. It is not a set of mnemonic verses intended to teach grammar to schoolboys, but is rather an academic exercise illustrating how the poet can work in this difficult and complex learned language. It is thus in some ways comparable to Bach's *Art of Fugue*, which, though it teaches the rules, is itself a finished work of art. The following stanzas, taken from the beginning of the second canto, will give some indication of the sort of poetic fancy frequently found in the Sanskrit poets:

"As Rama went out from the city, he saw all around him Autumn wearing the splendour of the forest trees, the lakes, the rivers, the skies, the moon and stars.

"The red lotuses, with their clouds of bees, and petals dancing on the waves, seemed to shine with the brilliance of fire, with smoke and flame.

"The banks of the lakes, seeing their own loveliness stolen by the reflection in the water, in jealousy used their laughter of lilies to spread a loveliness of lotuses.

"The tree at the lakeside, its leaves dripping with the night dew, and with birds singing in its branches, seemed to be weeping and lamenting the night-flowering lotus at the break of day.

"The lotus, buffeted by the morning breeze, as if in anger shook off the bee whose body was red with lily-pollen—a lady cannot tolerate a rival.

"While the stag stood still to hear the song of the bees, the hunter was distracted from his aim by the restless cry of the wild geese.

"The lion roaring in the mountain thickets heard the echo he himself had caused, and started forward in anger, thinking that it was another lion roaring.

"And Rama saw the waters with their fresh lotuses, and heard the humming of the bees, and smelt the breeze laden with the scent of flowers.

"He bent down the creepers and plucked flowers, he descended to the rivers and sipped water; and sitting down on a rock he gazed in wonder at the scene.

"He saw at dawn the waters before him inlaid with the sun's rays: it was as if the beams, melted by the sun's own heat, had been gathered together in one place on the earth."

This last stanza is a variant of an idea which had earlier been used more effectively by Arya Sura, who describes the tropical sea in the calm before a storm: "The sapphire-blue sea, as if the sky had melted in the heat of the sun." This provoked an anonymous critic to exclaim—and there is no reason to suspect that it was meant ironically—"Sura is a poet, Sura is

indeed a great poet. He described the sea as melted sky!" We may not find ourselves able to go to such lengths of enthusiasm, and this straining after effective similes may at times lend itself to ridicule, as when Bhatti in the passage quoted above pictures the trees weeping, the dew-drops being their tears, and the screaming of the birds their wailing. Nevertheless I feel we should be mistaken if we take it all *au grand sérieux*. Many of these somewhat far-fetched comparisons were no doubt recited by the author with a twinkle in the eye. And although this is a purely formal poetry, devoid of any deep emotional content, for which we must look elsewhere in Sanskrit, it can still afford pleasure to the reader by the excellences which it undoubtedly possesses. The beginning of the fifteenth canto shows that Bhatti was at all events not lacking in a sense of humour. Here the demon Ravana sends his servants to seek the aid of Kumbhakarna in the fight against Rama, and these envoys act in true demonic fashion:

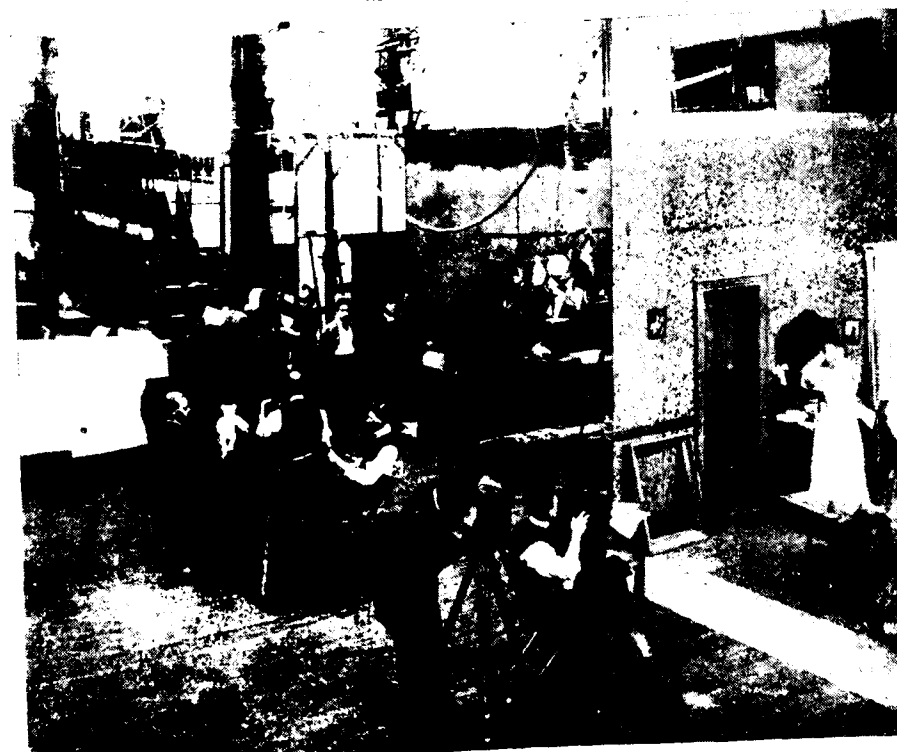
"Then the king of the demons was afraid, and looked all around the city; and despatched demons to inform Kumbhakarna. And they came to his dwelling, and found him asleep. And straightway they uttered confused cries, and beat him with sticks. They pulled out his hair, and drove elephants over his limbs; they poured cold water over him, and burnt him with red-hot coals, they scratched him with their sharp nails, bit him with their teeth, prodded him with sharpened stakes, and beat drums in his ears. But he regarded them not at all, and at length awoke of his own accord."

Bhatti has recently assumed a new and somewhat unexpected interest. The Old Javanese poem on the story of Rama has long been known not to be a direct translation of Valmiki's Ramayana. It was suggested by Ghosh in 1936 that the Old Javanese poem was in fact based on the *Bhatti-kavya*, and my colleague, Dr. C. Hooykaas has recently proved in detail that this is the case. The Old Javanese turns out to be to a large extent a direct translation of the Sanskrit. Most striking is the fact that where the tenth canto of the Sanskrit sets out to illustrate the complicated alliterations and word-jingles known as *yamakas*, the Javanese poem likewise produces comparable alliterations. It might be observed in passing that these jingles are not introduced haphazard by Bhatti, but are placed with reasonably good effect in his description of the tumult and agitation in the burning of the city of Lanka. It will take some time before the results of this discovery can be fully worked out, but it is already clear that interesting information can be expected about the text, both of the Sanskrit and the Javanese poems.

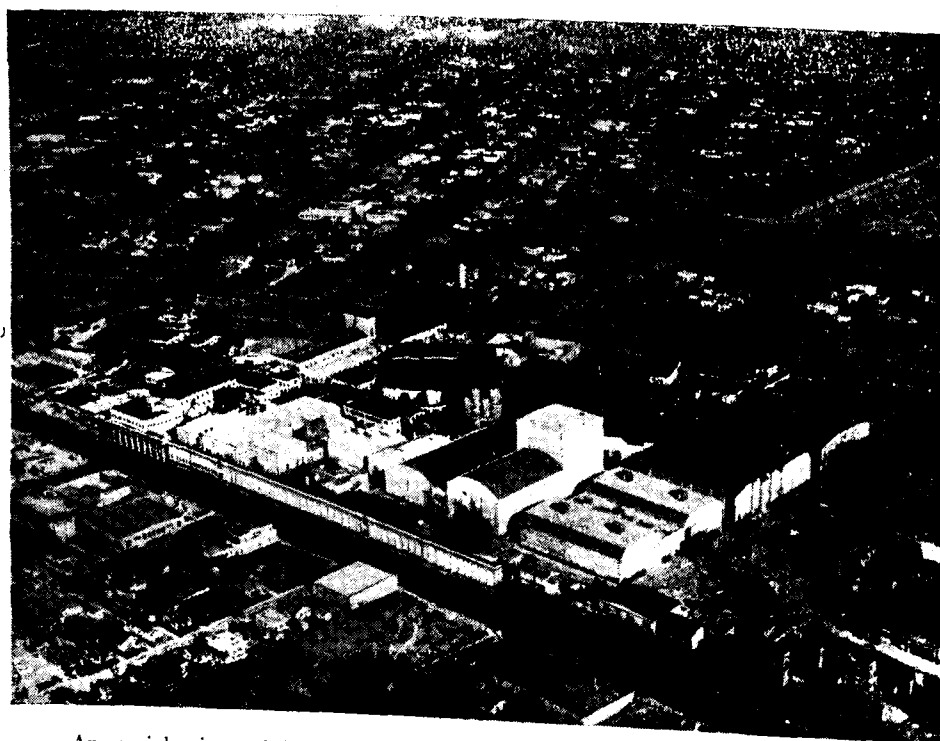
The possibility of important literary discoveries of this sort brings to these studies something of the excitement of scientific research. It is not likely that the well-trodden fields of Latin and Greek will yield



This is how a picture is now filmed. The man and woman walking down the stairway are the only actors, but all the equipment and workmen shown are necessary in filming a picture.



A view of a 1915 motion-picture studio for shooting silent motion-pictures



An aerial view of Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer studio in Culver City, California



A view of the first motion-picture studio, built in 1893 for the Edison Company in West Orange, New Jersey

THE UPROAR IN BIOLOGY TO-DAY

37

such discoveries at the present day, and the Indian classics offer a most attractive alternative for those who relish the adventure of exploration:

"iuvat integros accedere fontes,
"atque haurire, iuvatque novos decerpere flores."

A comparative assessment of the merits of the Indian and the Greek classics depends, of course, largely on personal taste. As Kalidasa says, when the princess Indumati rejects a royal suitor: "It was not that he lacked beauty, nor that she was unable to see it—but people have different tastes." Many Europeans find that Indian literature is too far removed from their own standards to afford them much pleasure. I shall be content if I have done something to win from such critics the charitable admission of the princess that at least the beauty is there. But the importance of the study of Sanskrit goes far beyond the aesthetic value of the literature. It is in fact the key to almost all branches of the study of Indian civilization; and, as I have indicated above, the contributions of this civilization

to the development of human thought and culture generally are very considerable. Through the spread of Buddhism also, India has influenced the culture of a very large part of Asia. The study of the Indian classics is the foundation for the study of one of the major civilizations of the world. From the purely practical point of view, I believe that a University degree in Sanskrit can offer the student an intellectual, literary, and philosophical training in every way comparable in value to a Classical Tripos or an Honour School of Literae Humaniores. And more generally, the study of the great Asiatic civilizations demands far more attention than it has hitherto received in the West, if we are to rid ourselves of the provincialism which tacitly assumes that the history of Western Europe is the history of mankind.*

* The Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture, delivered to the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts, London, on Tuesday, 11th March, 1952, with Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., a Vice-President of the Society, in the Chair.

—:O:—

THE UPROAR IN BIOLOGY TO-DAY

By K. N. RAO, M.Sc.

IN recent years the name of the Russian Botanist, Lysenko came to the forefront and around that name much debate is going on, a few apparently agreeing with his views and many calling him a pretender. Students of Biology as well as politicians talk of him, reminding us of the furious controversies that raged in medieval times, or even until hundred years back between men of science and men of the church: What is this Lysenko business about?

To have a complete picture of the controversy, we must acquaint ourselves with the history of the science called Genetics and the philosophy that is known as Dialectical Materialism. We shall begin with the former.

'Genetics' is the science that studies the way of the inheritance of parental features by the offspring. However, this definition suffers from a certain amount of narrowness as in the past fifteen years, conclusions of genetical experiments are cited in support of certain doctrines explaining the methods of evolution. This branch of genetics is now known as 'evolutionary genetics.'

Let us try to understand what this science of genetics tells us.

The resemblance between parents and children is apparent and how this inheritance of characters of the parents by the offspring goes on was for a long time a mystery. Studies of inheritance did not at all yield conclusive results until about 1850, when an Austrian Monk,

Abbe Mendel, claimed to have solved the mystery. He pointed out that when inheritance of characters formed the subject-matter of study, it is not the inheritance of all characters that should be taken into account but each character should be viewed as independent and its assortment in the offspring be studied. On the basis of observed facts he formulated his "laws of heredity." That was the first and the corner stone of the science of Genetics.

Curiously enough, this work of Mendel remained unnoticed until 1900 when Bateson repeated the experiments of Mendel and brought to the notice of the scientific world the glory of Mendel's work. Mendel imagined that there were special 'factors' responsible for each of the features of individual and that these factors were assorted independently of each other to the offspring, the result being that the child resembled the father in some respects and the mother in some other respects. These 'factors' of the imagination of Mendel are now known as the genes and their existence is proved beyond doubt. The genes are bead-like bodies arranged linearly in thread-like chromosomes, found in the nuclei of the cells. Each gene may be responsible for one feature or the interaction of a number of genes might result in a feature manifestable in the individual organism. As genes are the constituents of a chromosome, a certain inter-relationship between the assortment of genes and cell-division was expected and it was soon established

that the Mendelian Laws of inheritance have a cytological basis by correlating the distribution of chromosomes (as a corollary genes) during meiosis and the appearance of features in a certain ratio in the F2 generation.

With the march of time such phenomena as multiplication of chromosomes (polyploidy) and the associated manifestable changes in the individual, linkage between genes, mutations, existence of plasmagenes which also cause inheritance, though not according to Mendelian principles, came to light. All these together constitute the science of Neo-Mendelism and the greatest and the most important contribution of this Neo-Mendelism is that it has established the existence of an organ of heredity the gene, much the same as organs of digestion, respiration etc; to say the least, it has established the physical basis of heredity.

The concept of genes and their (as a corollary, chromosomal) part in heredity is referred to by Lysenko and his followers as Mendelism-Morganism.

We shall have to turn our attention at this stage to the theory of Organic Evolution; quite from early times, the concept of Evolution of the organic world was being pressed hard against the concept of special creation. Darwin, with his scientific thoroughness, by presenting a colossus of evidence, succeeded in dispelling all doubts about the validity of the concept of organic evolution. If Darwin was the populariser of the theory of Evolution, he was not the only one to tell us how evolution proceeded on. Notable amongst others who contributed to the theory of Evolution and its methods was Lamarck. Lamarck thought that there was a conscious effort on the part of the individual organism to adapt itself to the environment and as a result of this effort a certain amount of adaptation of the organism to the environment resulted. In the course of generations, the adaptive variation accumulated, as a result of which a species that very much differed from the original came into being. In brief, Lamarck thought that acquired characters were inherited. However Lamarck's hypothesis did not find much favour with scientists.

We shall now see Darwin's hypothesis. Darwin based his theory on three observable facts; the first is the fact of variation. (No two exactly alike organisms may be found. The difference between any two individuals of a species is obvious. These differences between individual members of a species constitute variation). The second is the fact of uniform census in the adult animal population of a given species, barring perhaps Man. The third is the fact of numerous offspring in any given species. Now from the second and third facts, Darwin concluded that there was on a struggle for existence. Otherwise, how was it that not all the offspring became adults, he asked. The first conclusion and first fact, namely, the fact of variation, constituted the premises for his second conclusion, the conclusion of the survival of the fittest. If there was a struggle for existence, which were those that survived? Those that had the advantage-

ous variations, was the answer. Nature selected them. The advantageous variations always meant the variation that made the individual better fitted for the surroundings in which it lived. Such variations are inherent in the species and an accumulation of such inheritable variations will in the last result in the origin of a new species. That in brief is Darwinism.

Variation may be brought about by the habits and activities of the individual. Thus one who constantly practises physical exercises develops a muscular body. His children may not be muscular, i.e., such variations as are only modifications, are not inheritable. But a variation might be due to the disturbance in a gene, a chromosome or a whole set of chromosomes. We have seen that genes are the factors that determine the features of an organism and it is quite natural, therefore, that any disturbance there would cause a variation. Being the instruments of heredity, variations resulting from a disturbance of the genes are inheritable. It is these variations that matter in the evolution of species and this explanation of the methods of evolution in the light of our cytological knowledge is known as Neo-Darwinism.

Superficially, it appears as though there is no difference between Lamarck's argument and the Neo-Darwinistic explanation as to the method of evolution. Both agree that variations accumulate in the individual until in the long run, an altogether new species comes into being. But the chief difference between the two schools is that while Lamarckists contend that even a modification caused by changes in the environment is inheritable, Neo-Darwinists maintain that only such variations as are the results of disturbance in the genes, or a chromosome or a whole set of chromosomes are inherited. To illustrate the point: the dark colour of a Negro is not the result of a continuous tanning of the skin of a white race that was originally inhabiting Africa. On the other hand, the Negroes survived there because their skins being highly pigmented are more resistant to the ultra-violet radiation of the tropical sun. The whites, when exposed to the African sun due to the poor pigmentation of their skin, are handicapped and therefore in the struggle for existence, they are eliminated while Negroes emerged as the fittest to live in those conditions.

And now let us see what Lysenko has to say. To put it in a nutshell, Lysenko has revived Lamarck's contention that acquired characters are inherited. Before going to discuss the scientific correctness or otherwise of Lysenko's hypothesis, it is necessary that we should know why Lysenko is so ferocious an advocate of Lamarckism and why his thesis is favoured at governmental level. If Neo-Darwinism is accepted as the theory explaining evolutionary progress, greater stress on chromosomal changes as instrumental to variation is necessary; if Lamarckism is accepted, no such stress need be placed on these chromosomal changes which cannot be brought about either at a time when we want or in a way that we desire. On the other hand, Lamarckism provides for easy inheritable changes and with a hypothesis like that in the back-

ground a greater incentive to produce desired varieties of plants and animals is possible for the scientists.

But it should not be supposed that the Neo-Mendelists have not been successful in evolving new strains of agricultural crops or cattle. If a list of wheats evolved during the last fifty years were to be looked at, one is simply amazed. Therefore, the practical usefulness of Neo-Mendelism is beyond dispute. Even Lysenko seems to recognise this fact. Then, why this shift in emphasis on the instruments of variation? The answer is to be sought in the ideological issue involved. With Neo-Darwinistic variations, changes can be brought about at a very slow pace and not in any desired direction. A certain permanence for the species is inevitable and as such the traits of the many human races (speaking of all this at a human level) are difficult to be changed. There is thus room for any race or class of human beings arrogating to themselves some superiority. On the other hand, if Lamarckism were accepted, the differences between race and race, class and class may be explained as owing to the environment and in that case a change in the environment is sufficient to eradicate these differences; in other words, under a uniformity of conditions and circumstances, a uniform human race is possible.

Unfortunately, however, all this boils down to wishful thinking. The differences between individuals have not to be accepted and working upon these differences, new combinations in a manner that we desire may be brought about and that would be a more scientific course of action. Nevertheless, Lysenko has revived Lamarckism and let us see how far he could substantiate his claims in a scientific manner.

The way of science is experiment and has Lysenko based his claims on any experimental basis? If so, what are his experiments and what are his results and what are his conclusions? To answer these questions is not an easy matter because any papers, in the sense that we understand, dealing with the experimental work of Lysenko, are not available. We will have to do a bit of putting the cart before the horse as it is inevitable. His conclusions are: (1) Acquired characters are inherited; and (2) "heredity is a property not only of chromosomes, but of every living thing, every cell and every particle of the body." We shall later discuss the merits or demerits of Lysenko and Mendel-Morganists but here we shall see what experimental evidence Lysenko has in support of his conclusions.

Lysenko concludes that acquired characters are inherited on the basis of an allegedly transformed heredity in some wheats when they were subjected to a certain treatment, known to plant physiologists as vernalization. A plant, before it completes its life-cycle goes through certain sets of physiological conditions which follow one another in a particular order. In the time scale it takes one year for some plants to go through all these sets of physiological conditions, two years for other plants and many years for others. Therefore, the age of a plant is dependent on how soon a plant goes through this suc-

cession of physiological conditions and to a large extent these physiological conditions are determined by the environment. Now it will suit the agriculturist to enable a plant come into these physiological conditions by providing them with natural circumstances under artificial conditions. Wheat requires a low temperature before it can head, i.e., a low temperature brings the plants into a physiological state when they can flower and these low temperatures are normally available to the plant during winter, when a snow-storm is likely to damage the crop. So, if the plant is provided with the necessary low temperature even while it is in its early life, it will have been spared the unbrarable cold of the winter and it comes to head much earlier than the winter sets in as it had the necessary low temperature. This process of making a plant go through its physiological age within a shorter time-age is known as vernalization.

Now a further claim is that this "shattering" or "shaking" of the individual during its development causes an alteration in the "heredity" of the plant and this shattered heredity is inherited by later generations. Lysenko claims to have thus brought about some soft varieties with 42 chromosomes from out of hard varieties of wheat with 28 chromosomes that are spring varieties only and these new varieties breed true later. This experiment according to Lysenko has conclusively demonstrated the fact of acquired characters being inherited.

Lysenko claims to have effected some "vegetative hybrids" and these "vegetative hybrids" arose as a result of grafting and these experiments in vegetative hybridisation, according to Lysenko "provide unmistakable proof that any particle of a living body, even the plastic substances, even the sap exchanged between scion and stock possesses hereditary qualities." We shall now see how this conclusion is justified on a scientific basis. To quote Lysenko rather lengthily: *

"Academecian, P. M. Zhukovsky, as becomes a Mendelist-Morganist, cannot conceive transmission of hereditary properties without transmission of chromosomes. He cannot conceive that the ordinary living body possesses heredity. According to his views this is the property of chromosomes only. He therefore does not think it possible to obtain plant hybrids by means of grafting, he does not think it possible for plants and animals to inherit acquired characters. I promised Academician Zhukovsky to show him vegetative hybrids, and I have now the pleasure of demonstrating them at this session.

In this case one of the participating plants was a variety of tomatoes with leaves not dissected, as usual, but like those of the potato, its fruits are red and oblong in shape.

The other variety that participated in the grafting was the one with the usual dissected tomato leaves. The fruits when ripe are not red, but yellowish-white.

The variety with the potato leaves was used as the stock, and the variety with the dissected leaves was the scion.

* From a speech delivered by Lysenko before the Academy of Sciences (U. S. S. R.).

In the year when the graft was made no changes were observed either in the scion or in the stock.

Seeds were gathered from the fruits that had grown on the scion and from those that had grown from the stock. These seeds were then planted.

Most of the plants that grew from the seeds taken from the fruits of the stock did not differ from initial variety, that is to say, they were potato-leaved and their fruits were red and oblong in shape. Six plants, however, had dissected leaves, and some of them had yellow fruits, that is to say, both the leaves and fruits had changed under the influence of the other variety, the one which had been the scion."

He continues:

"I shall now show you plants of the second seed generation obtained from the same graft; but these are from seeds taken from plants which gave no visible alterations in first seed generation. On a number of plants from the second seed generation the leaves are changed—they are not like potato leaves in appearance, but dissected, and the fruits are not red but yellow.

"We thus see that as the result of grafts we obtain dissected, adequate alterations; we obtain plants combining the characters of breeds joined in the grafting, that is to say, we get tame hybrids. New formations are also observed, for example, among the progeny of the same grafts there are plants that have borne small fruits, like those of uncultivated forms. But we all know that in the case of sexual hybridisation, too, we observe besides the transmission to the progeny of characters of the parent forms, also the appearance of new forms."

After apologising for a rather lengthy passage on vegetative hybridization, he continues as the phenomenon provides "instructive material of great significance." The significance is as follows. Again in Lysenko's words:

"Chromosomes cannot pass from stock to scion and vice-versa—that is a fact no one disputes. Yet hereditary properties such as the colouring of the fruit, its shape, the shape of leaves, and others, are transmitted from scion to stock and from stock to scion.

"Now show us any properties of two breeds united into one by means of sexual hybridisation—in the case of tomatoes, for instance—which could not be united or have not been united by the Michurinists, by means of vegetative hybridisation.

"The inevitable conclusion from all these experiments on vegetative hybridisation provide unmistakable proof that any particle of a living body, even the plastic substances, even the sap exchanged between scion and stock possesses hereditary qualities."

From the foregoing discussion, the questions involved may be seen to be as follows:

First and most important is the question of the inheritance of acquired characters.

Secondly, the controversy is around the organs of heredity. Are the chromosomes the sole medium through which the heredity is handed down or has the entire body of the protoplasm a part to play in the inheritance of characters?

And last but not least remains the ideological issue.

We shall now endeavour to examine each of these questions and sift out evidence for and against each of the two opinions pertaining to these questions.

The first to propound the theory of the inheritance of acquired characters was Lamarck, a French biologist. His thesis was mainly hypothetical. However, in recent years experiments are being undertaken to prove the truth of this hypothesis, but all of them have had negative results. One very interesting experiment was on rats conducted in recent years in Australia. A few rats were kept in a tub of water. The tub was provided with two iron ladders through one of which was flowing a mild electric current, the other was provided with a low voltage lamp and in the course of a few generations, the rats learnt to associate the presence of the lamp with the absence of electrical charge, without ever erring to learn. However, as the experiment was continued over a few more generations, the rats failed to show this capacity. Of course, only in-breeding was allowed during the time of experimentation.

Fruit-flies (*Drosophila*) were bred in total darkness over 60 generations (a period equivalent to 2,000 years on human scale) and this had not the slightest effect on their visual capacity.

A more serious objection to the acceptance of this doctrine is to be found in experiments concerning pure lines. A pure line is a strain genetically uniform, either because it reproduces asexually or because it has been rendered uniform by close in-breeding and any environmental change caused in it only a modification and when it is put once again under standard environment, the modifications disappear and the standard pure strain once again appears. The modifications due to the changed environment have not been inherited even to the slightest degree.

Now, Lysenko has renewed Lamarckism presumably with scientific data backing him. According to him, it is possible to alter the genetic make-up of a given species of plant by subjecting it to certain special treatments. Thus he claims to have brought about a soft winter strain from among hard wheats. (He points out that there is no winter strain among the hard wheats). A point of interest here is that the hard wheat has 28 chromosomes while the soft one has 42 chromosomes. To quote Lysenko himself as to the method practised for bringing about this conversion: "When experiments were started to convert hard wheat into winter wheat it was found that after two, three or four years of autumn planting (required to turn a spring crop into a winter crop) *durum* becomes *vulgare* that is to say, one species becomes converted into another." This experimental result of Lysenko is unacceptable because Lysenko failed to observe a very simple and plain precaution—the material employed by him was mixed and being so, natural selection has operated, killing off all but the soft winter strains.

Even if the precaution were observed, the emergence of a 42 chromosome variety from a 28 chromosome variety, may be explained on the basis of Polyploidy. Irradiation and administering chemicals are but two methods commonly employed to bring about Polyploidy.

Perhaps exposure of germinating seeds to extremely low temperatures for over long periods also brings about the same result.

Lysenko denies the existence of pure lines on the score that their presence goes against the tenets of the philosophy he and his country-men believe in. Scientifically speaking, pure lines exist; they are evolved by expert agriculturists and geneticists. Philosophically also Lysenko's stand is unsound as will be shown in a later section of this article.

Another very serious objection to the acceptance of this doctrine is that it cannot explain certain observed facts of evolution. A study of the process of evolution shows out one fact very clearly, that one of the main features of the evolution is the existence of long-term trends. The famous instance is that of the development of horse-stock. The trend in this line is towards a plain life, swift feet, and grass diet and it took forty million years to reach perfection. When the point of perfection is reached no more natural selection takes place and the line of development and evolution comes to an abrupt end. Thus for at least the last five million years no change has come over our horses. Who can deny that the environment has changed during this long time and yet the horse has not changed. Therefore, the one inevitable conclusion is that natural selection is the operative force, choosing those more adapted to the environment and rejecting those unsuited to the environment—the variations being the results of Mendelian segregation and recombination or mutation. Thus it might be noticed that the relationship between environment and heredity is indirect and complex and not direct and simple as the Neo-Lamarckists imagine.

Then the existence of climes (gradients of characters) especially noticeable in birds, can be explained on the basis of Neo-Mendalism while Lamarckism is helpless, for how can the same environment bring about so many effects in the same species or sub-species of a bird?

And now, to the second question, concerning the organs of heredity. That the genes are carriers of heredity the Mendelians have established. All their work is based upon this assumption. It is backed up by experiment. More recently, it is even claimed that they are observable under electron-microscope. Of course, a mere look at them will not make any one believe that they are the carriers of heredity. But certain observations tend to support the view that they are the organs of heredity.

(1) During the vegetative propagation of plants as in the practice of layering, etc., the daughter exactly resembles the parent because during the cell divisions that lead to the growth of the individual, the quality and quantity of chromosomes are not disturbed. On the other hand, in sexual reproduction the daughter organism resembles each of the parents to a small or great degree because a qualitative rearrangement of chromosomes had taken place in the cell out of which the daughter has grown. (2) The distribution of sex in the daughter individual follows the rearrangement of sex chromosomes. (3) The

phenomenon of linkage is another factor in support of this hypothesis. The genes responsible for such features as development of moustache and mammary glands are always found on the male and female chromosomes respectively and therefore these characters go with the sex of the individual. All such genes which are thus held by the same chromosomes are said to be linked and the phenomenon is called linkage. The strength of linkage between two characters depends upon the distance between two genes in a chromosome. The greater the strength of linkage, the greater is the possibility of the two characters appearing together in the individual.

Lysenko, however, tells us that chromosomes are not the only organs of heredity. According to him, "any particle of a living body, even the plastic substances possess hereditary qualities." In support of this contention Lysenko claims to have experimental evidence. The first of these experiments is in the nature of grafting between two varieties of tomato. I refer the reader here to the long passage on pages 375-76, an extract from a speech by Lysenko before the academy of Sciences. (U.S.S.R.). It will be found that Lysenko has claimed to have produced on the stock fruits very much like those of the scion. Therefore, Lysenko thinks that the principle of heredity is not confined to chromosomes alone but any particle of the cell including the plastic substances possesses the hereditary properties. The objection to the acceptance of the results of the experiment is that the purity of scion is not established prior to the starting of the experiment. If the scion had been heterozygous, i.e., if the scion itself had been the offspring of two different parental types it is quite right that in the next generation it has given rise to a few of its parental types. (By the purity of a given plant is understood that for a particular character whose inheritance is being followed, in-breeding in that plant will show that character and that character alone in offspring and not a contrasting character. When a plant, on the other hand, even if inbred, in two generations throws out offspring with the contrasting characters it is said to be heterozygous for that character). Therefore this experiment of Lysenko does not in any way prove that protoplasm has hereditary properties. However this is not to take the view that the protoplasm has nothing to do with the heredity. Recently it has been found that in the general protoplasm certain particular substances called Plasma-genes are present and that these play a part in the heredity.

Coming to the third point, namely, the ideological issue Lysenko pretends that his thesis is in greater conformity with Dialectical Materialism, the accepted philosophy of the communists. According to that way of thinking, all phenomena of nature are the resultants of two opposite forces. Thus the revolution and establishment of communist governments in the countries all the world over is the inevitable result of the struggle between capitalism and the impoverished labour class and this idea of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis is extended

to the phenomena of Physics, Chemistry and Biology (Nature). Secondly, Dialectical Materialism considers all the universe as materialistic in essence and the ideological conception of the universe, according to them, is untenable. Thirdly, Dialectical Materialism believes that all matter is in a state of flux, in a state of motion. It is coming and going. In plain words, all matter is transitory; nothing is permanent.

Permit me here to refer the reader to the history of C.P.S.U. (Bolsheviks) for a more detailed account of Dialectical Materialism. Now let us proceed to see which is in greater conformity with Dialectical Materialism—Lysenkoism or Mendel-Morganism.

The entire argument of Lysenko seems to revolve round a statement of Engels, which says:

"The great basic thought that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made things, but as a complex of processes, in which the things apparently stable no less than their mind-images in our heads, the concepts go through an uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away."

"For it (Dialectical Philosophy) nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything."

Lysenko seems to be suffering from an obsession that Mendel-Morganists attribute permanence to chromosomes and the genetic make-up of organisms, and he thinks that Mendel-Morganists deny any role for the environment in the hereditary make-up of an organism. Whatever the role of environment on the individual organism and its heredity, nothing can be far from truth to say that Mendel-Morganist school of thought supposes that genetic make-up of an organism cannot and will not be altered, because Mendel-Morganism recognises the importance of such phenomena as mutation, segregation, recombination, etc. It even provides methods to produce a desired variety of organism by such practices as in-breeding for pure lines, hybridisation, etc. All this is compatible with the argument that "nothing is final, absolute, sacred;" it is possible only if "the transitory character of everything and in everything" is conceded. If Mendel-Morganists have supposed that Nature is fixed once and for all there is absolutely no room for effort in the direction of producing new crop varieties by inducing Polyploidy, by hybridisation, and kindred methods. That Mendel-Morganists did not believe in the permanence of things is amply proved by their achievements.

Lysenko denies the existence of pure lines and alleges that the pure line theory has no dialectical basis. He rejected the idea on the score that the theory leads us into a faith of permanent races. It is interesting here to quote De Vries's paradoxical statement. "The pure line is completely constant and extremely variable," because in that statement the Dialectical basis of pure line

theory is put in a nut-shell. It indicates what a fierce struggle goes on between Nature and Nurture. When Nurture is "strong" enough a pure line is disturbed by a mutation, a change comes over in the individual. If on the other hand, nurture (environmental influence) is not so strong as to bring about a mutation, a pure line remains pure. One very important point to be noticed in connection with pure line theory, is the stress it lays on in-breeding. With out-breeding no pure lines are possible. All this only shows the transitory character of all the phenomena of Nature. The pure line theory is more dialectical in the sense that it admits a perennial struggle between Nature and Nurture. On the other hand, Lysenko asks us to believe in a passive individual ready to undergo a metamorphosis once its environment is altered. This is less dialectical in the sense that it admits of passivity on the part of one of the conflicting forces.

And now the materialistic basis of Mendel-Morganism and Lysenkoism. The philosophy of materialism preaches that "the world is by its very nature material, that the multifold phenomena of the world constitute different forms of matter in motion, that inter-connection and inter-dependence of phenomena are a law of the development of moving matter and that the world develops in accordance with the laws of movement of matter." It preaches that "matter is a subject of all changes." The genes are material objects and they have been observed under electron microscope and the latest effort is towards understanding the chemical composition of these genes. Therefore, Mendel-Morganists are no idealists as Lysenko alleges. Perhaps they are greater materialists than Lysenko because Lysenko talks of heredity without telling precisely how inheritance is caused.

Perhaps Lysenko is a great advocate of materialism, when he accuses Mendel-Morganists of not being able to direct the mutations because according to this philosophy, "There are no things which are unknowable." But Mendel-Morganists confess their inability for the present to direct mutations and they hope to do so at a future date because it is their wish too to conquer nature completely. Philosophical materialism provides for such temporary lapses on the part of the scientists because it says, "There are no things in the world which are unknowable but only things which are still unknown," and the laws that govern mutations are still in the list of "unknown." That is all. To wish to know is one thing and to know is another thing. In wishing to know the laws governing the origin of species, scientists all the world over are one with Lysenko.

Lysenkoism is therefore unsound from all points of view, but thanks to Lysenko, the world of science has come to know that with political dogmas goes the regimentation of thought and the world scientists are now ready to fight this evil.

THE FIRST EXPERIMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

By MISS SANTOSH KUMARI

After nearly a century of long and arduous struggle against overwhelming odds and tremendous difficulties, at the stroke of mid-night of August 14 and 15 was hailed all the world over the rising star in the East amidst unprecedented enthusiasm when this land regained its long-coveted freedom from the shackles of alien domination. And the more important red-letter day in the annals of India dawned when she decided to remain a sovereign republic within the Commonwealth and evolved a democratic Constitution for our country which vested the millions of India with "Equality of Status and of Opportunity." At the time of enfranchising the people, 82 per cent of whom are unlettered and ignorant and with 175 million voters going to the polls for the first time in the history of any country in the world, many doubted with some trepidation that it might prove too difficult and risky an experiment. But for obvious reasons they refused to be daunted by the nation's abysmal illiteracy and other physical handicaps and in May 1951, an historic announcement in the Indian Parliament was made that the first general elections as a step towards parliamentary democracy would be carried out during the months of December 1951 and January-February 1952. It is really a matter of pleasant surprise that the population rose to the height of the occasion and responded to the obligations of democracy with such unexpectedly large participation in the voting.

During the elections, much of exhibition of mass enthusiasm, so common at the time of elections, was absent. The dignity and restraint over unhappy impulses and tolerance of political differences without undue excitement shown by the people is a matter of congratulation and augurs well for the successful working of democratic structure in India. The people marched everywhere to the polling booths in unexpectedly large numbers. Even the old and the infirm participated in sufficient numbers for recording their decisive voice in the nascent democracy. The so-called educated sector upon whom much hopes were kept for the success of elections, on the contrary, turned out to be too sophisticated.

Though, judged from any angle, the introduction of adult franchise has proved a resounding success, the progress of the General Elections has brought to the fore a variety of issues and produced big surprises.

A notable feature of the elections is the emergence of a number of new parties with no definite goal, some of them with the only aim of tracking down the Congress from power. Though the growth of parties

is natural under democracy and the growth of opposition becomes somewhat necessary for the efficient working of a democratic government, springing up of parties with aims of dethroning the party in power and capturing the office, is not a healthy development at all. Our Constitution mainly being modelled on British constitutional fabric, the resulting two-or-more party system ensures stability and efficiency in administration. But at the same time we should not forget another aspect of political thought in Great Britain where parties have grown for the amelioration of the social and economic conditions of the people with not as great divergence in policies. The situation is unfortunately different here.

Another equally notable feature of the elections was the participation of some of the princes in the elections in some parts of the country. The active participation on their part in our public and political life, if with indubitable patriotic intentions at heart, is a healthy development and has to be, in fact is, welcomed by all alike. But the idea, if any, of winning back the power they have lost through the very instruments of democracy can hardly evoke appreciation from the people, as the elections have shown that the electorate is not prepared to forgive even the Congress though it was the Congress which got them freedom. It is high time for such erring princes to realize the historical truth and to reconcile as early as possible to the new era.

Full justice to the subject will not, I think, be done if some mention is not made here about the kind of weapons used for propaganda in the elections to cow down opposition on the part of different parties. A certain measure of enthusiasm before the elections and excitement on the eve of electoral success within reasonable limits is, no doubt, inevitable but the lack of scruples witnessed in this regard on the part of several parties can hardly be appreciated. Worse still has been witnessed at the time of defeat when the chagrin borne out on the victory of the opponent made them lose their balance. They engaged in dubious means of propaganda and raved about alleged election malpractices. This is hardly appreciable. They should abide by the verdict of the electorate and forget how they trounced at the polls.

Nor can it be said that there were no irregularities in the conduct of elections, of any kind. Most of the difficulties experienced were inherent due to lack of experience in conducting such a gigantic election but they were not of such magnitude as to have become

the wail of defeated candidates. The irregularities were that the polling booths at some places were too small to maintain perfect secrecy of the ballot box, arrangements of light and water were not very satisfactory; clear and distinct idea of their job on the part of many of the polling and presiding officers, resulting in waste of time, was lacking and too rigid and arbitrary interpretation of election rules was reported on the part of these officers. Taking into cognizance the huge structure involved and the first experiment of its kind in India, the conduct of the general elections has been exemplary. With the increase in the size of the area and population involved, democracy usually becomes harder and harder.

Illiteracy did not hinder our people to cast their votes accurately as was feared before, though a number of anecdotes about the mistakes bred by ignorance (we may call so) were read in daily newspapers. For instance, a voter tore his ballot paper into as many pieces as there were ballot boxes because of his promise to all the rival candidates or because of all the candidates being equally dear to her (in the case of a woman voter who did not want to be discriminating)—nice sentiments as such bred by our inveterate culture, some wanting to vote for two bullocks with a yoke brought grass to feed them but were utterly disappointed to have found no bullocks there, some prayed and then cast their votes—a good regard for democracy—and some vainly searched for a burning lamp, etc. But such examples of ignorance and credulity were surprisingly few. Intensive propaganda on the part of different parties and the assignment of distinctive symbols to the candidates helped a lot to remove confusion. Of course, the system of distributive voting in the double-member constituencies presented some confusion. On the whole, the arrangements were found to be good and polling was entirely smooth, peaceful and orderly.

Coming to the factual side of the elections, the result of the Parliamentary elections for 489 seats are now out and the vast Indian electorate has voted the Congress to power with absolute majority in the House of the People, with ten more seats to be filled by nomination. The elections for the Council of States carrying a total strength of 216 members with 16 nominations by the President are almost half over and up till now, the Congress has captured above 160 seats which shows that the same tale as in the case of House of the People will be repeated here also. In regard to presidential elections, the Congress has nominated Dr. Rajendra Prasad (the present President of India) and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as her candidates for presidentship and vice-presidentship respectively, while the other party to nominate so far is the Communists and its allies who have nominated Prof. K. T. Shah as their candidate for the presidential seat and have expressed their unwillingness to oppose Dr. Radha-

krishnan. Though the Council of States—an upper chamber consisting of more aged, shrewd and matured people which will serve as a check on hasty decisions of the lower house—and the seats of President and Vice-president are in no way less important, I shall still discuss only about the House of the People in whose hands the real power rests. The following statement would present the picture of party position, etc., in the House of the People:

Name of the Party	Number of seats contested	Number of seats won	Total votes cast in (in lakhs)
Congress	480	363	4,78
Communists and allied parties	70	27	59
Socialists	295	12	1,10
K.M.P.P.	137	10	57
Hindu Mahasabha	30	4	10
Jan Sangh	94	3	32
Ganatantra Parishad		5	10
Schedule Castes Federation	32	2	24
R. R. P.	57	3	19
Peasants & Workers Party	16	2	11
Independents	453	36	1,55
Others	166	22	91

Total votes polled are 10,75,78,776 (including quite a good number of invalid votes) for 489 seats in the House of 490.

It will be seen from the above table that the Congress secured a majority of 237 seats over other parties. Next to Congress, come Communists and allied parties who have hailed mainly from the South with 27 successes in their bag, not to speak of the successful independents who number 36 in the aggregate. It is, however, clear that parties other than the Congress have received very short shrift at the hands of the electorate. The solidarity of the Congress organisation, as against the lack of clear-cut policies and programmes and resort to spurious slogans and propaganda on the part of other parties, impeded the masses to be charitable towards them. The Socialist Party which contested the largest number of seats after the Congress, has comparatively been unlucky as to have secured only 12 seats. The total votes cast in and the total number of seats won presented a controversial picture. The Congress, though it won overwhelming number of seats, has secured only 47 per cent of total votes cast in. The other parties quickly exploited this point as one of their means of propaganda. In this kind of system, such thing is possible but the strong merit of it that it usually produces clear-cut results, should not also be forgotten.

Another striking trait of the elections has been the defeat of some of the top personalities of all political parties, as also that of some eminent parliamentarians. Among the presidents of various parties who stood in the elections, only the presidents of Congress and Jan Sangh have been successful. The list of

'casualties' included, among many other well-known persons, Acharya Kripalani (chief of K.M.P.P.), Mr. Asoka Mehta (General Secretary of Socialist Party), Prof. N. G. Ranga (Krishak Lok Party), Dr. N. B. Khare (President of Hindu Mahasabha), Mrs. Prabhavati Raje (President of the R. R. P.), Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (former Law Minister and also the leader of the S.C.F.), Mr. K. Santhanam (Minister of State for Railways and now Lt-Governor of Vindhya Pradesh), Mr. Thirumala Rao (Deputy Minister for Food), Mr. Raj Bahadur (Deputy Minister for Communications) and Dr. H. N. Kunzru and Mr. H. V. Kamath (the famous irrepressible member of the Parliament) among parliamentarians.

Coming to the State Assemblies for which detailed analysis is not much needed, the Congress Party scored absolute majority in Uttar Pradesh, Saurashtra, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal and Delhi in which she has secured more than 80 per cent of the seats. In other states, its strength varies from 52 per cent to 75 per cent except in Rajasthan where it could only capture a bare working majority, winning 81 out of 159 seats. The challenge to the Congress came chiefly from the Communists and its allies in the South and in P.E.P.S.U. from Shiromani Akali Dal. The position of the Congress has been made uncomfortable in Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and Madras though the Congress has resolved to form the Ministry in them. In Madras and Travancore-Cochin, the Congress could win just over 40 per cent of the seats. In Madras, six of the Ministers including the Chief Minister failed to find favour with the electorate.

The successes of the Communist Party in the three southern states of Travancore-Cochin, Madras and Hyderabad have engendered a sort of impression in foreign countries that the whole of the South has gone red. In *Life*, a good mention is made about it. To such impressions, the results of the elections will definitely prove a corrective.

Whatever be the position of the Congress in the Central legislature, the failures in three southern states, Orissa, Rajasthan and P.E.P.S.U. have proved to be a most serious blow to its prestige and the Congress had evidently lost much of her reputation with the masses. If she does not win back popular confidence once again and particularly of the rural masses, it will not be presumptuous to say that she might find herself in a much worst position. It cannot be denied that the success of the Communists is chiefly due to economic discontent in rural areas and especially in Hyderabad where politics has been

very protracted; the Communists threw on the slogan "What have they achieved within four years of their rule." The reasons for the weakening of the Congress are many, for instance, adverse effect of domestic wrangling resulting in loss of mass contact, worsening food situation (though much due to natural cataclysms and calamities), weak and corrupt administration of controls and their failure to achieve the desired results, increased sufferings of the common people and lack of counter-propaganda to put the facts before the people, explain the Government's difficulties and prevent them from being duped by false propaganda. This does not mean that the Congress is not to be blamed. The ubiquity of the evil of corruption and nepotism today, is known to all. Who else is to be blamed for it? Leaving few top personalities of the Congress, all others took undue advantage of their power and helplessness of the people. If the victory of Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani from New Delhi constituency where mostly Government servants reside has anything to convey, it was the increasing frustration as a result of economic pressure being too heavy on their slender arms because of rising prices of all the basic necessities of life which made the Congress to lose this valuable seat. Because of lack of attention on the part of the Government, these middle-class people lent friendly ear to other parties. If the same tale is repeated again by the Congress, let the people bid them farewell in the next elections. Pandit Nehru—the idol of sacrifice for millions of our countrymen—who has taken up the presidentship of Congress to revitalize it, may not complain that a chance has not been given to him to retrieve the lost ground—and let us pray that he succeeds in overhauling this organisation on a sound and systematic footing to enable it to serve the country more and more.

Political ruse and past magnanimity do not always pay for continued success; the needs of the time should not be overlooked. So it behoves the Congress to revise and act in the light of the needs and demands of the common people. As political equality conceded under adult suffrage does not feed the people, it, therefore, becomes all the more necessary that the social and economic equality does not lag behind. The social fabric, in which the grower of food lives just on the starvation level, the weaver of clothes moves in rags, the builder sleeps in slums and the labourer who is the actual producer is kicked down to the lowest rung of the social ladder, is not tolerated long. Let us hope fervently once again that the Congress will regain its lost prestige and thereby will take India into better regions.

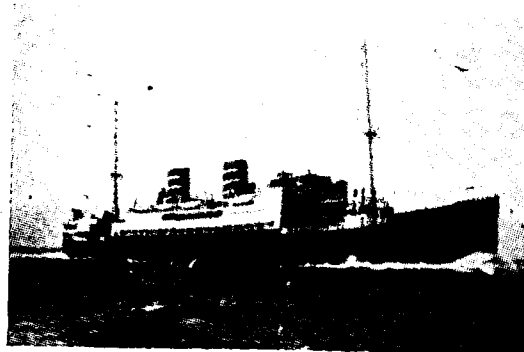
NORWAY

The North Sea Coast

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

THE west coast of Norway is very much broken. There are many Fjords, which are narrow arms of the sea, running far inland in various widths, mostly winding about, between constantly changing scenery on either side, of grim precipitous mountains or gentle fruitful plains. The contrast becomes striking owing to the fact that the water level in the Fjords is that

of Norway. It is the second largest city in Norway, with a population of over 100,000. It is also a very old city, having been founded in 1070. It is an important commercial and shipping centre and a central point for all traffic in western Norway. It could be reached in 18 hours from Newcastle in beautifully appointed small boats, where our poor



Ferry boat *Venus*

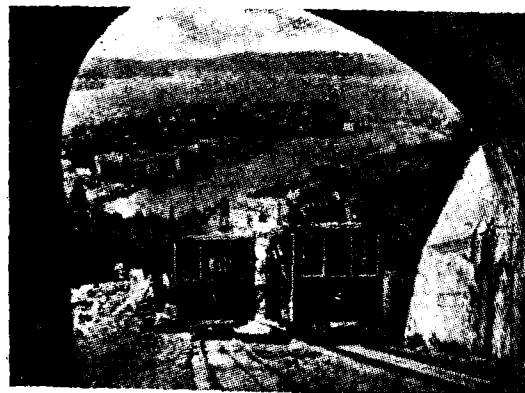


Fish Market, Bergen

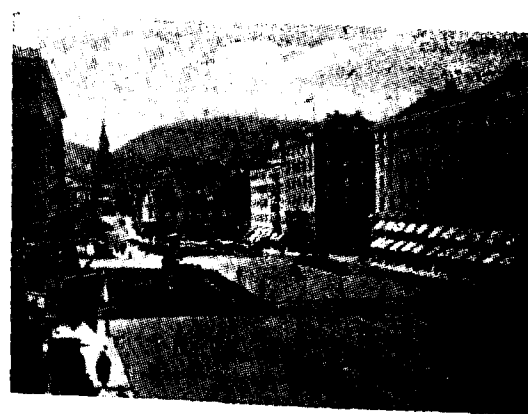
of the sea and the channels are often narrow and the mountains on the shores are high. The mouths of the Fjords are like shallow rocky sills and Fjords have been described as "rock basins drowned in sea water." They are often, as in other parts of the coast, studded with numerous islands on the shallow edge of the open sea. The more important ports lie on the mouths of these Fjords.

neglected *Muri* as puffed rice with milk was served for breakfast. There are also other regular services to Rotterdam, Hamburg, Copenhagen and New York from Bergen.

The city lies surrounded by mountains and a good view of the town and the surrounding sea and islands is obtained from the summit of Floyen (1000



Funicular Railway, Bergen



Centre of Bergen

Of the several ports on the North Sea, Bergen is the most important. Two of the biggest Fjords lie above and below Bergen, which is situated about the middle of the westernmost semi-circle of the coast

feet) on the northern heights of the town, reached in 10 minutes by a funicular railway, the station being quite close to the head of the harbour, opposite to the Fish Market. The important centre of the

NORWAY

383



Sunmore, Norway



Alesund, Norway



Bergen, Norway

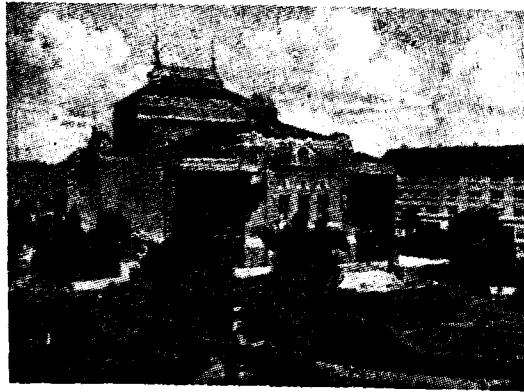


Sogne Fjord, Norway

town is below this section. The Theatre is also here. Further south is the Museum also seen at a distance with the town garden close to it, on its east.

On the north and the south of Bergen, lie, as

variety, consisting of ideal beaches, small Fjords studded with small islands, peaceful villages and towering mountains, intersected by deep Fjords. It is the centre of the Norwegian Canning Industry

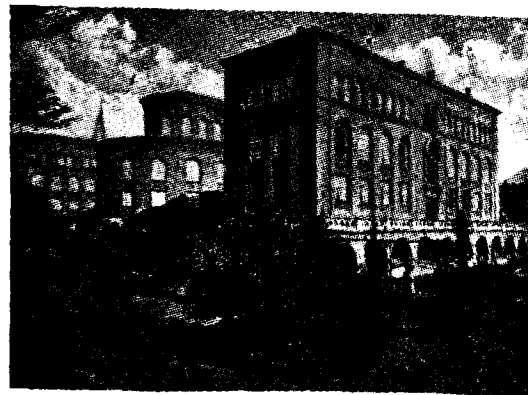


Theatre, Bergen



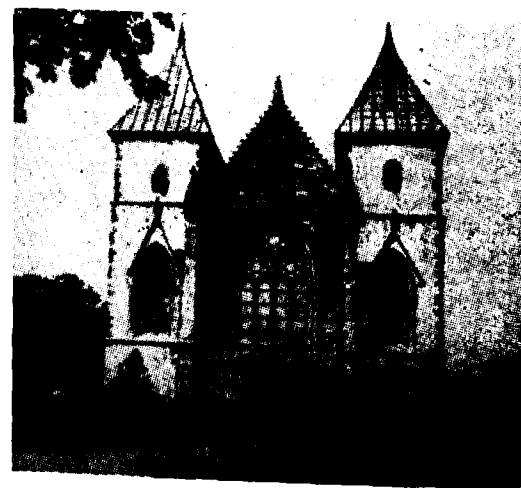
Town Garden, Bergen

already stated, the two great Fjords, the Sogne and the Hardanger, where scenic regions are famous and within easy approach from Bergen. A railway connects cross-country, over snowy mountains which divide the country, to the capital city Oslo. There are no other railway lines from Bergen, but motor services combined with steamer services in the Fjords afford splendid opportunities of approach to the North and South of Norway through delightful mountains, forests and lake scenery.



Museum, Bergen

To the south of Bergen, the Hardanger Fjord, with waterfalls below the mountain of the same name extends up to Stavanger, the city next to Bergen in importance. It is one of the leading trading centres and the chief town of Rogaland, one of the most delightful and interesting counties in the country. The town lies close to sceneries of great beauty and



Stavanger, Norway

and is very spectacular with waterfalls and zig-zag roads near its shores. Further north are the Sunn Fjord and the Nord Fjord of great scenic beauty with imposing mountain ranges and glittering



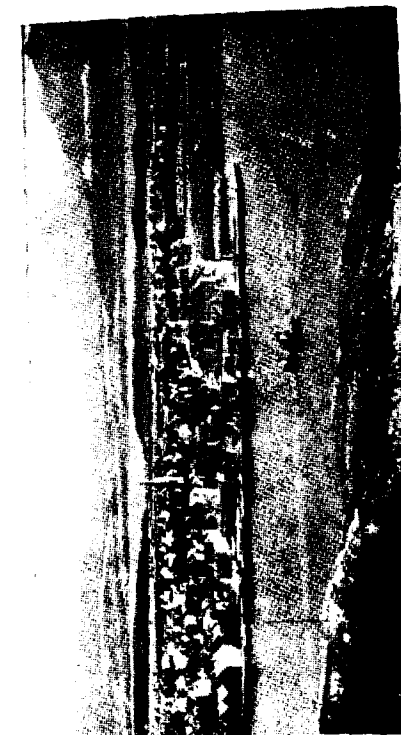
Sogne Fjord—Gadvangen



North Cape, Norway



Trondelag, Norway



Bode, Norway

glaciers. Stor Fjord is beyond the Nord and at its mouth lies Alesund, the most important fishing port of Romsdal Fjord, which winds through the Romsdal Valley, along a mountain region of imposing grandeur



Egersund, Norway

in Norway. It is situated in the beautiful Sunmore district. There are inland motor roads and ferry



Nord Fjord



Trondheim Cathedral, Norway

services across the Stor Fjord. Molde, the town of many roses, has a wonderful situation on the shores



Romsdal Valley, Norway

to the famous railway and mountain road, inland. Further north Kristiansand is the natural centre of the Nordmore district. The town stands on three



Midnight sun from Bode

islands on the verge of open sea, and ferries connect the town over the lovely Fjords spread out fanwise with the mainland roads. Still further north is the rich and attractive Trondelag Fjord and Valley district with Trondheim as the centre. This is Norway's

third largest city, with over 60,000 inhabitants, where the Norwegian Kings were crowned. It is rich in historical monuments and associations. There are the beautiful cathedral and attractive public pleasure-grounds. It is the terminus of the railway line from Oslo to the north, through Elverum, and is the calling port of coastal services and the starting point for trips to Northern Norway, the land of the Midnight Sun, which begins from after about 24 hours' journey from Trondheim.

North of Trondheim, vast territories of wild mountains with charming spots are mostly washed by the Arctic Ocean. Rail service to the north extends to a short distance from Trondheim and bus service to Bode from where starts the wonderland, where the sun never sets in summer. There exist

—:O:—

isolated roads further north, one of which is linked with the Finnish road system. The communication is by the sheltered coastal service, extending to the North Cape and sometimes to Iceland. In the summer, the land of the Midnight Sun always brings tourists to the North.

Behind the Lofoten islands, where the British troops landed during the Second World War, and behind the waterways, studded with numerous islands, lies the town of Nervi, which is a great source of iron ores. There is a short railway line to the east from Nervi towards Sweden, but the ore has to be carried along the sea coast. The conflict at Nervi, during the wars, has brought the place to the forefront of public interest.

THE HILL TRIBES OF JEYPORE

By LAKSHMINARAYAN SAHU,
Servants of India Society, Cuttack

The hill tribes of Jeypore (a zamindari of 11,000 sq. miles) consist mainly of Kandhas, Saoras, Gondas, Gadabas, Parajas, etc. social customs, manners, etc. My professor Sri Joges Chandra Rai, Vidyanidhi, asked me to make a study of their cottage industries. Here in this article I have



A Kandha



Ghani I

A thorough sociological study of these hill tribes has not yet been made. I ventured to make a study of these tribes in 1939-42. But I studied mainly their

studied a few of their cottage industries and have taken some photographs. If it be interesting I shall from time to time publish their arts and trades with

photographs for the delectation of the readers of *The Modern Review*.



Ghani II

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

There are two types of "ghani" i.e. oil-pressing machines, that are the invention of the aboriginals of the Koraput District. The two photographs that are given here have been taken by Dr. J. P. Singh, Superintendent of the Thakkar Ashram at Rayagada



Image of Goddess Lakshmi

in the District of Koraput. The one marked I was photographed at Telengapadar in Bissamkatak P.S. (Rayagada Taluk) and the other marked II was photographed at Gurtuli in Kalayansingpur P. S. (Rayagada Taluk).

No. I. There is a hole made in a standing tree into which another wooden pole has been inserted and to keep it fixed a wooden plug has been placed by the side. This wooden plug has been fixed into the earth.

Now if oil is to be pressed out of "Mahul" seed which is called "Tola" the seed is first pounded in their hand-pounding stick which strikes against the "Tola" placed in the hole of the hand-pounding arrangement. The next process is to sprinkle hot water over pounded "tola" and mix up the "tola" in a "siari" basket. Siari is a kind of creeper which is famous, for Srikrishna was swinging in this "siari" creeper swing when Jara Savara pierced him with an arrow mistaking his leg to be the ear of a deer. Three or four such baskets are placed on the wooden platform one over the other.

Then six or seven people press the "tola" at one end downward so that these baskets are pressed and oil oozes out and runs through a ground channel and collects itself in a pot which is placed at the outlet.



River Vansadhara

No. II. The second mechanism is as follows: It is practically like the one that is generally used by us. A wooden pole at the centre to which two poles are crosswisely fixed. Men stand on the two crossed poles, support themselves by seizing the middle pole and turn the crossed poles by their legs, instead of by bullocks as we generally do. The oil collects itself in the "ghani" which is taken out by soaking it in torn cloth.

The aborigines of the Koraput District once excelled in wood-carving. An image of the Goddess Lakshmi has been carved on a wooden plank which is called "Chakra Pata," i.e. "Pata," a plank and a "Chakra," a circle. This image of Lakshmi has by her side two carved elephants and two carved female companions on both the sides of the elephants. The one that is represented here was carved about 150 years ago. This plank is placed on the top of the front door. It is not found in every house. Those who are leading people and are very famous or influential may have it. This is after all a very rare collection, for though our Thakkar Ashram has been established since 1939, none of our workers has come across another such carving. This particular one was noticed by Dr. J. P. Singh, Superintendent of our

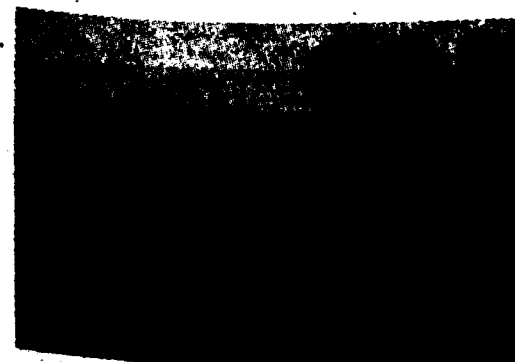
THE HILL TRIBES OF JEYPORE

Thakkar Ashram, in the house of the headman of Deokupuli in Bissamkatak P.S. (Rayagada Taluk).

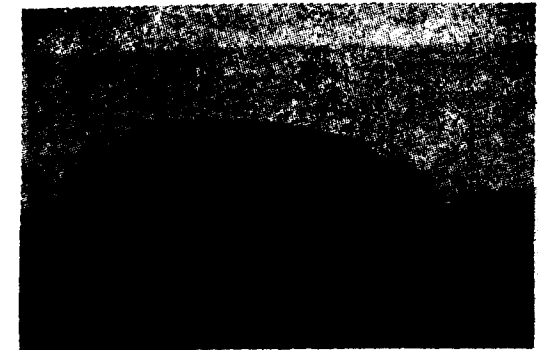
SCENERY

The district of Koraput is a mountainous area. There are many hills in the district. The Devagiri hill of Kalyansingpur, which is the abode of the God Shiva, who is the preserver of Kalyansingpur Raj family, is a mound-like thing over which rarely a tree

One of the photos is of the river Nagavali which runs through Koraput District and Shrikakulam (North Visag) and has fallen into the Bay of Bengal. It is called Nagavali, i.e., it looks like the tortuous serpent. This photo has been taken at Pujariguda ghat in Kalyansingpur P. S. (Rayagada Taluk). The picture shows how children are taking their buffaloes and are washing them. This photo was taken at dawn.



River Nagavali



Devagiri Hill

stands, but inside and down below there are mango trees, springs of water, etc. Shivaratri is observed there for four or five days and a crowd of twenty to twenty-five thousand people come every year. Government takes all precautions there at that time and sanitary measures also are adopted. At this time there take place some marriages by force which is one of the customs of the Hill Tribes. Here is a Kolha song which is typical of their custom:

"I tell you I languish for you
my mind grows dim,
If any one marries you or carries
you by force,
I shall send letters all round the world
And for five months I shall walk on foot
If any one in the end marries you or
carries you aloft
I shall fix a pole on the tank dug in
your memory.

Another photo is of the river Vansadhara which runs through the Ganjam, Koraput as well as the North Visag districts and has fallen into the Bay of Bengal. This photo was taken at sunset near Deokupuli ghat in Bissamkatak P. S. (Rayagada Taluk).

Here is a typical Kandha. He is Bisi Majhi of Alanda Mutha (Kalyansingpur P. S.). Bisi Majhi means the headman of a number of villages which are included in Alanda Mutha. Mutha means a region comprising a number of villages generally about 70 to 100. There are three other such Bisi Majhis in Kalyansingpur P. S. At the time of Dussera these four Bisi Majhis are honoured with saris tacked on their head by the Amins on behalf of the Maharaja of Jeypore estate. These Bisi Majhis also present vegetables, goats, etc. to the Maharaja as a token of their fidelity.



THOMAS ALVA EDISON AND THE MOTION-PICTURE INDUSTRY

THOMAS ALVA EDISON (1847-1931), world-renowned American scientist, was responsible for many inventions that have far-reaching benefits. The motion-picture industry, in particular, is greatly indebted to him.



Thomas Alva Edison

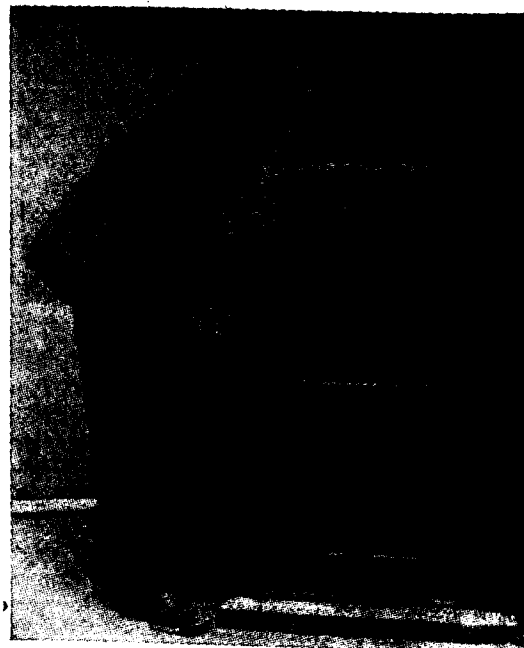
In 1889, Edison produced his first pictures of moving action and shortly thereafter the Edison Kinetoscope for viewing them. The first motion-picture studio was also an Edison invention, and was used to film motion-pictures for the Edison Company in 1893.

Other inventions through which he contributed indirectly to the film industry were his transmission developments for the telephone, the phonograph or talking machine, the incandescent lamp, the electric dynamo, the kinetographic camera, and photographic film for motion-picture cameras.

For the first 10 years, motion-pictures consisted of 50-foot snatches of variety acts and topical recordings. With *The Life of An American Fireman* and

The Train Robbery, produced under Edison auspices, the story picture with its art of narration arrived.

In 1909, the pioneer motion-picture director, David Wark Griffith, took a company to the southern part of the Pacific Coast state of California to take



The Edison "peep-hole" Kinetoscope. It is equipped with hearing tubes for synchronised sound

advantage of the year-round excellent light and weather conditions. There, in Hollywood and its environs, the new art medium began to grow into an impressive U.S. industry.

Up to 1927, the motion picture was pure pantomime. But it was inevitable that the alert, imaginative industry should take advantage of technological developments in telephone communication and in radio. With the production in 1927 of *The Jazz Singer*, the first "talking" motion-picture, producers, directors and actors were confronted with the necessity of changing their basic techniques. This they did in an amazingly short time. Dialogue, music and sound effects soon became an integral part of the picture, filling in otherwise silent sequences.—USIS

DEVELOPMENT OF TAGORISM

By Dr. RAJANI KANTA DAS and Dr. SONYA RUTH DAS*

A most important factor in the social regeneration of India is what may best be called, for the lack of a better term, the development of Tagorism or the life and teaching of Rabindranath Tagore. Like Kalidas in ancient times, Rabindranath is the greatest poet of India in modern times. He was a versatile genius, such as poet, composer, reformer, philosopher, and sage. Moreover, he also showed talents as actor, singer, and even as painter. Like his illustrious father, Devendranath, the spiritual leader of the Brahmo Samaj, who was recognised as Maharshi or great sage, Rabindranath was also very appropriately designated as Rishi or sage, i.e., the one in whom piety and learning were combined, as was often the case in ancient India. Tagorism would, therefore, indicate his many-sided activities, thoughts, and ideals, such as cultural renaissance, social reform, rural reconstruction, the Santiniketan School, the Tagore University (former Visva-Bharati or World University), creative literature, and universal religion.

Like Gandhi, Tagore was also one of the greatest men India has ever produced. There were, however, some differences between Gandhi and Tagore. Gandhi was an ascetic and advocated simplicity and frugality in living, and emphasised the importance of self-discipline and self-control as the best means of achieving human dignity in the midst of misery and poverty. Tagore, on the other hand, was an apostle of abundance of life to be achieved through all the human senses in the wide world. In fact, these two great souls represent the moral and spiritual achievements of the two different aspects of the ultimate reality of the Universe, such as a Moral Principle or a Spiritual Being. According to Tagore, monotony of life and lack of joy are the outstanding defects of the Indian people and have made India a static, backward, and unprogressive country. It is the fullness of life alone which can make the people of India happy, active, and progressive.

Rabindranath was born in Calcutta on May, 6, 1861, in the illustrious family of Dwarkanath Tagore, his grandfather, who enjoyed the reputation of both wealth and culture. His father, Devendranath, was the minister of the Adi (first) Brahmo Samaj; his eldest brother, Dwijendranath, a great philosopher; his sister, Swarnkumari, a literary genius; his nephew, Abanindranath, the founder of a new school of art in

India. Rabindranath was educated mostly by private tutors. He began his literary career at a very early age and was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913; the University of Calcutta conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Literature in the same year and the British Government knighted him in 1915. He delivered the Hibbert Lectures at the University of Oxford in 1930, for which the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred upon him in 1940. In 1931 the people of India celebrated his Seventieth Jayanti (birthday) and presented him with *The Golden Book of Tagore*, to which his friends and admirers all over the world contributed. But Rabindranath could not escape family misfortunes; he lost his mother at the age of 15, his wife at the age of 42; of his five children, only one son, Rathindranath, and one daughter, Mira, survived him. Of his many dear and devoted friends, both Indian and foreign, mention must be made of Reverend C. F. Andrews, a great Christian humanitarian, for his deep devotion and selfless service to Rabindranath. But Rabindranath rose above all these personal misfortunes and achieved supreme control over himself and devoted his entire life to the intellectual, moral, and spiritual elevation of the people of the world in general and of India in particular. After a service to humanity for over two generations, Rabindranath left this world on August 7, 1941.

An outstanding contribution of Rabindranath to India was the cultural renaissance or the revival of India's cultural achievement, which had been started by Rammohun Roy. While his grandfather Dwarkanath acted as a trustee of the Brahmo Samaj, founded by Rammohun, his father Devendranath revived it, interpreted the Upanishads, on which it was founded, in his famous commentaries (*Bakhyan*), and organized its divine services; Rabindranath acted as its secretary, composed most of its songs and hymns, and defended it against neo-Hinduism. The most important work of Rabindranath was, however, to make Bengali prose, as founded by Rammohun and developed by others, a highly developed literary language. Moreover, he revived folk songs and dances, rural sports and games, and village festivals and fairs; composed songs and plays, and organized public performances, in which he himself and many respectable women took part in spite of strong criticisms by the Hindus and the Brahmos alike. In short, for over half a century,

* Authors of *India and A New Civilization*.

1. The writers were personally acquainted both with Mahatma

2. The writers were very happy to contribute their shares to *The Golden Book of Tagore*.

Rabindranath was the personification of India's cultural renaissance.

Rabindranath took up the social reform movement with the same degree of earnestness. He stood against neo-Hinduism, under the guise of which some Hindu leaders bolstered up idolatry and even attempted to make it a part of the national political movement, thus alienating a number of Moslem leaders from the Congress party. He also condemned the caste system, child marriage, and restriction on widow marriage. Rabindranath had different concepts of nationalism and did not approve of the boycott of British goods and the Non-co-operation Movement. But he heartily advocated the Swadeshi (use of indigenous goods) movement and the national system of education. As a poet and philosopher, he devoted himself exclusively to the giving of shape to the intense national feeling which swept all over the country, specially over Bengal, in all forms of literature. They form the beacon light to the future generations and a significant part of his creative literature. The two outstanding acts of Rabindranath during this period were: first, his public denunciation of the Partition of Bengal in 1905; and second, his public renunciation of his Knighthood as protest against the massacre of Amritsar in 1919. On both these occasions, Rabindranath, as India's outstanding personality, symbolised the national feeling against the callous and brutal acts of the British Raj in India.

A burning desire of Rabindranath was the education of the people, about nine-tenths of whom were illiterate, as indicated by the following institutions founded by him:

First, the Santiniketan School (Brahmacharya Ashram or school-under-the-trees) in 1901. His father had already built a *mandir* or hall of worship at Santiniketan, and Rabindranath wanted to make it "a home of the spirit of India." Here children are educated in an atmosphere of beauty and freedom of Nature. They are awakened by the chanting of hymns and all of them join in a prayer. Students and teachers have room and board together, irrespective of race, caste, or religion. Students make their own rules, select their own leaders, organize their own sports and games, administer their own disciplinary measures, thus receiving their training in self-government. Moreover, the Brati-Balaks (Boy Scouts) take part in training the boys of the neighbouring villages in community services. National festivals are observed in the celebration of the seasons of the year, such as spring, autumn, and rainy season, with sports, games, music, and plays, in which both students and teachers take active part. National holidays are observed on the anniversaries of outstanding personalities in moral and spiritual fields. Students of higher classes follow university curriculum for Matriculation examinations. Although

starting as a paternal school or a school under the paternal care of a teacher, as in ancient times, Rabindranath adopted what is the best in Western education and made it a democratic institution.

Second, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan (some two miles from Santiniketan) in 1922. It is, in fact, a part of the Visva-Bharati and was established one year later. As manager of his ancestral estate at Sheleidah, a village on the Ganges, Rabindranath came in close contact with the rural population and, after several experiments in their welfare work, conceived the idea of the Institute. The Institute has a small-scale model farm for teaching the neighbouring cultivators how to utilize improved seeds and crops, and also a school for teaching improved methods in arts and crafts in the light of modern technology. Attempts are also being made to teach the literate how to continue in their home reading and the illiterate how to think. The two notable features of the Institute are: first, the co-operative health and medical services under the direction of a physician appointed by one or more villages for preventing diseases rather than curing them; and second, the supplementing of the Government educational system by training the school teachers in the better methods of teaching, the village boys in the community service under the guidance of the boy-scouts, and the school boarding boys in community leadership.³

Finally, the Visva-Bharati (World University) at Santiniketan, in 1921, with a view to establishing an Institution where East and West could meet and exchange their views, thoughts, and ideas. Education was to be extended in three stages or concentric circles, such as Indian civilizations, Asian civilizations, and Western civilizations. Dr. Brojendranath Seal, India's intellectual leader, opened the University and defined its aim to be the study of human mind in its diverse aspects in order to develop a common culture. Among the essential features of this University mention must be made of the following: (1) The Kala-Bhavan (the School of Art) which, under its prominent artists, has built its national reputation and drawn its students from all parts of the country; (2) the study of ancient cultures, especially Buddhism, with the help of the Tibetan and Chinese books and treatises and the Moslem Culture; and (3) visiting professors, such as Sylvain Levi, a great Oriental linguist from the University of Paris, and Dr. M. Winternitz, a great Indologist from the German University of Prague.

The greatest triumph of Tagorism is the recognition by the people of India of its value and utility

3. Mr. R. K. Das was the Director of the Institute for Rural Reconstruction in 1924-25.

4. In February, 1940, Poet Tagore wrote to Mahatma Gandhi a letter with the following message: "The Visva-Bharati is like a vessel

and especially the recommendation by the University Education Commission that the Visva-Bharati should be given a provisional charter as a university with suitable capital and recurring grants." On the basis of this recommendation, the Government of India passed a Bill on May 3, 1951, accepting the Tagore University (the new name for the Visva-Bharati) as central teaching and residential university and incorporating the following original objectives:

(1) To study the mind of man in its realization of the different aspects of truth from diverse points of view;

(2) To bring into more intimate relationship of different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity;

(3) To approach the study of the West from the standpoint of such unity and thought;

(4) To seek to realize in common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and West; and

(5) with such ideals in view, to provide at Santiniketan research and study of religion, literature, history, science, and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian, and other cultures.

Provisions have been made for the non-recurring grant of Rs. 500,000 and the recurring grants of Rs. 450,000 a year. The Santiniketan School will remain an independent institution, but the Institute of Rural Reconstruction will become a part of the Tagore University.⁴

A distinct characteristic of Rabindranath was the "wanderlust" or study and travel in search of truth almost all over the world. He travelled practically all over India; most of the countries of Europe, including the Soviet Union; China, Japan, Indo-China, Bali, Java, Thailand, Malaya, Burma, Iraq, and Iran in Asia; and also Egypt, the United States, Canada, and Argentina. These studies and travels had profound effect upon the mind of Rabindranath. First, he came in contact with representative men and women in most of these countries and established moral and spiritual relationship with them. Second, in his study and travel over the globe, Rabindranath came across many new truths and found many new things which India could accept either in original or modified forms for her own benefit. Finally, Rabindranath brought India's cultural message to most of the countries representing what was the best and noblest in India's glorious past and also what India was striving to achieve in material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual fields. India could not find a better representative than Rabindranath for her cultural message to the world.⁵

Above all, Rabindranath was a great poetic genius and it was in this field that he made his greatest contribution. Beginning with his *Evening Songs* and *Morning Songs*, with which he commenced his literary career at the age of 18, Rabindranath continued to write practically to the end of his life on various subjects and in various forms, such as poems, essays, sermons, dramas, novels, and stories, and composed and set to music songs and hymns creating new moral and spiritual values.⁶ His creative literature has various aspects, such as the concept of the universe in unsurpassing grandeur and beauty; description of Urvashi, a celestial nymph of Hindu mythology, in exquisite feminine charms; glorification of human virtues, e.g., devotion, bravery, honesty, and fidelity, as well as human relationships, maternal affection, conjugal love, fellow-feeling and universal brotherhood; and realization of the ultimate reality of the universe as a Spiritual Being and in terms of truth, beauty, and goodness, as expressed in his poems, songs, and hymns and as best indicated by *Gitanjali*. In the simplicity of diction, richness of thought, intensity of devotion, and sublimity of concept, they stand the highest among moral and spiritual achievements of mankind.

Another great contribution of Rabindranath is his conception and realization of a universal religion. The perception of unity in the midst of diversity might have been revealed to him by his poetical genius, but comparative religion founded by Ram-mohun Roy and also his own personal experience acquired by close contact with representative men and women in different countries, might have also supplied him with its social background. Rabindranath was strongly opposed to the unification and uniformity of diverse cultural patterns and advocated the preservation of their individualities by mutual appreciation and respect inasmuch as they add to the richness and beauty of the growing concept of universal humanity. Moreover, a sympathetic understanding of the differences in other cultures will also pave the way to the growth of universal love, which is the essence of a universal religion and international peace. Rabindranath worshipped the ultimate reality or Spiritual Being not only as truth, beauty, and goodness, but also as love, which made his religion a living faith. With the progress of philosophy, science, and technology as well as increasing

in 1878 and the eleventh in 1932. In 1932, he was also invited by the Shah of Persia, and on that occasion, he also visited Iraq. In 1934, he made an extensive tour in Ceylon.

8. Rabindranath Tagore's publications amounted to 60 poetical works, over 3,000 songs, and a vast amount of prose writings of all kinds which still remain to be enumerated. Of his most important and popular works, mention may be made of only a few: *Gitanjali* (1912); *Gardener*, *Crescent Moon*, *Chitra* (1913); *Post Office* and *Sadhana* (1914); *Kabit's Poems* (1915); *Hungry Stone* (1916); *Cycle of Spring* (1917); *Home and the World* (1919); *Crescent Moon* (1922); *Gora* and *Red Oleander* (1924); and *Religion of Man* (1931).

which is carrying the cargo of my life's best treasure and, I hope, it may claim the special care of my countrymen for its preservation."

5. See footnote 1, page 32.

6. *India News Bulletin*, Indian Embassy, Washington, D.C., April 26 and May 18, 1951.

7. The first European travel of Rabindranath Tagore took place

communicational facilities and international organisations, the individual life has expanded manifold both in intensity and extensity, the intellectual,

moral, and spiritual demands of which can be supplied only by a growing faith in a universal humanity, universal love, and universal religion.⁹

9. References: Chatterjee, Ramananda: *The Golden Book of Tagore*, Calcutta, 1931; Thompson, E. D.: *Rabindranath Tagore, Poet and Dramatist*, London, (1948); Tagore, Rabindranath: *The Religion of Man*, Hibbert Lectures, London, 1930; Paul, R. I.: *Tagore and His*

Life Campaign, Lahore, 1942. Sykes, Marjori: *Rabindranath Tagore*, Madras, 1944; Sen, Sudhir: "Rabindranath Tagore on Rural Reconstruction," *Vijaya-Bharati*, 1943; Radha Krishnan, S.: *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*, London, 1918.

—:O:—

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY

By NARAYANI BOSE, M.A.

HEGEL'S political philosophy may be said to be the culmination of the great idealistic movement that started in Europe. His political thought is derived from his metaphysics. Analysing this world of nature Hegel finds one common principle,—a principle of reason operating everywhere. What alone exists for Hegel is thought, idea or law of reason. But then readily occurs the difficulty that thought as such can never exist at all. In order to be real thought requires particular objects through which it can take concrete form. Annihilate all things, where will form stand? Thus mathematical laws and physical forms operate everywhere, but without things these are mere abstract notions. Similarly, Absolute Reason, so far as it does not objectify itself in this world, remains an abstract universal. So, in order to realise itself, the Absolute evolves from within and manifests itself in this external world. By this act of self-determination the Absolute makes itself finite, concrete and particular. The particular again, in its turn, seeks to identify itself with the Absolute. In this way the particular progressively realises the idea or notion. So, behind the progressive development of the world there is an infinite Reason or Idea. Hegel has identified this Idea with Divine design. The events of history are not accidental facts. In the development of historical events Reason progressively realises its essence, viz., 'freedom'. The realisation of freedom is the goal of Reason.

The method by which Idea marches onward to realise itself is the dialectic. This principle of progress does not exist outside but within the Idea itself. It means that every notion in itself is one-sided and contains its opposite within itself. The second moment of the idea which is the antithesis of the first is similarly one-sided. These two moments are synthesised in a higher notion which is more concrete, therefore more rational and real than the preceding notions. But this higher notion also proves itself to be one-sided and the triadic process goes on. Reason manifests itself through this dialectic movement.

The State comes into existence in the historical development of Spirit or Idea. Hegel thinks that the State is the instrument of Spirit to attain its real freedom,

because freedom which is the essence of Spirit, originates in will and will contains two elements: the element of pure indeterminacy, i.e., universality and the element of determination and differentiation, i.e., particularity. Freedom consists in the unity of these two moments and Hegel thinks that the attainment of this unity is possible only in the State. "Truth is the unity of the universal and subjective will and the universal is to be found in the State, in its laws, its universal and rational arrangements." (*Philosophy of History*). The individual has conflicting impulses. "The satisfaction of one is unavoidably subordinated or sacrificed to the satisfaction of another." (*Philosophy of Right*). To preserve the interest of the individual and at the same time to establish the social interest over private interest is the goal of Spirit, because the incompatibility of private desire and social interest is accompanied by a corresponding bondage of the Spirit. The desire to realise one's own potentiality within society is already contained within his inherent infinite potential spirit. This desire of the individual is described by Hegel as morality. The peculiarity of morality lies in the fact that here one's own conviction does not bear away. It is the outward manifestation of what is subjectively demanded by reason. The moral consciousness of man always demands that man will realise his potentiality and at the same time give opportunity to others to develop their personality. "Be a person and respect others as persons" is the imperative of right itself. But sometimes ordinary men, in whom Spirit is yet to be manifested, are so much engaged with their private interests that they forget their social interest and to make their rational will manifest laws of the State are necessary. So, law is nothing but the outward manifestation of morality.

Infinite universal will as existing in the individual is infinite in form but finite in content. This individual will is not free because the desires of one in the process of actualisation come into conflict with those of others. Of course, arbitrary will can change its course but it cannot get rid of its finitude. So it always negates the abstract infinite will. The individual finite will can get back its original nature by rationalising and purifying

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY

its impulses. This is the work of morality. Hegelian ethics steps in to reconcile the conflict of individual desire and universal will as embodied in social interest. The State can come into existence only when the ethical basis is prepared in society. The moral principle takes a concrete shape in the external world through the laws of the State. So, with Hegel, law is nothing but the rational will of man. In this way, Hegel tries to reconcile the inwardness of morality with the externality of law.

In opposition to this view some are of opinion that man is free by nature. His essential nature requires no law or government because they curtail the freedom of the individual. But natural freedom, which is brute passion in pre-State society, restrains freedom itself. The State and its laws certainly impose limitations on the individuals belonging to it but these limit only their brute passions. In fact, the State has a double relation with the individual. On the one hand the individual must be aware that the State is external to him, determining him and even constraining him. The State must stand above every citizen within it and must have power to mould any of its factors. To it any member may appeal for protection against any other. It is the supreme judge and has the supreme right. On the other hand the individual must know that the State is not an alien power but the expression and realisation of his own rational will. It is only his caprice which is constrained but he has every right to develop his personality within the State. By right Hegel does not mean the liberty to do anything but the rational claim of an individual to the exercise of some faculty and a concession of that claim by society. Thus, right is nothing but the individual consciousness of having an object in common with others. Now it may be asked if the individual has got certain rights within the State then under what conditions these rights are liable to be forfeited? Or in other words, is the State entitled to inflict punishment upon the individual? Hegel answers in the affirmative. To him crime is nothing but the infringement of right as right and justice demands the negation of such infringement by force. So punishment is inherently just. The State can punish the individual because by punishing him it helps to establish his rational will itself. So capital punishment is justified only when the criminal is permanently incapable of rights, i.e., rational exercise of his will.

Hegel thinks that the State is the best embodiment of the Idea. Yet to what extent the State will be able to embody it depends upon its internal constitution. Hegel seems to have preferred constitutional monarchy to every other form of government. He affirms that sovereignty resides in the State as a legal person although that personality must find expression in an individuality and a well-trained monarch becomes the true bearer of State personality. In the historical development of Idea, there have been different phases: Oriental, Greek, Roman, Christian and German. The Orientals did not yet attain to the conception of Spirit as freedom; hence they were

not free. They knew that only one was free and the freedom of that man resulted into absolute power. The mass of people had no rights. The consciousness of freedom first arose among the Greeks. But they also gave freedom only to a few. The vast majority were outside the fold of Greek democracy. The Roman State further extended the scope of freedom by making laws for all citizens. But here also the balance was soon upset and led to despotism. It is in the German State that freedom recovered its universal basis. Thus Reason marches from East to West.

In the onward march of Spirit the State which has embodied the Idea at its best comes into the forefront with its claim of superior nationality. But gradually it proves itself incompetent to cope with the onward development of Spirit and a new State takes charge of the banner of progress. In this dialectical way the development of State goes on.

Undoubtedly, Hegel's philosophy centres round the State. Still he does not minimise the importance of individual freedom. Hegel even thinks that it is the passionate activity of man through which Idea actualises itself. By passion Hegel means 'human activity as resulting from private interest'. Private interest is the vehicle of the universal and men by the very pursuit of their private ends realise the universal. The importance of great men lies in the fact that they while seeking their own interest serve a great social purpose. Thus they are the milestones of history. Thus Caesar was contending for his position. But while the power of his opponents included the power over the Roman Empire, Caesar's victory secured for him the conquest of the Roman Empire itself. And this conquest involves the consolidation of the small states into the Roman state,—a great political change accomplished towards the freedom of Reason while Caesar was hiding for his self-interest. In this way world-historical personages seek their own interest but their actions achieve more than their conscious intentions and thereby fulfil the intention of Reason. These world-historical individuals follow the inexorable dictates of Reason and when their role is played, they depart from the stage of History.

Like Plato, Hegel has developed a utopian conception of State. History belies the verdict that the State is the root of all progress. Progress is possible in a weak State centring round its culture or individual personalities as in the cases of India and China. Neither does history admit that the leadership of the king or of the aristocratic class can help to develop an ideal State. It has very often led to despotism. Hegelian theory wherever applied in practice has resulted in the denial of individual rights against the State. Of course, if the State can really resolve the conflict between the individual and society, the individual need not feel any suppression. But the point is whether any State has ever actualised Hegelian utopia. There is some truth in Russell's hit that Hegelian freedom has been converted into the right to obey the law.

Hegel's conception of a historically leading nation has a fascistic leaning. In his opinion, in every age only one nation will reveal the Idea with which its own progress is identified. The historical nation has therefore the right to go on aggressive war against smaller nations. This glorification of the State and of the superior nation and the justification of war have given the philosophical incentive to fascism. Of course, Hegel himself was never in favour of the fascistic idea. Although he never minimised individual value, he believed in the absolutism of the State. His ideal State is an authoritarian State and it must establish its superiority by imposing its control over other nations. Thus in practice, Hegel has served the inspiration for the totalitarian and chauvinistic view of State.

So, Hegel's theory of State is a noble but impractical idea. Nevertheless it has made some contributions to the modern democratic State. Having suppressed individual desires which go against the social interest the State does not curtail individual liberty, rather it establishes actual liberty. Modern democracy also accepts this view. It aims at establishing a balance between economic equality and political liberty. If the individual is given too much of political liberty it will only secure the economic domination of capitalism as Marx visualised. Hence modern democratic theory admits State interference in individual enterprise as a necessary condition for maintaining the economic balance of society and for adjustment of individual with collective interest which is the practical element in Hegel's philosophy.

—O—

ART IN EDUCATION

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

ONE of the serious defects of the present school curriculum is that it fails to meet the physical, social, and emotional needs of children, too much stress being laid upon the development of their intellect. Education has thus been made synonymous with mere book-learning and the imparting of theoretical information in the class rooms. "The education of the whole man" or an all-round development of a child's mind is being hardly aimed at in the present-day educational system of the country. If education is to be a dynamic force in life, it should not merely consist in the acquisition of theoretical knowledge through books. Education, in the true sense of the term, is not mere telling things—not something imposed upon the minds of children from outside. But the real aim of education should be to develop the latent powers and potentialities of a child's mind and to direct them on the right lines. So an important place should be assigned to art in the education of children, inasmuch as it affords them ample scope for "self-expression in material forms," and provides an outlet for their imagination and emotional energies. No impression can be perfect without expression. To quote an eminent Psychologist:

"Expression and impression react upon each other and each helps to perfect the other, so that where there is no power of expression, the power of impression itself is maimed and crippled."

There is no gainsaying the truth of this statement. No lasting impression can be formed on our mind, unless and until a particular thought or idea is reproduced in some outward form. Art constitutes a far more important and effective

means of self-expression than writing. When an absent object is described in words, or an idea is expressed through the medium of a language the mental picture formed thereby is in the nature of a pure abstraction, and fails to be as clear and vivid as the representation of the idea or the object in a piece of art, such as drawing, painting, or modelling, which is a far more direct and accurate reproduction of the idea or the object in question. Besides, the importance of the imaginative and emotional appeal inherent in a creation of art cannot be under-rated. Every man is more or less a creator: he was made after the image of the Divine Creator, as the Bible says. His imagination as well as his power of creation finds expression in art. Tagore has aptly observed:

"Man has a fund of emotional energy, which is not all occupied with his self-preservation. This surplus seeks its outlet in the creation of art, for man's civilisation is built upon his surplus."

Here man differs from the animal, most of whose physical resources and energies are exhausted in their effort to live—in their struggle for existence. The activities of the latter are mostly motivated by the instinct and urge of self-preservation as well as the preservation of the race.

"Irks care the crop-full bird? Frets doubt the maw-crammed beast?"

But unlike the animal, man is not content to confine himself within the bounds of necessity and practical utility. Man, to whom "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever," is not always inclined to judge

ART IN EDUCATION

things in terms of utility and necessity. Very often he throws the claims of thrift or necessity to the winds, and is lavish in the use of his resources and materials. Thus economy and thrift are sacrificed to the decorative and ornamental, which cannot altogether be ruled out of his life. Man is not satisfied with the mere erection of houses and buildings, which barely serve to protect and shelter him from the sun and the inclemency of weather. He has spared no pains to beautify the buildings constructed by him. His attempts at the creation of beauty have crystallised themselves in the form of architecture throughout all ages. The different styles of architecture thus testify to man's innate love of beauty and is indicative of his aesthetic sense. Man has tried to indulge in his aesthetic sense as well as his love of the beautiful in furnishing his dwelling houses also. All the luxurious articles of furniture that a rich man possesses were not perhaps invented for the sake of necessity and comfort only. Some of the furniture may be conducive to his comfort. But from the practical point of view, many of the things are considered to be quite unnecessary. Probably most of the articles of luxury are designed and calculated to satisfy man's love of the beautiful. Clothes are a primordial necessity of man's life. But the average civilised man is not content with the mere clothing of his body. He has tried to evolve the art of dressing from time to time, and to set the fashion in style. The different styles of dresses betoken the variety of his tastes and his artistic sense. Perhaps the decorative and ornamental portions of his dresses can easily be dispensed with. Not to speak of the various designs in the ornaments and jewellery that women adorn their persons with, those are absolutely unnecessary from the point of view of practical utility. Similarly man is not satisfied with the bare narration of facts and the imparting of information. He has tried to create beautiful art and literature by way of self-expression. It is no use multiplying instances. In every sphere of life man's emotional energies and sentiments surpass the limits of necessity and utility and find expression in the creations of art, which bear the stamp of his personality. The genesis of all the great works of art, brought into being with the creative power of man, can be traced to his inherent love of the beautiful and his eternal passion for self-expression. As Tagore has beautifully put it:

"Man's energies running on two parallel lines—that of utility and self-expression tend to meet and mingle. By constant human associations sentiments gather round our things of use and invite the help of art to reveal themselves."

So it is the emotions of man which are transfused into the world of reality and actuality and help to transform this matter-of-fact world into that of

sentiments and idealism. Practical utility is not, therefore, the criterion by which the value of a work of art should be judged. Perhaps the very idea will be revolting to the artist in man. In the words of Tagore:

"Where there is an element of the superfluous in our heart's relationship with the world, Art has its birth. In other words, where our personality feels its wealth it breaks out in display."

Quite apart from the fact that art serves the purpose of an important medium through which man expresses his personality—his emotions and sentiments, it plays a very important part in the education of children's imagination and the cultivation of their powers of observation and invention. So in schools children should be afforded ample opportunities of participating in creative activities, which call forth a good deal of their imagination, memory, and inventive powers and serve to train them in the powers of observation. Their imagination as well as creative instinct is thus appealed to. Children should be taught to observe and appreciate whatever is beautiful in nature and the surroundings in which they find themselves. In schools, every endeavour should be made to inculcate the love of beauty upon children, with a view to developing their aesthetic sense and artistic tastes. Care should be taken that the environment in which they live, move, and have their being is as beautiful as possible. So attempts should be made to surround children with beautiful things. Beautiful surroundings, also, help to beget a love of beauty among them. Children may be called upon to observe and appreciate the beauty that exists in nature. They should be taught how to appreciate beautiful works of art—the beauty of form, colour, and arrangement, as well as symmetry, proportion, and the harmony and contrast of colours. Some people are of the opinion that the love of beauty and the colour sense, which are inborn, cannot be cultivated. But practical experience has proved that the aesthetic and artistic sense of children can be developed and trained to some extent. Their eyes can be trained to observe the beauty of form, colour and arrangement in whatever they see, so that they may be able to reproduce and recreate that beauty in their own creation of art. Beautiful surroundings cannot but leave their impress on the plastic minds of children and serve as an incentive for creating beauty. Now the question is how to provide beautiful surroundings for children. This may not always be possible in their homes, because the average middle class parents can hardly afford pretty gardens or beautiful works of art which are looked upon as a luxury beyond their means. Hence the necessity and importance of school gardens, art galleries, and artistic school buildings. Attempts

should be made to develop the tastes of children on the right lines from their very infancy. So the cultivation and training of their aesthetic sense should begin even at the pre-school stage. A school garden is considered to be indispensable to a nursery school. The little ones may, also, be called upon to take part in gardening with a view to developing a love of beauty among them. Small plots may be assigned to each class and children may be entrusted with the work of sowing seeds, preparing the soil, weeding, and watering plants. They can thus be taught to observe and love whatever is beautiful in nature. Their colour sense as well as powers of observation may well be trained in and through gardening which constitutes a good manual training also. In the course of gardening children may be taught how to appreciate the beauty of form, colour and arrangement. Symmetry, proportion, harmony and design may be taught, when planning out the lay-out of a garden. Children's colour sense may be trained through the natural colours of flowers and leaves. Gardening may be of great help in developing the artistic sense of children, who may thus be induced to reproduce the beautiful things of nature in works of their own creation—drawing, painting, and modelling. A taste in decoration may also be developed through the furnishing of the school house and the decoration of the class-rooms on festive occasions. Children may be trained in that art of decoration in various ways. On special occasions they may be asked to arrange flowers in vases, to decorate the floors of rooms and verandahs by means of *alpona* designs, to paint the walls of class-rooms, to decorate the walls and gates of the school buildings with flowers, leaves, etc. The aesthetic sense of children may also be cultivated through needlework and the art of dressing. The colour scheme forms an important factor in decoration, dressing and needlework. Besides all this, children should be afforded ample opportunities of seeing beautiful works of art also. With this end in view, art-galleries should be provided in schools, where possible, and wherever funds permit. If an art-gallery proves too expensive, pupils may be called upon to equip one, on a small scale, with the best specimens of their own production. Children may, also, be asked to collect beautiful pictures, curios, and other odds and ends for the purpose of equipping an art gallery in their school. Thus their collective instinct, too, will be appealed to. Where possible, occasional visits to art-galleries and art exhibitions should be arranged, so that children may be given ample opportunities of looking at beautiful productions of art by eminent artists of the day. They will thus be made to appreciate art and beauty, and will develop a taste for the beautiful. Such pupils as possess artistic talents will be able to realise that they are also endowed with the power of

creating art and reproducing the beauty of art and nature in their own work.

There seems to be very little method or purpose in teaching the kind of handiwork or art that is usually taught at the average school in West Bengal at the present moment. The little that is taught is anything but well-graded and systematic. Attempts should be made to evolve and follow a well-thought-out scheme of handiwork. At the pre-school stage, children may be asked to cut out beautiful coloured pictures or to fill in the outlines of things drawn with suitable colours. Various designs and models may, also, be taught by means of paper cutting and paper folding. Coloured paper may be cut out by children in the shape of flowers, fruits, or animals. Their powers of observation may be trained through these exercises. Stories and nursery rhymes may well be illustrated with coloured pictures and charts to be prepared for the purpose. The matching of colours and the art of dressing may be taught through needlework as well as play. The little ones may be called upon to make garments for their dolls, and to dress them in the up-to-date style. Some clay-modelling and toy-making with simple waste materials may be taught at this stage too. However crude and humble children's attempts at self-expression may be, these should be encouraged by all means. In the junior schools, i.e., at the primary stage, some clay-modelling, paper-cutting, paper-folding, and paper-modelling, the cutting out and colouring of pictures, chalk-drawing and the like are generally taught at the present moment. There is no denying the fact that this type of handiwork has got a value of its own, inasmuch as it helps to cultivate children's powers of observation and is of great help in training their senses. An important purpose is served thereby, as the training of the senses should form the basis and corner-stone of the education of children. But so far, very little efforts have been made to provide a well-graded course of handiwork, which should be perfectly adapted to the physical and psychological needs of children, and which should harmonise with their physical and psychological development. Gradation is an important factor, which should not be lost sight of, when drawing up the art syllabus. The co-ordination of the smaller muscles of children's eyes and hands is not perfect until they attain the age of six or seven. At this stage, such exercises as involve "wide sweeping arm movements and broad hand movements" should be set. From seven to fourteen the power of accuracy in detailed movements is acquired rapidly. A well-arranged course of art or handiwork must be based on the principles of gradation, and should be consonant with the order of the development of muscular co-ordination. The smaller pupils should, therefore, be mainly taught "Free-arm Drawing" and the "Modelling of general mass." We

know, "The mind apprehends wholes before details," and preception and muscular co-ordination develop simultaneously. So the representation of the finer details in drawing and modelling should be aimed at, at a later stage, after the co-ordination of the smaller muscles has become more perfect. In the earlier stages of teaching, modelling should precede drawing, the latter being a more abstract and artificial mode of representing solid forms than the former. Of course, both can be made to illustrate and supplement each other throughout. It should always be borne in mind that mass-drawing in colour should be taught before outline-drawing. Drawing in mass should, therefore, be introduced soon after modelling has been begun. Coloured chalks, instead of the brush, should be used at this stage. At a later stage, however, mass-drawing with the brush and water colour may be taught along with outline-drawing with a pencil. Each may be made to supplement the other. Throughout an effective course, the originality of work should be encouraged by all means. Mere copying should not be resorted to, when teaching either drawing or modelling. Children should be asked to draw from nature and to reproduce things from memory and imagination. This will help to develop their powers of observation, memory, and imagination. At the primary school stage, children may be told stories, and, later on, they may be asked to illustrate those with pictures. The stories need to be told in such a way that children may be able to visualise the pictures conjured up in the course of narration and to draw them from memory and imagination. A clever and resourceful teacher should never try to keep too closely to the syllabus, and should always try to provide as much variation as possible. In art work, attempts should be made to do away with the rigidity of a cut-and-dried syllabus.

It is a great pity that at the average school in West Bengal, very little importance is attached to handiwork. Even in those few schools where handiwork has been included in the time-table, it is seldom treated seriously. Very often handiwork is looked upon as a subject by itself without any relation, whatsoever, to the other subjects of the curriculum. Probably only a handful of teachers specialise in a course of handiwork and are properly equipped for the purpose of teaching it on sound, rational, and systematic lines. They seldom care to think out and evolve the type of handiwork best suited to the requirements of the children of different ages. Nor do they know how to teach it on efficient lines. Very few of them have any idea as to how handiwork can be turned into an important educational method. There is a tendency on the part of the average teacher to consider handiwork or art to be a subject of the curriculum, rather

than an educational method. Handiwork or art, if properly employed, comes to the aid of much of the school instruction on every subject, and its correlation with other subjects can be as varied and interesting as possible. All the important subjects of the curriculum admirably lend themselves to concrete illustration by means of charts, models, pictures, etc. Thus the correlation of quite a number of subjects with drawing, painting, modelling and gardening may be effected. Drawing, and painting may be taught in correlation with nature-study, History, Geography, Hygiene, gardening and needlework. Similarly modelling may also be correlated with History, Geography, Hygiene, and Nature-study. Art or handiwork thus constitutes an important educational method, the value of which cannot be emphasised too strongly, inasmuch as it involves the psychological principle of "learning by doing." The charts and models may be prepared by the pupils, on a co-operative basis, for the purpose of the illustration of lessons, each contributing his or her share to the work. Teaching can thus be reduced to an art, and children will naturally enjoy the lessons. If instruction is made agreeable, the teachers will find it much easier to command the attention of their pupils and to maintain discipline in the class. Such concrete illustration will help to get things fixed in children's memory.

Besides the educational handiwork mentioned above, children may be taught a few useful handicrafts, too, which may be of some use to them in earning their livelihood or supplementing their family income in later life. So, where possible, there should be an arts and crafts section, attached to the high and middle English schools. Many children, who may not turn out to be good scholars may be very clever at handiwork. Want of proficiency in academical subjects does not necessarily mean want of dexterity in manual skill. Such children as are intellectually backward and will not go in for a higher academic career or University education may specialise in art or handiwork. So provision for a vocational course should be made at schools, wherever funds and space permit. It may not always be possible for the average high and middle school to run an arts and crafts section, on a very big scale, on the lines of *Kala Bhavan* of Santiniketan. But the course to be provided must needs be sufficiently varied, so as to enable the pupils to discover and develop their own special tastes and aptitudes, and to ascertain the kind of occupation that is most congenial to them and for which they are most fitted. In high schools, the teaching of art should be made compulsory up to class VIII. Children should be afforded ample opportunities of discovering their own tastes and aptitudes, before they decide upon a specialised course. So specialisation should not begin until at the age of fourteen.

PROGRESSIVISM AND THE POETRY OF ESCAPE AND REVOLT

By Prof. RAJENDRA SINGH AHLUWALIA, M.A.

POPULAR opinion to-day tends to associate progressivism with literature of the communistic brand. While admitting that communistic literature may include progressive thought, it is not very clear as to why the curve of progress need necessarily incline to one direction only—the left. Progress, after all, is a relative thing. What is extolled as progressive in the cultural and social context of one period of history may be, and often is, regarded retrogressive in the changed mental climate of the age immediately succeeding. Hence progressive literature may not be the exclusive monopoly of any political party or intellectual coterie. The dynamic potentialities of progress are in danger of being lost sight of, if we view it as a fixed and static entity in any social, political or cultural ideology which, for the moment, may dominate the thoughts of men. Thus viewed the word "progressive" will but be synonymous with "modern"; and it will, then, be futile to talk of progressive poetry in the past. The Protean character of progress makes the definition of the term difficult, but not impossible, for the broad features of progress, in any age, bear family likeness and may easily be picked out.

Progressivism in poetry demands from the poet, *inter alia*, a significant response to the time spirit, or the "Zeitgeist." In the process of communication the poet should create a heightened awareness of the reality to which he so sharply reacts. For a poet to be progressive it is not enough to merely react to the existing situation in a more sensitive way than the average man does. He must clothe his reactions in an intelligible language which, apart from being intelligible, takes cognizance of the peculiar idiom and ways of thought of the particular age in which he finds himself writing.

But unfortunately the romantic tradition of English poetry since the 16th century has perpetuated a popular poetic conception which has continued to wean poetry away from the everyday life and thus diverting it, for long periods, from the main source of progress. Milton, the great poet, may be held responsible for sidetracking poetry from its highway by offering a seemingly innocent verdict that it should be "simple, sensuous and passionate." The romantic temperament, through the ages, has seized upon this slogan to justify its withdrawal from the grim realities of life into an ivory tower. In essence, Keats' dictum that poetry should "surprise us with a fine excess," is not therefore very different. The popular mind may then be excused if it expects from poetry no higher aim than that it should 'move' the reader irrespective of the stuff of poetry. Not that the poetry of withdrawal from reality is not great according

to certain accepted standards but it certainly may not be called progressive because instead of creating a heightened awareness of experience it tends to bring about, in the poet and the reader, a state of mind which aims at softening the experience. Escape from reality does not make for progress, for the rush of reality cannot be stemmed by burying one's head in the sand. Nor does it pay a poet to turn his back, like the Lady of Shallot, on the colour and din of a life none too pleasant.

A few daring spirits at critical moments in the history of poetic development in England revolted against this arbitrary poetic ideal which sought to oversimplify the theory of poetry. They attempted to renovate the poetic ideal by introducing a criticism of life in it. But by far the greatest number of the 19th century poets subscribed to the escapist formula. Not to speak of the Romantics in the first three decades of the 19th century who by their very mode of thinking tended to be 'other-worldly,' even the great Victorians like Tennyson and Arnold apparently voicing contemporary thought, actually confirmed the poetic convention of withdrawal. In spite of his "Palace of Art" and "The Lady of Shallot," where the obvious moral is against a life of isolation, Tennyson could not rise above the escapist mentality because even in the "Palace of Art," poetry belongs to the palace. Arnold who made much of "this strange disease of modern life, its sick hurry and divided aims" and "this iron time of doubts, disputes, distractions, fears" employed these trappings of reality as a means of escape to the freshness of an early world. For all their intellectual unrest these great poets were merely carrying on the romantic tradition of Shelley, Byron and Keats. The core of their poetic temperament was persistently assailed by the canker of other-worldliness. If they occasionally deviated into a poetry of stark realism, it was a temporary aberration.

Browning of all the great Victorian poets had the making of a progressive poet. He did introduce living interests in his poetry and his use of the spoken idiom in verse might have raised him to the stature of a progressive poet but he fell in the pit of the esoteric which, earlier, had been the grave of Donne's poetry and later on that of the symbolists and the imagists. Even William Morris, a man of great common sense, reserved poetry for his day dreams. The decadent poetry of the Georgians continued this debilitated tradition right into the 20th century in spite of the fitful attempts of poets like Bridges, Sassoon and Owen to sound a progressive note by merely introducing modern idiom in their poetry. But poetry cannot be made progressive by simply mentioning modern things, catalogue-fashion, unless the

PROGRESSIVISM & THE POETRY OF ESCAPE & REVOLT

401

accessories of modern life are knitted into the fabric of poetic thought. No amount of mentioning—

"A million, million Spermatozoa.

All of them alive

Out of their cataclysm but one poor Noah

Dare hope to survive."

—ALDOUS HUXLEY

will transform the merely ostentatious and clever into the actually progressive.

Escapist attitude then goes against the spirit of progressive poetry. But this does not exclude the man of vision from the domain of poetry. It only stresses a too often forgotten fact, that the poet need not necessarily be a visionary, a maker of dreams. His head may float in the clouds but his feet should be squarely planted on the terra firma. Keats, for instance, talked glibly of the agony and strife of human hearts, yet he was essentially fed on manna dew and had irresistible attraction towards "the magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas in fairy lands forlorn." He seemed strangely oblivious of the fact that a bloody revolution across the channel, and the advent of industrialism in England, had shaken the ways of life and thought of millions of men, thereby creating the need of a revaluation of life. Keats then may be a great poet but he can hardly be a progressive poet according to the strictest sense of the term.

This does not, again, mean that a progressive poet is forbidden "to look before and after," fixing his gaze only on the immediate present. The past has certainly a value for him but only as a link in the continuous chain of time whose farthest end creeps into the future. The past should interpret the present and serve as a guidance for the future. But merely to yearn for the past, to pine for what is not, to owe "devotion to something afar from the sphere of our sorrow" is a step backward. The progressive poet stands like the two-headed God, Janus, on the crossroads of the past, the present and the future. He is not only an interpreter but a prophet as well. Appreciating the value of historical perspective he yet revolts against what in the course of time has become the hackneyed and the trite. In such circumstances it becomes an article of faith for a progressive poet to break away from the past. He would share Omar Khyam's desire to shatter "the sorry scheme of things entire" in order to remould it nearer to the heart's desire. This shattering of a few window-panes to let in a gust of fresh air is a commendable act only if it is creative also. Because the spirit of revolt though generally found amongst progressive poets does not in itself make for progress. Byron revolted violently against the traditional morality of his day, yet he cannot claim the title of progressivism, his love of freedom notwithstanding. He was more of an iconoclast than a creative artist. He gave slashing blows to a crumbling order but he lacked the necessary creative power to hasten the birth of a new world. Shelley, the revolutionary and the rebel, fared no better. He swore against kings and priests—the enemies of mankind, yet he too had no clear idea as to

what was to replace the "dying faiths" and empires—the wrecks of a dissolving dream. Both these poets great in their own way did not venture a positive solution of the problems of life and stopped short of being progressive. The spirit of the rebel should partake of the spirit of the pioneer, if progress is to be registered.

Wordsworth, on the other hand, did the trick. His revolt against the stereotyped and the second-hand resulted in a new turn to the 19th century poetry. He made an honest attempt to approximate the language of poetry to the language of everyday life and introduced a democratic note in English poetry which was quite in consonance with the early flutterings of political democracy in the first half of the 19th century. Poetry was liberated from the clutches of the scholar, the wit and the courtier and came within the intellectual reach of the humblest of human beings. His revolt against the tyranny of the 18th century poetic diction and the affectation of thought resulted in the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads* which in itself is a landmark in the history of poetic development in England inasmuch as the scope of poetry was widened to include all subjects under the sun, from the meanest flower, the humblest reaper to "the still sad music of humanity." Thus Wordsworth did satisfy one of the conditions of progressivism and in as great a measure may be called progressive.

Once before in the 17th century Donne had Wordsworth's opportunity but he foundered his barge against the rock of newness and perversity. He held out a promise of progressivism but unfortunately that promise was only partially made good. He rescued poetry from the sentimental trash of the poetasters who followed the great age of Shakespeare but was unable to bring it nearer life. He found himself placed at a point of national consciousness when the swing of the psychological pendulum inevitably drove him away from the traditional, the merely trite. But the element of recoil in him veered perilously towards the extravagant and the eccentric and what might have been the most progressive impulse degenerated into a quest for the novel and the strange.

To lay our finger on a really progressive poet we have to jump to the present age and meet T. S. Eliot. He has not only effected a complete break with the 19th century poetic convention of the "other-worldliness" but has also broken new ground by expressing a modern sensibility and the contemporary ways of thought and feeling in a language that takes cognizance of the advances in psycho-analysis and scientific technology in our day. His poems portray the crisis of the soul that is the characteristic feature of our times. Our civilisation is "the waste land." "We are the hollowmen, shape without form, shade without colour, paralysed force, gesture without motion." To portray faithfully such a complex civilisation as ours and to lay bare the inmost recesses of a modern man—a cocktail of contradictions—a poet has necessarily to exhibit an encyclopaedic temperament and an originality of style and pattern far beyond the comprehension of an average man. So the charge of unintelli-

gibility levelled against him is, so say the least, unfair to the poet as it is born of a lack of proper appreciation of the complexity and many-sidedness of our modern life. It is not the poet's fault if only a microscopic minority is aware of the manifold content of modern civilization or if the available fund of knowledge and culture has not penetrated deep into the masses and has only touched the fringe of a learned few. Is not the poet justified in making incursions into various fields of psychology, history, mythology, science and religion, if he takes upon himself the difficult task of portraying the ways and thoughts of the modern man—a despair of psychologists? Thus viewed, *The Waste Land* is a remarkable poem. To the uninitiated reader the poem may seem chaotic. It presupposes on the part of the reader a familiarity with the works of Dante, with Buddha, Upanishads and the mythologies of the East and the West. But is not the all-inclusive character of modern knowledge responsible for the complexity of the poem? As a progressive poet, the business of T.S. Eliot was to create an added awareness to the facts of contemporary experience and integrate them into the cosmic scheme of things. And this he has been able to do. Consider how pointedly and significantly he describes the disease of modern life, the boredom, the vacancy and idle expectancy of a modern man in the following lines:

"What shall I do now? What shall I do?
I shall rush out as I am, and walk the street
with my hair down, so. What shall we do
tomorrow?
What shall we ever do?
The hot water at ten
And if it rains, a closed car at four
And we shall play a game of chess,
Pressing lidless eyes and waiting for a knock
upon the door."
And who could better describe the tragedy of modern life which mistakes the shadow for the substance than T. S. Eliot in the lines:

"Where is the life we have lost in living?
Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in
information."

T. S. Eliot has not stopped at heightening our awareness of the character of contemporary experience, he has integrated the separate facts of experience into a unified whole and even attempted solution for the ills of man. And it is a matter of pride to us that he has tapped the wisdom of the East for reaching the solution of man's intimate problems. He has been progressively favouring the need of religious experience in human life and the value of resignation in spiritual advancement.

"Teach us to care and not to care
Teach us to sit still,"
—says he in *Ash Wednesday*.

The need of humility is emphasised in his poem, *The East Coker*. "The only wisdom we can hope to ac-

quire," according to him, "is the wisdom of humility." The concluding lines in the *Sermon of the Thunder* are still more significantly oriental as they directly bear on the teachings of the Upanishads—*Damayata* (control), *Datta* (give) and *Dayadhvam* (be compassionate). Perhaps these words hold in them the quintessence of the greatest philosophy of life for a humanity suffering from the disease of materialism.

The language of T. S. Eliot's poetry, also, answers most aptly the description of progressive poetry. He felt the need of a virile medium to express the complicated thought-pattern of the modern mind and found it in the natural language of a scientific age—"for last year's words belong to last year's language. And next year's words await another voice." (*Little Gidding*). Only a 20th century poet with all the awareness of the developments in medical surgery speaking with a scientific ring in his vocabulary could describe the evening as

"Spread out against the sky
Like a patient etherised upon a table."

Does he not speak with the tongue of a club-ridden, hotel-addicted man of today when he says, "I have measured out my life with coffee spoons" The poet's language is sufficient to date him.

Now, having enumerated a few of the essentials of progressive poetry, the fact remains that it is against the spirit of poetry to make its appreciation depend on labels or brands. For, it may quite reasonably be asked as to why should poetry be progressive at all. Is not the end of poetry served if it is just poetical and nothing more? Keats may not be progressive in the sense T. S. Eliot is, but has he not delighted many generations of readers by upholding the ideal of beauty in poetry? And is not the addition of a sense of beauty to materialistic values of life itself a progressive act? But the answer to all these questions is that they ignore the fact that a poet, like every one of us, has a place in society and certain obligations towards it. When there is so much misery around he cannot simply go on charming people by cooing sentimental stuff. He cannot go on merely playing on his musical instrument, like Nero, while the whole humanity burns. And this is specially true of the poet of the war-ravaged 20th century. The poet is a creature gifted with greater sensitiveness, with a highly developed sense of harmony and colour, and because of these gifts he can lend a musical air to the troubles and dreams of humanity and touch its heart more effectively so as to bring about a spiritual "catharsis." Shall he not show the beauty in ugliness that surrounds life and thus hold that ugliness in bold relief. Why shall he ransack the past and fix his gaze only on the future to fish out poetic themes? Is not the present a store-house of veiled beauty waiting for the touch of the master's finger to wake up into life? If the poet ignores this vital source of beauty—the life as it is—he may be anything but progressive.

A SHEAF OF BOOKS ON ART

By KAUNDINYA

For various reasons, including an utter lack of interest in and demand for guidance in the study of the visual arts, India is very poor in the literature of art. But during the last two or three years some enterprising authors and publishers at considerable risk have made brave attempts to contribute to art-literature, refusing to be discouraged by the perils of high printing expenses and dearth of printing papers. The study of the Fine Arts is very much neglected in our schools, colleges and universities, so that there is no adequate popular or scholarly interest to devour books on the subject, and the lack of suitable books has not contributed to any kind of curiosity to venture on the field of the arts of vision. For this reason some section of the reading public, not addicted to fiction and light reading, should be grateful for the few books on art-subjects that have been published recently.

In architecture one is happy to welcome two serious contributions to the study of the Building Art. The first one, *A Study on Vastu-vidya or Canons of Architecture*, a Doctorate thesis by Tarapada Bhattacharyya (Dariapore Gola, Patna. Pp. 371. Price Rs. 14) is the mature fruit of a research scholar who began his studies many years ago under the guidance of Akshaya Kumar Maitra (Varendra Research Society). The author has dug deep into the ancient texts in Pali and Sanskrit as well as the Silpasastra works to gather materials for an intelligible history of Indian architecture from very fragmentary and obscure sources. That it is a very systematic, if not an exhaustive treatment of the available data, will be apparent from some of the titles of the chapter in the book: Origin of Architecture in India, Architecture in the Rigvedic period, in the Later Vedas and the Brahmanas, Sutra Literature, in the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, in the Jatakas and Pali Canons. There are other interesting chapters on Classification of Indian Temples, the Orders of Indian Architecture, Principal schools of Vastuvidya and their principal authors. Some original data are offered in a chapter on the Origin of Temples, and on the assimilation of Aryan and Non-Aryan cultures. In the new set-up in free India one expects various kinds of building activities, in the foundation of new cities and in refugee settlements. In this context the rich architectural history of India deserves an intensive study on the part of our builders and engineers and these solid fruits of a serious scholar should be in the hands of our city-planners and builders in new India.

The principles of Indian architecture are studied and presented from another point of view by a practical engineer of long experience, Govinda Krishna Pillai (an M.C.E. London, and P.W.D. officer, Government of India), who in a very well-documented work,

The Way of the Silpa, or Hindu Approach to Art and Science (Indian Press, Allahabad. Pp. 366. Price Rs. 22-8) subjects the data of the Silpasastras to merciless mathematical analysis, and to tests of measurements, thus elucidating the most important principles of ancient building science from the practical scientific point of view, interpreting un-intelligible Sanskrit technical terms in an intelligible manner. The astronomical data of the Vastu-sastra texts are very happily elucidated. The Determination of the Cardinal points on the basis of traditional Indian practice is a very satisfactory demonstration. The greater part of the book (first nine chapters, pp. 177) is devoted to the elucidation of measurements and very useful mathematical data, which are likely to scare away the ordinary reader. The chapters on Town Planning and House Planning give a very clear presentation of ancient Indian psychological principles, which should be of great use to our modern town-planners and builders. The comprehensive title of the book, the 'Way of the Artists', justifies a chapter on sculpture, the least authoritative part of the work. The author's grounding in the principles of Indian Iconography is not adequate and his citation of a Jaina Image (Fig. 16) which he identifies as "Prince" does not demonstrate any scholarly understanding of the masterpieces of Indian sculpture, though he has an Indian's respect for Indian ideals and canons of beauty. The citation of a decadent wooden figure of Sukra Maharshi, a school-boy's presentation of the Buddha (Pl. XXXVII) have no relevance in the study and should have been omitted. The most valuable part of the work is the series of diagrams, drawings, and plans, illustrating the different types of buildings and temples. We heartily echo the concluding remarks of the authors: "This book is the result of a little 'deep-digging' in the field of the Silpasastras. Though imperfect and incomplete, it is hoped that this may be of some service for a correct appreciation of Indian Art and Architecture on scientific lines." "It is indeed a valuable research for truth in the debris of Indian culture, in fields that have been ploughed by many and often discarded as worthless."

In the field of Indian Architecture, a pretentious publication said to have been generously subsidised by the Government of India through the Ministry of Industry, is A. Goswami's curious venture, assisted by a galaxy of scholars and art-critics, (D. P. Ghose, Nirmal K. Bose, and Y. D. Sharma, Kim Christen), and illustrated with drawings (not numbered or captioned) by Gopal Ghose and Phani Bhusan and with photographs of large fragments of Orissan architecture, chiefly of decorative and ornamental significance, covered by 72 plates (under the title *Orissan*

Temples, published by Thacker's Press, Calcutta). Excepting that the volume is very well-printed and the bad photographs are excellently reproduced, the enterprise is a monument of arrogant incompetence of Sri A. Goswami to realise the magnitude of the task he had undertaken to fulfil. The letter-press not even paged should have been entrusted either to Prof. D. P. Ghose, or to Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, both very competent students of Orissan art, instead of dividing the responsibility among four experts on Art, who have done their part in a scrappy, hasty, and perfunctory manner. The drawings, though done by talented artists with no special training for interpreting the monuments of Indian Art and their decorations, have utterly failed to convey the quality or flavour of the originals. It is a magnificent example of Love's labours lost and sinful waste of public money. It will be an interesting enquiry, how much money has been donated by Government and who was the officer concerned.

A very well-produced album, illustrating the *Paintings of Sushila Yawalkar* with two-page Introduction and 42 illustrations, eight in colour, comes from the Yawalkar studio, Matabhoy Mansion, oval, Bombay (Price not stated). The comment is very moderately phrased, and reveals sober judgment without extravagant praise. "It is very refreshing to come across the work of this type so untutored, naive, yet eloquent in full expression in forms of volume and colour."

The Government of India, Publication Division, Ministry of Information, is responsible for a lavishly illustrated volume of 134 pages, illustrated with 37 colour plates and 126 black and white illustrations (Printed at the Saraswati Press, Calcutta, Price Rs. 10) with the somewhat pretentious title *Indian Art through the Ages*. The uneven and haphazard distribution of the indifferently chosen examples does not convey the rich treasures of ancient and mediaeval Art, represented by 14 examples of sculpture and painting, the latter being illustrated with 8 examples of Rajput and two of Moghul; the chosen examples of second-rate specimens do not convey any adequate idea of Indian achievement in pictorial art, the Buddhist schools being altogether omitted. Whoever may have been responsible for the choice of specimens appears to have been obsessed by the recent modern developments in Indian Art, as he has chosen to present a very small fraction of the ancient and mediaeval phases, covering a period of 4500 years by 20 specimens mostly indifferent, while he has lavished 111 illustrations for painting and 14 for sculpture to represent a period of hardly more than 80 years. Even the presentation of an exaggerated canvas for the modern phases due to lack of judgement in choosing significant specimens fails to illustrate the modern trends in a systematic or intelligent manner; so that the effect of this formidable array of modern speci-

mens, while eclipsing the ancient and mediaeval glories, very poorly presented, is confusing and bewildering and will not educate the average man to form a just estimate of the qualities of Indian Art in any phase of its long and brilliant career. The accompanying letter-press does not reveal a trained and scholarly connoisseurship of the qualities of the ancient and mediaeval phases nor explain their significance in Indian life. The literary comments on the modern phases, likewise unsatisfactory, is much better than the previous sections. It is unfortunate that Government of India could not find a competent Indian critic to present the great panorama of Indian Art in a way worthy of its magnificent achievements. The book is very well-printed and the plates are, on the whole, quite satisfactory and the popular price is a highly commendable feature of the production. In a later edition the text should be entrusted to a competent expert.

From Nalanda, the enterprising publishing house of Bombay, comes a very well-printed volume on *Contemporary Indian Painters* with the letter-press contributed by the well-known critic and connoisseur G. Venkatachalam (Pp. 120 and colour plates and 13 monotone illustrations. Price Rs. 8-4). The treatment of the matter is novel and interesting. After a two-page Introduction, giving a short survey of the new Renaissance, the author devotes fifteen short studies of fifteen modern Indian artists, all of the Bengal school, excepting D. Rama Rao and including the pictorial art of Rabindranath. The commentaries, each prefaced by a typical illustration of each artist, are not the critical analysis of the works, but are charming pen-portraits and vignettes of the personalities of the artists. Each vignette is given with great charm and sympathy and makes the portraits stand out before us in living and convincing presentations. This is a novel way of introducing contemporary painting not through elaborate presentations of their works, but through thumb-nail sketches of their personalities with some details of their careers. The Appendix ("The Fool Hath Said") is a slashing answer to Beverly Nichol's foolish assertion that "after a year's search he was unable to find a single Indian artist of any major significance, with one solitary exception."

We are happy to welcome two new art books from that enterprising private publisher Sarabhai Manilal Nawab of Ahmedabad, who has created a creditable precedent for fine productions, enough to make many professional publishers to blush in shame. Of his two latest publications, one is a folio album of Jaina miniature illustrations accurately reproduced in colour on 35 plates, covering some treasures of Jaina painting from the Jasalmer Collection. The plates are prefaced by authoritative, descriptive notes by Muniji Punya-Vijayji and published by Sri S. M.

Nawab (with his usual high standard of printing and production) under the title *Jasalmer-ki Chitra-Samridhi* (printed in 300 numbered copies, and published at Chia Mavjini Pole, Ahmedabad, price Rs. 25). The only criticism that can be offered is that the texts should have been printed not only in Gujarati but also in Hindi or in English so as to be accessible to readers in all parts of the Indian Union. The second item is a mere collection of mounted colour plates, seven small cartons, and two larger ones, with descriptive captions in Gujarati, and in Hindi, contained in a thin folder under the title *Sri Jaina Chitra-vali* (Price Rs. 5). The smaller series are miniatures representing the Jaina Tirthankars, of no artistic value, though of profound significance to Jaina devotees. The two other plates are beautiful reproductions of two Yantras, Risi-mandala Brihad-Yantra, and Mantradhira-chintamani Yantra, excellently embellished by icons of the Jaina pantheon in the developed style of Jaina pictorial art. Their excellent aesthetic values will appeal equally to Jains and non-Jains. One is led to remark that the example set by Sri Nawab to publish the art-treasures of Jain Art, should be emulated by cultured sections of other sects of religion.

Warm compliments are due to the admirable enterprise of Messrs. Dhoomimal Dharamdas (Connaught

Place, New Delhi), who are issuing a series of illustrated books with excellent colour-plates, devoted to works of modern Indian painters, some in small convenient size, others in larger size with plates mounted with generous margins. To this last class, belongs an album of 12 plates (Price Rs. 12-8) without any letter-press, devoted to a series of oil-colours in modernistic manners, from the brush of Premoja Chaudhuri, an artist of talent, yet to attain maturity. More convenient in size, produced with admirable taste and eloquence is the album of 9 colour-plates and 30 monochromes devoted to the works of Sailoz Mookerjee, the well-known popular artist whose oil colours seek to illustrate Indian romantic themes and landscapes, couched in French techniques. This neat little album (Price Rs. 6) is prefaced by a critical introduction by A. S. Raman, according to whom, Sailoz "has drawn his inspiration not from the mere externals of our great masterpieces, to which the Bengal school has unfortunately confined itself, but from the spirit behind them."

Of diverse appeal and of divergent quality, these series of books on Indian Art have made some additions to literature on the subject and are sure to awaken some more interest on a subject in which even our educated men evince very little interest.

—:O:—

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 or 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

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE. Vol. III. 1771-88: By Jadunath Sarkar. Second edition. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Pp. viii + 336. Price Rs. 10.

With the publication of this volume Sir Jadunath's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* can be had complete in a uniform set of four volumes of the decent demy octavo size. The original edition, which was in small stubby crown octavo volumes, has been long out of print. As usual, the author has made minute corrections and utilised all the new materials secured by him since 1938, when the first edition came out. The subject-matter is nothing less than a tragic drama, though true history in every line. The period includes the hopeless breakdown of the Mughal Government of Delhi as conducted by successive Muslim nobles, the Emperor's final solicitation of Mahadji Sindhia to

save him by becoming his guardian and regent. Ghulam Qadir Ruhela's unspeakable atrocities on the Emperor (whom he blinded and then beat) and even the princes and princesses. The full history of the Jat Power and Rajputana for the time is newly constructed from sources in Marathi and Persian, French and English.

N. B. R.

TWILIGHT OF THE MUGHALS: STUDIES IN LATE MUGHAL DELHI: By Dr. P. Spear. Published by Cambridge University Press. Five illustrations. Pp. xii + 270. Price 18s. net.

This is a contribution to Indian history marked by such a wide study of original sources, patient research, scholarly openness of mind and unusually high literary skill and economy of words, that the reviewer could not stop without reading it from end to end. His only regret is that Dr. Spear should have chosen

such an uninviting, almost flat subject, and strung his studies together by a rather tenuous thread, as the locality of Delhi city and the imperial enclave around it in the dim sleepy days between Lake's capture of Delhi in 1803 and the extinction of the Mughal line after the Mutiny in 1858. There is much interesting information also about the European Society in the old place, especially Metcalfe and Colebrooke. The gifts and industry displayed by our author in this book, will, I hope, be turned to a better subject, which will easily enable him to produce a standard authority on some aspect of Mughal India, and render an abiding help to inquirers into our past.

I may be permitted to draw the author's attention to the scandals and sordid life of the Mughal palaces after 1803 as illustrated in *Sketches of India* written in 1811-14 (London 1816) ascribed to Ensign Wynne, and the Persian *Mafatih-ur-Riyasat* by Syed Muhammad Riza (Br. Mus. Or. 1752, VI). The British atrocities after the recapture of Delhi are detailed in Cap. G. F. Atkinson's *Campaign in India . . . before Delhi*, 26 tinted lithos, 1859, and also in the *Diary* of the famous *Times* Correspondent, W. Howard Russell. How we wish for some information about the old Delhi (English) College which produced Shahamat Ali and Mohun Lal, the Persian secretaries of Wade and Burnes. On p. 27 *n Atomony Batches* is a misreading for *Domni-Bachcha*, for which see Wilson's Glossary.

J. SARKAR

THE PURANA INDEX, Vol. I: By V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras, 1951. Size 10 ins. x 6½ ins. x 2 ins. Pp. xxxv + 660. Price not mentioned.

The first volume of the Purana Index comprises letters from A to N. The Bhagavata Purana, the Brahmanda Purana, the Matsya Purana, the Vayu Purana and the Vishnu Purana have been included in the Index. The Index when completed will be found to be of great service to students of Sanskrit and ancient Indian chronology. The printing could have been more condensed with advantage to the reader and this would have substantially reduced the size of the volume. The Introduction might have been written with a little more care. The author following the Western scholars has wrongly translated *Pratisarga*, one of the five characteristics of the Purana, as 'secondary creation.' *Pratisarga* in Puranic literature means 'the destruction of the world.' The author has further failed to notice the difference between Purana, Mahapurana and Purana Samhita. His idea that Vishnu Purana is the work of a single hand is wrong. The names of the different redactors of the Vishnu Purana are to be found within the Purana itself. He further repeats the absurd idea of the Western scholars that the Puranas were reduced to writing about 5th century B.C. The author has placed Nanda's coronation at 401 B.C. but he has not mentioned the source of his information. The defects in the Introduction do not interfere with the great value of the Index.

G. BOSE

RAJADHARMA: By K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Published by The Adyar Library, Madras. Pp. 236. Price Rs. 3-8.

Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's name is well-known among scholars for his numerous and

authoritative works on Ancient Indian Law and Politics. The present work consists of two lectures delivered by him under a Madras University Lectureship Foundation as far back as 1938. Originally prepared for oral delivery, the lectures have since been published in bookform with the addition of a considerable number of explanatory notes. In giving the somewhat challenging title of *Rajadharma* to his book, the author, as he tells us in his Preface, (p. xv), uses it not in its narrow sense of 'kingcraft' or 'polity,' but in a wider meaning so as to make it practically co-extensive with the scope of *Dharmasastra*. The author's aim, as he further tells us in the course of the same informative preface (p. xiii), is "to stimulate interest" in the sadly neglected literature of *Dharmasastra*, "to define its position among kindred studies and to vindicate the value of the traditional method of approach to it." In the course of his two lectures the author makes, in support of his aims, numerous weighty observations of which we can give only a few examples. There is, he thinks, no justification for the present preference of the *vyavahara* content in the *Dharmasastra* to the neglect of its other parts. The assumption on which it is based, viz., that *vyavahara* deals with 'the secular' as contrasted with 'the religious' aspect of Hindu Law, is contrary to Hindu thought (pp. 9-11). The hypothesis of 'the secular' origin and character of the *Arthashastra* is opposed to the Indian tradition (pp. 11-12). The large element of law in the Smritis of the middle period, distinguishing them from those of the earlier and later times, is not due to the secular bias of the authors, but to their incorporation of the oral explanatory matter (pp. 16-20). The idea that "ignorance, prejudice and self-interest" of the priestly class are the ruling motives in the composition of *Dharmasastras* is excluded by the conditions of their origin which ensured "integrity in texts, accuracy and fidelity in interpretation, logic in inference and absence of bias in application" (pp. 21-22). The views that the distinction between *Dharmasastra* and *Arthashastra* corresponds to the difference between magic and law, between private and public law, between ideals and real-politik, between municipal secular law and penance law, are all wrong (pp. 23-24). The postulates of Indian belief underlying the conception of scope and content of *Dharmasastras* involve the hypothesis that "Dharma has its root in revelation" and that "the sole subject of revealed literature is Dharma," from which follows the important conclusion that any rule in the Smritis for which a Vedic source can be found is infallible and that those rules for which no such origin can be found must be presumed to be based upon a lost Vedic source (pp. 29-30). "The hypothesis that *Dharma* was good for all time and all circumstances acted as the Law of Nature did in the evolution of Roman Law. The processes by which the adjustment of *Dharma* was insensibly effected were, however, natural and logically followed from the primary hypotheses" (p. 37).

Enough has been said to give the reader an idea of the varied and important contents of this work. The present reviewer, however, has his slight differences of opinion with the author on a number of points. To begin with, he is not convinced that there is any need for importing the wide connotation of *Dharmasastra* to the familiar term *Rajadharma* which occupies a distinctive place in our Smritis from first to last side by side with the parallel branches of *Dharma*. In his

anxiety to clear the *Arthashastra* from the charge of being secular, the author forgets to make proper allowance for that phase of *Arthashastra* thought which is represented by the citations of the schools of Brihaspati and Usanas in Kautilya I.2 and which deservedly drew upon its authors the censure not only of the austere Buddhist and Jaina canonists, but also of such a writer as the author of the *Kadambari*. For the division of Smritis under the heading of *dristartha* and *adristartha* (p. 37) it would be more correct to speak of Smriti texts of the above two types. The term *nyaya* translated as 'logical interpretation' (p. 38) may properly be rendered as equity. These and other differences do not stand in the way of the reviewer's high appreciation of this work as marking a valuable contribution to the study of our ancient *Dharmasastra* literature.

U. N. GHOSHAL

BIHAR: THE HEART OF INDIA: By Sir John Houlton. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Calcutta, 1949. Pp. x + 223. Price Rs. 10.

This book is undoubtedly one of the best accounts of an Indian State. Sir John Houlton was, for a long time, in the administrative service in Bihar and he has had ample opportunity of observing the country and the people about whom he writes. He writes with knowledge as well as sympathy. The traveller in Bihar will find in the book information for which he will be grateful to the author.

This book should not only be in the hands of those who are interested in Bihar but also serve as a model for future accounts of other States in the Republic

of India. The photographic illustrations have been well chosen and very well printed.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MORE ABOUT PSYCHIATRY: By Carl Biniger, M.D. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1951. Price 10s. 6d. net.

There are 14 chapters in the book each dealing from the common man's point of view with different aspects of psychiatry. Throughout the chapters, however, one point has been sought to be emphasised and very rightly too. Since the discoveries of psycho-analysis many persons, even some busy medical practitioners have begun to realise that in treating diseases the personal relation between the physician and the patient is a factor of paramount importance. No one has done more to stress and spread this point of view amongst the medical men than the psychiatrist. Citing numerous instances the author has shown that the current methods of teaching in the medical colleges and studying cases in the hospitals need thorough re-orientation. The patient is not merely a bed number. Symptoms do not always originate merely from somatic conditions. There may be and usually are psychological factors in their aetiology. We have to learn to take a stereoscopic view of the sick man and to remember that a symptom is not either 'psychogenic' or 'somatic.' A little more intimate contact with the patients and a little more personal interest in the 'case' often reveal facts which have a direct bearing on the genesis of the symptoms. Psycho-analysis traces the symptoms to their hidden roots.

TALKS WITH SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Being pages from the diary of some Disciples. It is in heart-to-heart conversation that you know a man really. Here, in these "Talks", we see the life Swami Vivekananda lived when untrammelled by the formalities of public life. People in almost all walks of life will find guidance from these pages.

Here speaks a religious stalwart.....who is at the same time a man of common sense and possessed of indomitable energy.—*The Aryan Path*

Pages 400

Price Rs. 4

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA ON INDIA AND HER PROBLEMS

Contains extracts from the Swami's writings and speeches bearing on various Indian problems. Will give an idea that his message is not meant for titbits of social or religious reform but for a complete rejuvenation of her national life in all its phases. In the present edition, which is thoroughly re-edited, much new matter has been added and the extracts have been so arranged as to make continuous articles.

Pages 120

Price Re. 1-8

For a complete list of our publications please write to—

ADVAITA ASHRAMA
4, WELLINGTON LANE :: CALCUTTA-13.

Considered in the proper way psychiatry is in a position to render much help to the normal man too. In the task of choosing a mate, in improving mental health, in bringing about better adjustment amongst men and even in preventing wars, immense contributions may be made, the author believes, by the psychiatrists as social scientists. The belief will easily be shared by every one who has ever taken a genuine interest in the affairs of man and in the problems of human motivation.

The book is written in an exceedingly pleasant style. There is as much charm in the literary aspects of the book as there is worth in the contents thereof. Medical practitioners, especially those who are staunch believers in 'organic pathology' only, will certainly find their belief shaken if they care to peruse some of the chapters of this eminently readable book.

S. C. MITRA

THE LIFE OF MIR JUMLA: By Jagadish Narayan Sarkar. Published by Thacker Spink and Co. Pp. 336. Price Rs. 12.

This authoritative life of Mir Jumla is the result of patient research extending over seven years. In his Foreword, Sir Jadunath Sarkar describes it as a "worthy supplement—in some points a corrective also—to my voluminous history of Aurangzib... the present author has used the microscope where I had to use the telescope." This work shows meticulous care in the collection and in the presentation of materials.

Mir Jumla has been described as the greatest among the Persian immigrants in India. His career here extends over thirty-three years but his place in history is determined by his achievements compressed into seventeen years only 1646-1662. Mir Muhammad Said, famous in history as Mir Jumla, began his career in India as the personal attendant of a merchant. He became very soon a great business magnate himself and the owner of twenty maunds of diamonds. With his big mercantile marine, his far-flung overseas trade with western Asia and the East Indies, he played a very important part in the economic history of the seventeenth century. He was a keen competitor with the Dutch and the English in overseas trade. Mir Jumla also rose to be the Diwan-i-Kul of the Mughal Empire under Shah Jahan and the Subadar of Bengal in the early years of the reign of Aurangzib. He influenced the history of India from Karnatak to Delhi and from Khandesh to Assam. Mir Jumla's part in court intrigues, in the diplomatic and military history of the seventeenth century, his economic system and his activities in the commercial history of this period, have been described very fully in these pages. Incidentally two neglected regions of India—Karnatak and Assam—have their history of this period fully described. The author devoted so many years to the study of the achievement of this adventurer of genius but he does not indulge in what is usual in such cases an over-estimate. His conclusion that 'Mir Jumla failed to be a constructive force in the history of the Mughal Empire' seems to be amply justified in spite of the panegyrics of Persian chroniclers and epithets of contemporaries describing him as *asaf-ud-dauran*, 'the wisest man in Hindustan.'

N. K. SINHA

THREE ESSAYS TOWARDS A WORLD RELIGION: By Swami Vivekananda and Swami Ram Tirath, ed. with an Introduction by Ram Nath Aggar-

wal, B.A., LL.B. Bharat Utthan Publishers, Ludhiana, Punjab. Pp. 96. Price Rs. 1-8.

Though badly printed and shabbily got up, the book will be liked by all for its contents, which are Swami Vivekananda's two famous lectures: (1) The Way to the Realisation of a Universal Religion, (2) The Ideal of a Universal Religion, and also Swami Ram Tirath's After Death or All Religions Reconciled. The title of the book indicates the aim of the publishers, which is no doubt laudable.

B.N.B.

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF HINDUISM: By Satishchandra Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Philosophy, Calcutta University. To be had of Das Gupta and Co., Ltd., 54-3, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.

Hinduism is a much mis-represented and generally much misunderstood form of religion. Its rites and practices, divested from their philosophical content and their position in the system, have been subjected to enough unwarranted criticism. Curiously enough the critics not unoften include persons who call themselves Hindus. This is principally due to the widespread ignorance of the scriptures as well as philosophical works and particularly the paucity of works explaining the rationale of the injunctions contained in the scriptures. It is therefore gratifying that the learned author of the present volume seeks to clarify in a scientific and logical manner the aims and ideals of Hinduism on the basis of what is stated in the Shastras. In twelve chapters the book presents the fundamental principles and doctrines of the Hindu religion with their philosophical background. It begins by giving a definition of Hinduism which is shown to be a monistic religion and proceeds to explain the nature of God, conception of self, the theory of the world, the doctrine of re-birth, Law of Karma, the doctrine of bondage and liberation and the natural course of liberation: Varnasrama Dharma as expounded in various religious and philosophical works of the Hindus. The work ends with a description of the four special paths to liberation, e.g., Rajayoga, Karmayoga, Bhaktiyoga and Jnanayoga. Incidentally it meets the objections raised in some quarters regarding the supposed flaws of some of the doctrines, e.g., the doctrine of Karmavada and its apparent incompatibility of the law of free-will. The book will thus be helpful in arriving at a correct estimate of Hinduism and what it stands for. Is it too much to hope that the learned author will extend his scope of enquiry and give in future a detailed treatment of the various rituals on similar lines? The relation of the rituals with high philosophical ideals of life requires careful elucidation, especially in view of their preponderance in the religious life of the Hindus.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE VEERSHAIVA PHILOSOPHY AND MYSTICISM: By Sri Kumaraswami, B.A. Published by Navakalyan Math, Bhusapeti, Dharwar, Bombay Presidency. With an Introduction by Dr. J. H. Holmes of New York, and a Foreword by Dr. Paul Brunton of London. Pp. 274. Price Rs. 5.

In the twelfth century there appeared in Karnataka two to three hundred Lingayat saints of whom about sixty were women. Basava and Allama Prabhu are the most distinguished amongst the men saints and Akka Mahadevi was the beacon-light of the women

mystics. All of them taught in Kannada the language of the province and brought about religious revival unprecedented in Karnataka. Their inspired sayings are collected in what is known as the Vachanasashtra, the scripture of the Lingayat Faith or Veershaivism. The book under review presents the main principles of this school of Hinduism in the terms of Western thought.

The etymological meaning of Linga is *Lingate gamyate yatra iti* Linga i.e. the highest Godhead. Linga, which is another name for Shiva, is therefore the static aspect of the Absolute. Lingadharana or wearing marks of Shivalinga on forehead, arms, chest and other parts of the body is one distinctive feature of the Veershaivas. This has brought them the nickname of Lingayat. This school of Hindu philosophy and religion, so wonderful and profound, is almost unknown outside Karnataka. Hence this book will be warmly received by all students of Hinduism, and may be read as an introduction to Veershaivism.

Veershaivism accepts the dynamic aspect of the Absolute called Shakti, Jangama or Chara. Shiva and Shakti, the two-fold aspects of the Absolute are admitted in the Svetasvatara Upanishad. In this connection Sri Basava the Veershaiva philosopher observes: "As submarine fire is hid in the waters of the seas, as ray of ambrosia is hid in the moon, as fragrance is hid in the flower, as love is hid in the maidens so is Shiva hid in Shakti." For this integral association of Shiva and Shakti Veershaivism is called Shakti-Visistha Advaita.

Akka Mahadevi, the great woman mystic of Veershaiva sect, beautifully expresses like St. Teresa, St. Catherine and other leading women mystics of Europe the various stages of divine realization in a figurative language thus: "The glorious Divinity has scarcely placed His hand upon my head when the worldly bondage of mine disappeared. He made me like Him—self and the Divine consciousness permeated my body both within and without." Many interesting mysteries of spiritual life as this are very impressively described in this book. An earnest student of practical religion with modern education will find this book immensely interesting and instructive.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY: By P. S. Joshi. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 5-8, Library Edition Rs. 7-2.

The policy of the Union of South Africa to its non-white population is a challenge to the conscience of the world. The author deals in the present volume primarily with the policy of the Union Government to South Africans of Indian and Pakistani origin. He gives besides, in broad outlines however, a picture of Indians in British East Africa and of the Africans and the Cape Coloured in the Union of South Africa.

The Indian (and Pakistani) settlers in South Africa constitute two and a half per cent of its population and have contributed not a little to its prosperity. But Dr. D. F. Malan's Nationalists regard them as a foreign, outlandish and unassimilable element and accept "as a basis of their policy the repatriation of as many Indians as possible." Miserable as the plight of the Indo-Pakistanis in the Union is, that of other non-White communities is not much better. That of the Africans is definitely worse. White South Africa has robbed the Asian of his equality, the Africa has robbed the African of his freedom, ostensibly for safeguarding White civilisation.

● RESULTS SPEAK

HINDUSTHAN'S 1950 Valuation

for the four years ended 31st Dec. 1950 discloses a **SURPLUS** of over Rs. 1 Cr. 25 Lks. as a result of which **BONUS** has been declared in respect of all with profit policies (per Rs. 1,000/- sum assured per annum) on

Endowment Assurance }
Whole Life Assurance } **Rs. 8**

The results have been obtained after strengthening the reserves by reducing the interest basis by 1/2% and providing for depreciation and all contingencies.

In spite of having to work under several adverse factors such as low interest earning, high costs and depreciation the results prove once again Hindusthan's economical management, unimpeachable security and strong financial position in all respects.

● Policies in force	Over Rs. 73 Crs. 16 Lakhs
● Life Fund	Rs. 15 „ 97 „
● Premium income	Rs. 3 „ 40 „
● Claims paid	Rs. 7 „ 20 „



HINDUSTHAN
CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE
SOCIETY, LIMITED.

4, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA

It has long been the habit to think in terms of East or West. It has been taken for granted by most people that the cultures of the orient and the occident are two separate and incompatible entities. The thought patterns of the East were held to be so completely different from those of the West as to be unintelligible, at least to the empirical mind of the West. The ways of life, the common approach to both business and leisure, were considered strange, bizarre, and, because they were different, inferior. But there is a growing consciousness in the West that the empirical mind, while producing an amazing material civilization, has somehow failed to create a peaceful and wholly satisfying world. It is a world of fear and uncertainty, of increasing tension and threat. The nerves of the world are at the ragged edge; and the people cry for peace, but there is no peace. We seem to live in a world that is all questions, the answers to which always elude us. On the whole, it is not a comfortable world; and the West is more and more aware of it, but does not seem to know what to do about it.

The time has come when the dichotomy of East or West must give way to the amalgam of East and West.

There is undoubtedly much in the West that could benefit the East—for one thing, better methods for the production and distribution of the essentials of life, but there is probably more in the East that would help the West. If the West can help the material side of life, if it can give the technical knowledge and skill needed to raise the standard of living for people everywhere, the East can strengthen man's spiritual nature. And this is the greater need; for the break-down of world morality is a symptom of the desiccation of the Spirit. Man's peace is not to be found in the abundance of things which he possesses, but in an inner serenity. His mind must develop a 'modus operandi' which goes beyond the excellence of engineering into the far reaches of Reality and which understands that Life is more important than mere existence. To this end the wisdom of the East can make an inestimable contribution. The exigencies of the present demand a true meeting of East and West, out of which will emerge that 'One World' about which men of goodwill everywhere dream.

DIABETOX
TABLETS
for
DIABETES
SOTABLETS RS.3 100RS.5-8
At All leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
Himco Laboratories
231, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

Bharati's Mysticism

Subrahmanya Bharati, a great modern poet of the Tamil country in South India, who in his lifetime suffered great privation but kindled patriotic fervour among his people with the stirring poems for which he is perhaps best known, has received high posthumous honours. K. Chandrasekharan presents in an article in the *Aryan Path* the claim for Bharati as a mystic poet:

An element of mysticism can be found in all great poetry. At any rate no Indian poet worth the name can ever fail to evoke a sense of religious feeling by what he writes. Many poets here have adopted the conventional *Nayaka-Nayaki Bhava* in describing their relationship with God, while others have resorted to variations of the same idea, with a Master or a King or a Father as the immediate object of their love. But in all these outpourings there remains a lively consciousness of the presence of God behind all things in life.

No doubt poets like Tagore have had their own freshness to add to devotional mysticism when they dispensed with all mythological symbols and sectarian concepts of God. They have preferred their own spiritual longings to the knowledge gathered from legends and Puranic stories. Tagore did not stop with mere selection of such themes as God being the King or the Father, the Poet or the Bridgroom or the Lover; he also significantly contributed to a type of "Nature Mysticism." Indeed in modern times there has been no other poet to arouse such religious feeling for nature as Tagore. Like Kalidasa, whose intensest form of spiritual elevation consisted in seeking nature frequently to prove the existence of the universal spirit, Tagore made it his prime care to introduce as often as possible a pervading sense of the mystic unity of the spirit behind both man and nature.

Subrahmanya Bharati of Tamil Nad was a poet imbued with the same thirst for God. One can easily envisage his powerful attraction to the mythological deities as he sings of Kannan or Velan or Kali. No mean fervour does he arouse in us when he makes his Kannan live before our eyes in all the varying charms of childhood or youth. Some may, however, go to the extent of calling Bharati a poet of innovations even in the traditional setting of his mystical songs. For the innumerable saints of the South, whether Vaishnavites or Saivites, had evoked emotions subsisting in the human relationship between the human soul and the divine spirit only in such a manner as would not upset the usual attitude of an inferior towards a superior being. But in Subrahmanya Bharati's devotional songs you find for the first time the order reversed; God becomes the woman or the servant even and the human soul plays the part of a man and a master.

Some consider that the idea of the *Nayaka-Nayaki Bhava* itself, when indulged in with excessive feeling, would tend to border on the physical plane, thereby making the relationship essentially erotic. But, scoffers apart, there cannot be anything more sustaining to God-filled souls than this class of poetry, especially that which recalls the soulful strains of the *Gopika-Geeta* in the *Srimad Bhagavata*. Suka-Brahman, in his ecstatic moods of God-Realization, chose to surpass all known theistic philosophy by resorting to this search for God in the most pathetic of human

situation, that in which the Lord as Lover vanishes for a while from the sight of his sweet-hearts, leaving them in utter despair. Perhaps a single strain of this wonderful poem can compensate for all the wants from which the world suffers.

Bharati has secured for himself, by the very fact that he has added to the mystical poems of our country, an abiding place in the hearts of all lovers of true poetry.

In addressing his beloved Kannamma, he transports us with a pageant of rich imageries, the like of which we only very rarely find in modern poetry.

Thou art the leaping light, my dear, and I
The eye roving free.
Thou art gleaming wine, my dear,
And I the drunken bee.
I strive to speak of the glory thou art,
But words fade into quiet;
Thou art a splendour from Heaven, my dear,
A Nectarine riot.

Thou art a vina, my dear, and I
The playing fingers cunning;
Thou art a jewel, my dear,
And I the gem flash running.
Wherever I turn, my dear,
The world with thy love-light is rife;
Thou art sovereign queen, my dear,
The anchor of my life.

To a *crescendo* of passion, lit with translucent colours, does he take us along with him, and we rise to the summit of his delight even as he does. That is the way of all true mystical poetry. Let us then ascend the spiral staircase with him:

Thou art the fragrance, my dear,
And I the opening flower;
Thou art the meaning of what is spoken,
And I the rich word-dower . . .
Thou art the moonlight, my dear,
And I the joyous sea;
Thou art the ground note of my life,
And I the song to thee.

The experience that naturally overtakes all the searchings and yearnings of the God-mad soul gives way to moments of ardent intercourse with the object of its adoration. Then we pause at the meeting of the two in a happy embrace, as it were, which is also vividly portrayed, thus:

And there, somebody softly stole to me,
And behind me standing, closed my eyes.
I felt the soft hands and in a flash was wise;
I knew her by the fragrance of her silk saree,
I knew her by the joy that within me welled,
I knew her by the beat of our kindred hearts.
"Oh, take thy hands away, Kannamma;
thy arts"
I cried "are of no avail." Her hands I held.
And then, while her laughter tinkled, I freed
my eye,
And turning, drew her to me and said
"Behave!"
"What did you find in the rolling ocean's
wave?
Whatever did you find in the blue of the
sky?
And what in the whirling foam, its twist and
break,

And among the tiny bubbles that flash and
dart,
By conning space day by day, part by part,
What good have you got, tell me," she
spake.

"In the rolling ocean's wave I saw thy face;
And only thy face in the broad expanse of
sky,

And amidst the foam as it whirled and broke
high,

And but thy face in the tiny bubble's race,
Naught did I see but thy infinite grace,

In my study of the one in all its strands;
And when thy laughter tinkled and I moved
thy hands,

And turning clasped thee, again I saw thy
face."

Do we need more proof of Bharati's mystic
upsurge?

From the enrapturing feast of his pictures of
God as the darling of his heart, we turn to another
aspect of Him as Father and Sire.

Here Bharati fills us with a sense of the un-
approachability of His primeval paternity and pre-
science. In his words,

He is old, immeasurably old,
Yet, the brightness of his youth is unfading.

Neither sorrow nor age has he,
Nor weariness, disease, nor fear.

Having no leanings, taking no sides,
He stands detached, transcendent,

And sees with joy the working out of infinite
design.

Fie, he cries,
To those who go to him broken with pain,

And then heaps them over with tenderness.
Those who endure the rack of body and mind,

Their patience he loves;
Those who turn only to the joy of things,

On them he showers, rejoicing,
Joy on joy,

Bliss.

Yet another picture of God, as servant, is also
vouchsafed us in this enduring range of God-Studies.
The servant here is a lad, and so the poet fondly
narrates what he is to him—in his own actual life.

The lad's love for us has, day by day, grown
And the good he has done no words can

render.

As the eyelids guard—alert and tender—
The eyes, he tends my family.

Not once have I heard him grumble. But he
Sweeps the street and cleans the rooms;

And even the housemaids he presumes
To chide and control! And to my children

A tutor, nurse, doctor, he does bewildering
Services manifold. He buys plenty

Of milk and butter and all things dainty
And stocks my pantry, somehow or other,

To the women he is like a loving mother;
And to me a friend, guide, teacher, brother.

A seeming servant, in deed a God,
This shepherd lad from somewhere abroad,

He has come to me—for my merit's reward!

Beautiful lines, these. In translation much of the
music of the word pictures in the original has suffered.
We are thankful for at least what remains. For there

but in reality for perpetuating White supremacy and White economic domination.

South Africa's solution for the racial problem is *apartheid*, i.e., a state of separation. It is a theory of race invented by the Nationalist Party to justify its racial policy.

South Africa's first anti-Indian law—Law 3 of 1885—enunciated a theory of residential segregation on the grounds of colour and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (the Ghetto Act) of 1946 embodies it for Natal and the Transvaal. During the sixty years between the two measures South Africa has stopped Indian immigration, restricted Indian commerce, disqualified Indians for certain businesses and professions, handicapped them in industries, disenfranchised them and imposed social disabilities on them. The story of Indians in South Africa is brought up-to-date in the volume under review. It is a black saga of the progressive disinheritance of humanity, of the Whiteman's inhumanity to the non-White that "makes countless thousands mourn." Mr. Joshi exposes also the 'divide and rule' policy of the European masters of South Africa.

Events are moving fast on the South African scene. The rumblings of the coming clash are already audible. Well-wishers of South Africa should bear in mind that a genuine revolution is always directed against the power and privilege of an exclusive group, that though a considerable section of humanity can be kept in check by force and diplomacy for a time, such a subjection cannot be maintained for all time to come even through the most ruthless forms of slavery.

A number of Appendices—six in all—add to the value of the volume under review. Of special importance are Appendices E and F giving a list of discriminating legislations in South Africa and chronicling the Union's current history, respectively. A bibliography for each of the nine chapters of the work and also one each for Appendices C and E will make it extremely useful to students of race-relations.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

BENGALI

BHARATIA SANGEETER ITIHAS (History of Indian Music), Vol. I: By *Sangit-Nayak Gopeshwar Banerjee, Swara-Saraswati, Doctor of Music. Published by Basumatil Sahitya Mandir, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

Indian classical music has a long evolutionary history at its back. It is the resultant effect of hard and concentrated efforts and devoted attempts of creative genius of several centuries under royal patronages. The science of Indian classical music has its origin from the accurate and analytic study of their evolutionary art.

It is a very hard task to draw out an accurate picture of this process of musical evolution through long ages because of the dearth of authentic materials. The book entitled *Bharatiya Sangiter Itihas*, composed by Sri Gopeshwar Bandopadhyaya, the great septuagenarian research scholar and musical doyen of India, is a bold attempt in the line and I am confident it would be an immense help to all who are interested in music.

In this treatise on Indian music the author has made a sincere attempt to make his readers acquainted with most of the remarkable musical artists and reformers from the 12th to the 18th century, that is from the reign of Prithviraj, the great Hindu king down to Ahmed Shah, the Mughal emperor. It is a rare collection of about one hundred songs composed by the

creative masters of those centuries like Sankarananda, Nayakgopal, Vivekswami, Ramdas, Tansen, Suradas, Sori, Tulsidas, Mirabai, and others. The accurate notations of the songs given in the book are unquestionably a valuable guide to present and future generations of musical students.

In this book the author has collected all the types of classical music like Dhrupad, Tappa, Kheyal, Thumri and Bhajan. The lucid portrayal of the *ragas* by the author in respect of the sources, differences, and characteristic brilliance of those various types of music cannot be over-estimated. In these days the number of much used *ragas* and *raginis* has become so much dwinned and there are so many differences of opinion about the characteristic peculiarities of a large number of them, that a fresh authoritative interpretation is an immense need of the time and if judged from those angles the songs of different *ragas* included in the book are very valuable and timely contributions of the author.

It is extremely lamentable that we are passing through an age when classical music is yielding place to amorous gaudies and commercial frivolities as a result of manifold social and economic complexities and their impact upon human life. It is my earnest conviction that his present contribution through his newly published book *Bharatiya Sangiter Itihas* will be highly appreciated and valued by all lovers of music throughout the country. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Sangit-Nayak who has rendered such valuable service to his country all along his life.

RADHAGOVINDA ROY

HINDI

HINDU CODE BILL PRAMAN KI KASOTI PAR: By *Swami Karpatri, 161-C, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. Pp. 258. Price Re. 1-8.*

A critical, comprehensive study of the contents and clauses of the Hindu Code Bill, now on the legislative anvil.

G. M.

GUJARATI

DIVAN BAHADUR KRI. MO. JHAVERI LEKHASANGRAHA: By *Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., J.P. Edited by Prof. Dr. Manjula Ranchhodlal Majumdar. Sri Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay 4. December, 1951. Price Rs. 6.*

Dewan Bahadur Sri Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, the doyen of modern Gujarati Literature, has been a regular worshipper of the literature for more than fifty years now. On the completion of his 75th year, the Forbes Gujarati Sabha has brought out a number of his writings and the volume which constitutes the 52nd issue of the publication of the Sabha has been edited by no less an eminent person than Dr. Majumdar. Mainly in Gujarati, it contains also a few articles in English. The Dewan Bahadur's interest is fairly wide, embracing Persian literature as well as history, and literary appreciation and tributes to individuals covering a wide field. The volume contains 676 pages divided into eight sections and there is a useful index. There is no scope here to discuss any one of the pieces included, but sociological, educational, religious and literary interests are evident.

Even if this volume can serve only to draw public attention to the silent scholarly service which Dewan Bahadur Jhaveri has been doing month after month, it will have accomplished its purpose and endeared itself to numerous friends and admirers of Dewan Bahadur throughout India and outside.

P. R. SEN

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The East and the West

L. E. Williams writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

More than half a century ago Swami Vivekananda wrote, 'The Voice of Asia has been the voice of religion. The Voice of Europe is the voice of politics.' Thus did this wise mind long ago see with extraordinary clarity into what is perhaps the most fundamental cleavage between the two great sections of the world arbitrarily called 'The East' and 'The West.'

The truth of that judgment has been amply substantiated by the historical developments of modern times. The West has shown a progressively increasing concern for the political arrangements of life. Much of what passes for Western culture has been the product of creative minds whose terms of reference have been political-social-economic. The literature, drama, and art of the twentieth century have been largely the expression of socio-political ideas which have been dominant throughout the past fifty years; and as the complexities of Western politics have increased, the expressions of Western culture have become more vague and undefined. Painting has often degenerated into mere impressionistic blurbs, and writing into esoteric babblings or the abnormal analyses of the modern mind made neurotic by the rapidly moving and uncertain events of the political milieu in which it lived and moved and had its being.

As the emphasis upon politics (and the word is here used in the broad sense which Vivekananda intended) grew in the West, the Western mind withdrew more and more from the centre of wisdom where the solution of life's most fundamental problems is to be found. It has become increasingly clear that the vocabulary of politics is one of material power. Contemporary commentators continually resort to such expressions as 'power politics,' 'balance of power,' 'struggle,' 'competition,' 'force,' 'armaments race,' 'air power,' and the whole gamut of military words. As a result of that emphasis, the greatness that is most honoured today is that of physical might. That nation is the greatest which possesses the largest stockpile of atomic weapons, the most battle-ships, the largest air force, the most men under arms.

When the common vocabulary of a people is one of militarism, war becomes inevitable; for, a people's vocabulary is indicative of the force which controls the mind and will of that people.

It is psychologically sound to say that the dominant idea of a mind will seek to prove itself by some outward expression of its essential nature. Therefore, the mind dominated by thoughts of power will sooner or later accept war as the fullest and most satisfying expression of itself. This, it seems, is what has happened in the West; and the reason why most attempts to settle international tensions have failed is simply that the dominant vocabulary of the West

makes it impossible to think in terms of anything other than physical force.

This mental attitude has been growing so uninterceptedly in the West that wars have been increasing in frequency and intensity. Moreover, it is interesting to note that whatever struggles have appeared in the East in modern times have been cast in the same mould and follow the same general pattern as those of the West. This way of life and thought has brought the whole world to the brink of self-destruction.

Now to call attention to a significant thing in Swami Vivekananda's statement: While the second sentence is in the present tense, the first sentence is in the past tense—'The Voice of Asia has been the voice of religion.' No one can deny the fact that Asia has been the seed-bed of all the great religions of the world; and the outstanding names among the religious prophets—Buddha, Confucius, Jesus Christ, Mohammed, Nanak—are those of members of Asiatic nations and races. It would appear that in Asia throughout the ages there has been a congenial atmosphere for the exercise and development of the Spirit.

However one may try to explain this extraordinary fact, it is so; and in a recognition of it lies the suggestion for the meeting of East and West, and the bringing into being of a 'One World' frame of mind. There is a growing consciousness on the part of many people in the West that a new way of life must be found if the world is to be saved from annihilation. If that is true, where will one look for that way? Can it be expected to develop out of the same consciousness that has produced the present state of affairs in the world generally? It hardly seems possible that such can be the case. Is it not more likely to arise out of the union of the spiritual consciousness of the East with the practicality of the West?

When the West has learned to bring its practical nature under the guiding influence of the East's spiritual genius, there will be hope for world understanding and co-operation.

When the West can truly appreciate not only Ernest Hemingway but also Rabindranath Tagore when it can understand both Einstein and Aurobindo, there will have been born that gnostic consciousness of which Sri Aurobindo spoke which will make impossible 'war with its spirit of antagonism and enmity, its brutality, destruction, and ignorant violence, political strife with its perpetual conflict, frequent oppression, dishonesties, turpitudes, selfish interests, its ignorance, ineptitude, and muddle. The arts and crafts would exist, not for any inferior mental or vital amusement, entertainment or leisure, and relieving excitement or pleasure, but as expressions and means of the truth of the Spirit and the beauty and delight of existence.'—*The Life Divine* p. 944.

were days when the great Bharati was not known in his own birthplace, much less outside Tamil Nad. People were shouting only his national songs, imagining that he had not gone beyond the horizon of his patriotism. That which liberates a poet, even as it does any other real being, is the vision of things beyond his own insular security. Patriotism too has limitations viewed in this light. For loving one's own country cannot stop there but extends to hating others. To love all certainly requires greater understanding of God's work and creation. That is the spirit in which the Rishis who gave us the early epics in Sanskrit acted as our beacon-lights.

If a Tagore or a Bharati or, for that matter, any poet treading the path of the spiritual uplift of humanity, prepares us for more such delicious experiences, we recognize only the unflinching purpose with which a poet is born. Perhaps in Bharati too we find it once more as a living experience, as in the Upanishads, but with all the warm tints derived from a poet's heart.

X Dravidian Contribution to Indian Culture

Tamil Culture, a Quarterly Review published from Tuticorin, writes editorially :

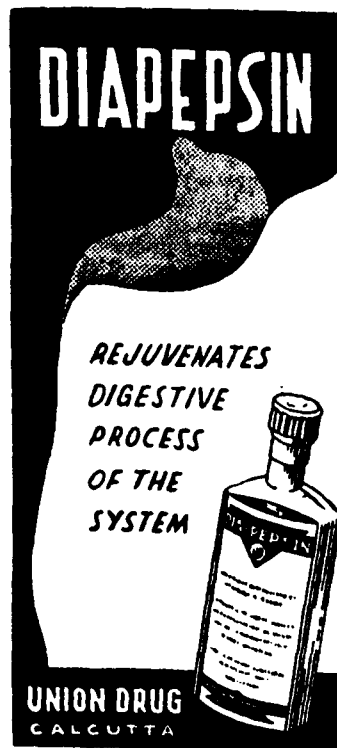
The lot that has befallen Tamil is happily not the lot of the Sanskrit language. This other great vehicle of Indian thought is an Indo-European tongue. Because of its affinities with Latin and Greek, and German and other modern languages, it has received recognition abroad. Since the days of William Jones, and more recently, since the days of Max Muller, scholars in the West have come to a better knowledge of the characteristics of the Sanskrit language and literature. Vedic Sanskrit definitely antedates Latin, Greek and Avestan by many centuries, and displays the original Indo-European structure better than any other known tongue, with the exception of Lithuanian. On the other hand, there should be a better knowledge of Latin and Greek in India. Scholarship in our Universities, particularly in comparative philology, is woefully inadequate. Scholars in Tamil should be better conversant with the languages and literatures of the other "cultivated" and "uncultivated" Dravidian tongues, and of Sanskrit and English, if they are to make their work truly worth while.

Comparative studies in Dravidian languages have not advanced far since Caldwell's time.

Because of its affinities with the North Indian languages, and because of the unique position it has held as a vehicle of religious and philosophic thought, Sanskrit holds a prominent place in Indian culture. Writers like Max Muller, Winternitz, Macdonell and Keith have revealed to Indians themselves the treasures of the Sanskrit tongue. Tamil cannot expect the same amount of study or spontaneous interest on the part of non-Tamils for the want of such linguistic affinities. No heed has been paid to the observation of Max Muller himself that "Tamil literature hitherto has been far too much neglected by students of Indian literature, philosophy and religion." (In *Prefatory Note to Hindu Manners and Customs*, 3rd edition, Oxford, 1905.) Most of the pioneer work, therefore, that will cause interest in the rest of the world must proceed from the Tamils themselves. Some of them

should be prepared, even at the cost of sacrifice, to acquire a literary proficiency in foreign tongues so that they may translate the Tamil classics into other languages. So far no translation of a Tamil classic seems to have been incorporated in a series of the world classics in English or in any other language, nor any extracts from Tamil poetry included in the anthologies of world poetry.

There is, however, in European Universities a growing desire to examine the Dravidian contribution to Indian culture. It is a relief to find that such research is popular among at least a few scholars in India. In the new series of *History and Culture of the Indian People* published by the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti, the first volume entitled *The Vedic Age* contains a study of particular interest, and that is the study entitled "Race Movement and Prehistoric Culture," by S. K. Chatterji of the University of Calcutta. He says, "It has been generally admitted, particularly after a study of both the basis of Dravidian and Aryan culture through language and through institutions, that the Dravidians contributed a great many elements of paramount importance in the evolution of Hindu civilization, which is after all (like all other great civilizations) a composite creation, and that in certain matters the Dravidian and Aryan contributions are deeper and more extensive than that of the Aryans. The pre-Aryans of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were certainly in possession of a higher material culture than what the seminomadic Aryans could show." Again, while estimating the Dravidian and other non-Aryan contributions, he points out tersely that "In culture, speaking in the Indian way, one may say that over twelve annas in the rupee is of non-Aryan origin," meaning that more than three-fourth of Indian culture



DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS
OF THE
SYSTEM

UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

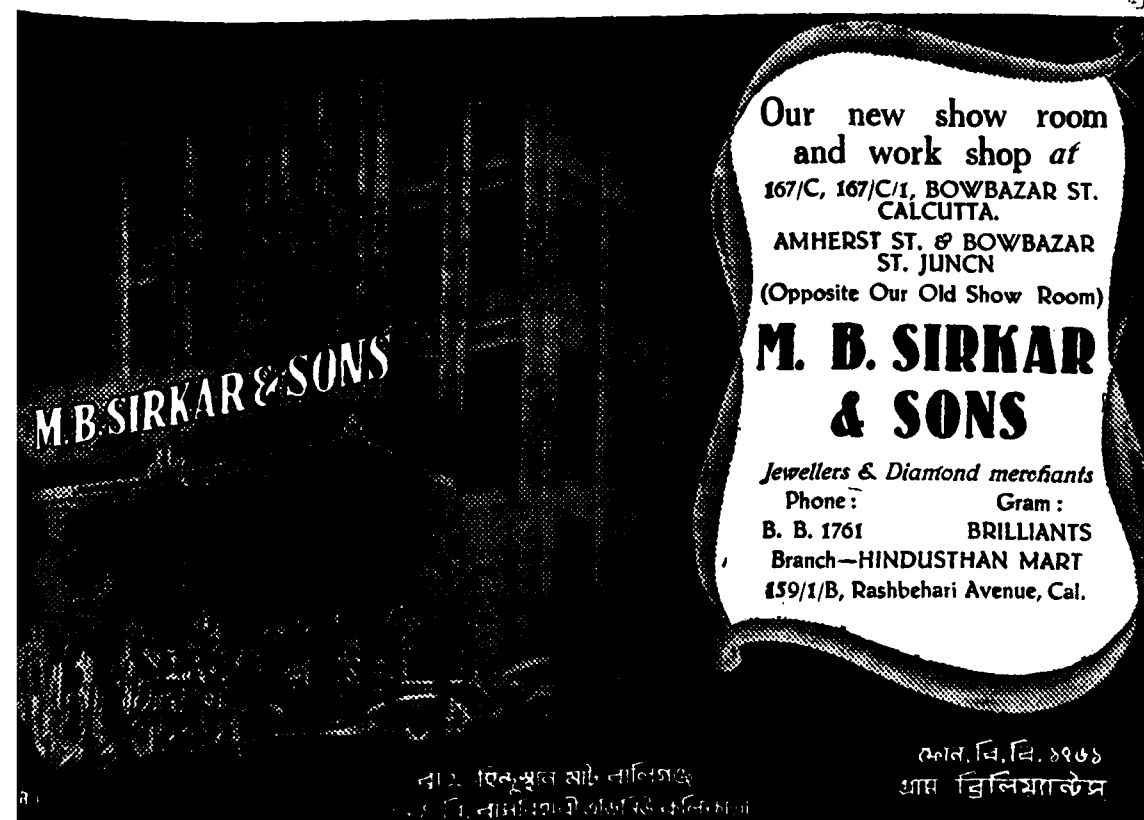
is non-Aryan and predominantly Dravidian. He proceeds to show that Indian food, the Indian way of thinking, the Indian counting and computation, the Indian marriage and religious customs, and Hindu worship and ritual are mostly Tamil or Dravidian. (*The Vedic Age*).

It is clear that the neglect of studies and research concerning Tamil India, can give room to gross errors and misleading judgments in the writing of Indian history and in the exposition of Indian Culture and Indian Literature.

The peculiar characteristics of the Tamil language, its antiquity, its one and only declension and one and only conjugation, its classification of gender so unlike the Indo-European that attributes gender to inanimate objects, and even changes the gender of objects from century to century, its ancient and obsolete particles should arrest the attention of those interested in the structure and the history of human speech. Tamil is as much a classical language and a classical literature as Greek or Sanskrit with this difference that while her ancient contemporaries have changed beyond recognition or been long regarded as "dead," Tamil continues to be one of the most vigorous of modern Indian languages, perhaps offers the only example in history of an ancient classical tongue which has survived to this day and yet remains young as it was two thousand years ago. Dr. Winslow

had reason when he wrote some decades ago: "It is not perhaps extravagant to say that in its poetic form the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek, and, in both dialects, with its borrowed treasures, more copious than the Latin. In its fulness and power, it more resembles English and German than any other living language."

During the last fifty years a number of ancient Tamil works have been edited in print by that prince of editors, the late Swaminatha Aiyer. Knowledge about these ancient literary anthologies has not yet reached those who contribute articles to books of reference in the West. Hence their studies generally are confined to the Kural and the Saivite and Vaishnavite hymns. The love lyrics of the Tamils, their Nature poetry, the panegyric and ethical poetry of the Puram anthology, the Tamil epics like *Silapadikaram* and Kambar's *Ramayana* have not been critically studied side by side with the other masterpieces of the world's literature. There are few languages that can claim such a refined and classical love-poetry as Tamil. Few literatures in the world seem to contain such a large volume of ethical and devotional works. And no other language seems to have been the literary vehicle of the poetry of so many different religions for in Tamil there are poetical works representative of the Jain, the Buddhist, the Saivite, the Vaishnavite, the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Moslem faiths.



M.B. SIRKAR & SONS

Our new show room
and work shop at
167/C, 167/C/1, BOWBAZAR ST.
CALCUTTA.
AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR
ST. JUNCN
(Opposite Our Old Show Room)

**M. B. SIRKAR
& SONS**

Jewellers & Diamond merchants
Phone : Gram :
B. B. 1761 BRILLIANTS
Branch—HINDUSTHAN MART
159/1/B, Rashbehari Avenue, Cal.

দা. বি. বি. ১৭৬১
আম্র চিনিয়ালাক্স

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

What is Point Four?

Following is the full text of the address by the U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, before the Roosevelt Day Dinner in New York on January 22, 1952, sponsored by Americans for Democratic Action:

What is Point Four? There could be no tribute more fitting to the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt than this programme dedicated to the Point Four idea. The whole idea of Point Four is one that looks toward the future with boldness and imagination, as did Franklin Roosevelt. Indeed, there are signs that his own lights were turning in this direction in the last months of his life. When Roosevelt was returning from Europe on what turned out to be his last voyage, one of the matters that preoccupied him was the relation between underdeveloped areas and the problem of world peace. In the course of a press conference on board the *Quincy*, he spoke prophetically of the need for helping the people of Iran and the other countries of the Middle East with irrigation, reforestation, education and health—the very things we are now carrying forward vigorously under direct trade-mark, the mark of Point Four.

Both in Europe and in Asia, the war was still raging, but his mind was already turning to the problems of keeping the peace after the guns had been stilled. These problems, however, were to be the burden of another man. Less than two months later, the awesome responsibilities of the presidency became, the duty of a man whose resolute courage and staunch character have led and inspired people everywhere in the cause of world peace—Harry S. Truman. It was for President Truman to carry on with the task begun by President Roosevelt of building the United Nations and repairing the destruction of that terrible war. And to him also fell the task of leading the free nations in the resolute defence of their freedom against the renewal of aggression. These have been subsequent achievements but there is another that history will credit especially to the account of President Truman. His was the practical imagination that conceived the programme known throughout the world as simplified Point Four. Today, three years to the month since President Truman announced this "bold, new programme" of technical co-operation, and one and a half years since it went into operation, Point Four has become a settled part of American foreign policy.

And although the programme is young, it is already apparent that Point Four is a success. Figures do not reveal that whole story, but they give some indication of progress. Under the Point Four Programme, we now have 619 American technicians serving in 34 countries, and there are 372 people from other countries studying techniques here in the United States. All told, there are some 216 Point Four projects under way in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. And side by side with these are many

other technical co-operation projects being carried on by the United Nations, by private agencies, and by other agencies of our government. But this is primarily a human enterprise we are talking about—an exchange of skills and information—and you cannot get the full story from statistics. This story has to be told in terms of people.

One man comes to mind at once. A man who called himself "an old Oklahoma dirt farmer," became one of the best ambassadors the American people ever had. From Azerbaijan to the Ganges, people will remember Dr. Henry Garland Bennett as a man who knew how to make things grow. I have elsewhere paid tribute to Dr. Bennett and his three associates, who lost their lives last month while on a Point Four mission in Iran. It was a tragic loss. Even the one year in which Dr. Bennett served as Administrator of the Technical Co-operation Administration imprinted indelibly upon the programme his sound judgment and his sense of dedication. More than anywhere else, the success of the Point Four Programme is to be found in the work of hundreds of shirt-sleeve diplomats all over the world. They are men from our farming states, who ride on mule-back or walk among the farmers of their countries. They sift the soil in their gnarled and expert hands, and they know how to make it support life.

I speak of such men as Horace Holmes, county agent from Tennessee, who has been working miracles in India, and Frank Pinder of Florida, who has walked through most of Liberia like a modern Johnny Appleseed, leaving a trail of growing things where he has been. Women, too, play a gallant part in this pioneering effort—women like Elizabeth Clark of James town, Rhode Island, who has braved tropical heat and the cold of high altitudes to teach health and nutrition to villagers in Peru, Colombia and Bolivia.

I have heard some critics paraphrase Voltaire's famous remark and say that this Point Four Programme is neither bold nor new, and is not much of a programme. Of course, American missionaries have been carrying medical and agricultural information to the

world for many years, and even before the Point Four Programme came along, this government was doing some of these things in Latin America and elsewhere. But these Point Four activities have a new significance which makes them more than unrelated good deeds.

Under the Point Four Programme these activities are but the first steps in a process that can change—and is changing—the whole aspect of life in these areas.

This process has profound social and political effects, and that is what makes it an important part of our foreign policy today.

For example, the work of Horace Holmes with a group of Indian farmers in some small area in northern India—not more than 100 square miles in size—has been followed by an agreement with the Government of India under which that work will be multiplied 50 times. In the small demonstration area wheat production had been doubled by means that were simple and at hand. It is believed that this enlarged programme, based on that demonstration will, within five years, eliminate the threat of famine from India and, in ten years, will double India's present food production. This work will be done under a special Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund to be jointly financed by the two governments. The fund will make possible the establishment of 50 rural-urban development areas around river valley projects and tube wells. Each development area will have modern housing, good schools, improved health facilities and many industrial opportunities. But that is not all. The chain reaction of economic development once started goes far beyond the immediate range of Point Four work. The work of the fund is only one part of India's new five-year economic development plan. Under it, India, using the facilities of the Colombo Plan and of seven agencies of the United Nations, is making a concerted attack on illiteracy and disease, and will build roads, dams, power lines, factories, hospitals and schools.

Here is a programme that illustrates the exciting possibilities that open up from the small beginnings of the Point Four projects.

Before I leave this discussion of the Indo-American Fund I would like to say a word about the man whose great energy and goodwill contributed so much to its realisation, an alumnus of the Act, our Ambassador to India, Mr. Chester Bowles. With that limitless energy of his, Ambassador Bowles has in three months covered most of the subcontinent by jeep and plane, and has become a friendly and familiar figure all over India. His grasp of the complex problems of that part of the world is a great asset in developing a closer friendship between India and the United States.

I think it will help us to support this programme intelligently if we are very clear about why we are

doing this Point Four Programme, and just what it is we want it to do for us.

Now, why is it we are carrying on this programme? First of all, we can clear away several mistaken notions. It is not philanthropy that motivates us. I don't think we need to be embarrassed to admit to disinterested idealism. But there is a hardheaded self-interest in this programme, and other nations will co-operate with us with more confidence if we say bluntly why we are in it. Nor is the Point Four Programme primarily something to beat down the Soviet menace. The Soviet threat is very real and dangerous, and the successful operation of the Point Four Programme does help to meet it. But this is a by-product—the programme has a much more enduring and fundamental purpose than that, and we should be carrying it forward even if there were no Soviet threat. Finally, although the Point Four Programme does have the effect of developing overseas markets and sources of raw materials, even this is not its primary purpose. Our reasons, I think, are more basic than any of these things.

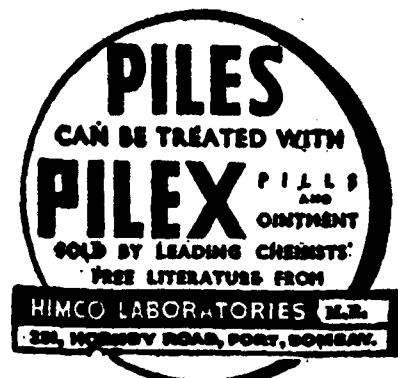
Point Four, it seems to me, is a fundamental, political and philosophical idea. It grows out of our whole approach to the problems presented by nature to civilisation.

Now this brings us close to the heart of our real interest in the Point Four Programme. It is our faith—our deepest conviction—that representative and responsible government is more deeply in accord with man's nature than any other system of government. We also believe that representative and responsible governments by their nature contribute toward world peace.

We have an interest, therefore, in the development of such governments in the world, because we are seeking to create an environment in which we can live peacefully and continue to develop our own society. This is the essential purpose of our whole foreign policy.

But the setting in which we operate is a revolutionary one. We live in a time when two revolutionary movements have been crisscrossing the face of the earth. One of these is the revolution of technology, which in the 18th century, brought industrialisation to Western Europe and North America, and is now beginning to stir the countries called "underdeveloped."

The other revolution is represented by our Declaration of Independence and our Bill of Rights. I am speaking of the contagious ideas of liberty, justice, and independence expressed in the French and American Revolutions. It is the ferment we see at work today in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere in the world. It is the juncture of these revolutionary forces in the underdeveloped areas of



the world that gives meaning to the Point Four Programme, for the new technology gives us not only the instruments of a better life, but also the means of mass communication and education by which to transmit this knowledge. And if, in so doing, we can help people not only to develop the soil, the water and the resources of their lands, but to develop the culture that suits them and fits their needs, and to fulfill their aspirations for responsible and more representative government these revolutionary forces can be constructively channelled, and contribute to the peace of the world. If not, the world will continue to be swept by the rip tides of conflict.

Now if we look at the Point Four Programme with this in mind, a number of interesting considerations present themselves to us. We see that we cannot be indifferent to the social impact of our ideas and our science upon the people in these parts of the world.

But if, in our Point Four Programme and all other activities that affect the underdeveloped areas, we seek to encourage and assist the governments of these countries to deal responsibly and effectively with the aspirations of the people and by our influence and our aid try to assist in the development of representative institutions then we shall be serving our own ultimate interests and the interests of world peace. This analysis suggests not only a general emphasis in our Technical Co-operation programmes, but a number of specific operating considerations.

One is that we need to give due attention to the opportunities open to the urban populations to find useful and satisfying application of their newly-acquired ideas and education. It often happens that many from among this group participate as technicians in the programmes for rural areas, but this has not always been sufficient. A second consideration is that, in relation to the rural groups, we must be concerned not only with techniques of agriculture, but also with the relationship of the farmer to the land he tills. To make a decent living out of farming, a farmer must either own his land, or use it under fair conditions and terms of tenure, and he must in addition have access to credit on reasonable terms. A third point is that we must continue to stress the self-help character of the Point Four Programme.

Point Four can accomplish a great deal for the amount of money it costs, because its chief contribution is in the communication of technical skills. Recipient countries have put up three out of every four dollars expended, on the average, and the prime responsibility for financing economic development, on the foundation laid by Point Four, rests with the recipient countries. It is a sound principle, which has been part of the basic conception of Point Four, that the economic development to follow upon the Technical Cooperation Programmes should in the main be financed by private capital.

The fourth consideration is best expressed by Dr. Bennett in the memorandum to which I referred earlier. In that memorandum to his staff, Dr. Bennett described the Point Four Programme as a "simple, down-to-earth, self-help programme designed primarily to assist other peoples in increasing their food production, bettering their health conditions, and improving their educational systems." Almost 80 per cent of the Point Four work falls into these three categories. Of these, the most urgent is food.

The Food and Agriculture Organisation has estimated that it would be necessary for the under-

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for Men and Women. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-3 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfigurement, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders) Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA**:- MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit: Rs. 7-8 for "Re-fill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.O.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
261/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 24297

developed areas to produce by 1960 approximately twice as much food as they have been producing in recent years, in order to achieve a minimum adequate standard of living. This goal has been the objective of the Administrators of the Point Four programmes, and a point of principal emphasis. Progress toward industrialisation in these areas, as in the U.S., will be most effective if it rests upon a sound agricultural base.

There is one final consideration I would like to put forth. It grows, I believe, out of all the others I have mentioned.

The Point Four Programme must be regarded as a long-term proposition. It is not an overnightly miracle drug. It can produce results at every step of the way and the encouragement of seeing one year's crop bigger than last is a necessary spur to continued effort but the fundamental results will only become apparent over a number of years.

Although I have not referred directly to the valuable Technical Assistance Programme carried on by the United Nations and its agencies we consider our participation in that programme an essential part of our Point Four activities. Support for the U.N. programme is central to the U.S. approach to technical assistance. We are proud to have played a leading part in the expansion of the U.N. Technical Assistance Programme. Our experience has shown the wisdom of our intentions to continue to carry out these activities, wherever practicable, through the U.N. and its Specialised Agencies. This not only gives practical meaning to the Charter's reference to the U.N. as "a centre for harmonising the acts of nations." But it makes full use of the U.N. capacities

for encouraging and assisting peaceful and orderly transitions.

This much I think can be said with assurance, that if the programme continues to receive the steadfast interest and support of the American people, it will continue to become an ever more important element in our foreign policy. What is more is that in these simple actions the world will find and understand the true meaning of our American heritage.

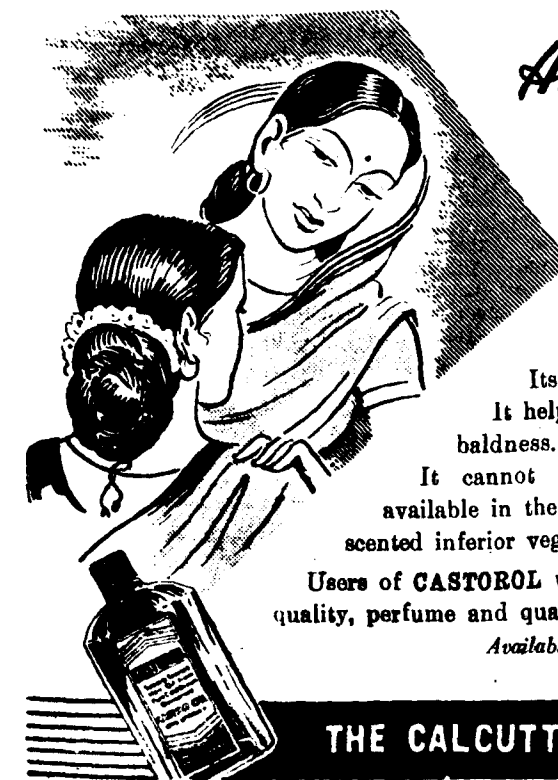
Compensation

A view which seems to have gained ground during the first world war and again during the second is that, in agricultural production, there are three parties whose interest should be safeguarded—the tenant who supplies the working capital, the landlord who supplies much of the fixed capital, and the community for whom its home agriculture may be one of the most important assets.

THE LANDLORD'S RIGHTS TO COMPENSATION

It is generally considered that the landlord has no claim to higher rent simply because the value of the holding has increased as a result of a tenant's efforts, but at the same time it is generally held that the landlord has the right to expect from the tenant that the latter will maintain the value of the holding by working it according to local good farming practice.

Sometimes, as in the case of England and Wales, "rules of good husbandry" are laid down by which that tenant is bound to abide, and his landlord and the county agricultural executive committee are given the right of inspection in order to check, at all



An Expert Advice...

In choosing hair oil why should you prefer Calchemico's

CASTOROL

Because, it is manufactured from best and highly refined medicinal Castor oil.

Its perfume is unique, charming and lasting. It helps the growth of luxuriant hairs and prevents baldness.

It cannot be compared with other Castor oils, ordinarily available in the market, most of which contain coloured and scented inferior vegetable oil and contain very little Castor oil in them.

Users of CASTOROL will immediately be convinced of its superiority in quality, perfume and quantity and also comparative cheap price.

Available in 5 and 10 oz. fancy phials

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD. CALCUTTA 29

reasonable times, whether the tenant follows these rules. The Agricultural Holdings Act, 1948, gives the landlord the right to compensation from an outgoing tenant for specific delapidations, deterioration or damage to the holding in so far as this has been caused by the tenant's "non-fulfilment of his responsibilities to farm in accordance with the rules of good husbandry." The Act lays down that the amount of such compensation shall be "the cost, as at the date of the tenant's quitting the holding, of making good the delapidation, deterioration or damage." If he so wishes, the landlord may, alternatively, claim under the written tenancy agreement, if this matter is covered in it. Further, under these provisions, the landlord can claim for general deterioration of the holding where the tenant can be shown to have failed to farm in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. The general claim will be considered only in so far as the landlord has not received compensation under a claim made for specific delapidations, etc. In such cases, he must notify the tenant of his intention of making the general claim at least one month before the tenancy ends. The landlord has this right even in respect of damage, etc., which did not occur during the tenancy which has just ended or is about to end, but also for earlier damage, etc.

The legislation of other countries is, on the whole, less precise. Some countries include matters not specified in the English Act of 1948; for example, Swedish law prescribes a compulsory inspection by experts at the beginning and end of each tenancy. Regulations for inspection exist also in Finland, where it is laid down that "buildings, gardens, fields, meadows, ditches, roads, bridges, wells and drains shall be inspected and their condition noted in writing and exactly described . . . This inspection shall be carried out not later than six months after the tenant has taken over the farm." A similar inspection is carried out when the tenant leaves. As a result of these inspections, compensation is fixed, taking account of improvements made by the tenant.

Dutch law simply lays down rules of good husbandry as a guide, and the interpretation of these rules is a matter for the land chamber of the province. In Belgium, the matter is covered by the Civil Code and, here again, the tenant is obliged to farm according to the rules of good husbandry. The tenant may use the holding only in the way permitted by the lease, otherwise the landlord may give him notice. The new Bill contains a provision to encourage landlords to compile an inventory at the beginning of the lease. Inventories are also

obligatory in France, under post-war legislation. These are taken by an expert appointed by the joint tribunal which also settles disputes. In the case of *metayage*, the owner's livestock has to be returned, i.e., the same breeds, quality, weight, or market value, according to the entry valuation; any increase or decrease is normally shared by the two parties in equal parts and a settlement made according to current prices or in kind. The *metayer's* own stock is returned on the same principles. Pigs and poultry raised by the *metayer* on his own account are not affected by these provisions. As regards hay, straw and fodder crops, the *metayer* must leave the same kinds and amounts as he found on entry and must make up in kind any difference in the quantity. Machinery and implements provided by the owner have to be returned to him but the *metayer* is not liable for any charge for depreciation. The outgoing *metayer* must leave the land under the same crops as he found on entry, unless otherwise agreed.

In Italy, the Bill at present before the Italian Parliament provides for the establishment of a technical commission on rent in each province, which would, *inter alia*, deal with compensation payable by tenants to landlords. According to Portuguese law, which dates back to 1919, the tenant is required to farm in such a way as to avoid deterioration of the holding; if he fails to do so, the landlord is entitled to give him notice and hold him responsible for all loss and damage to the property.

In Switzerland, the onus of discovering deficiencies in the property rented is laid upon the tenant and—what is more strictly relevant here—the tenant must manage the holding in the way laid down in the lease and, in particular, must take care to maintain productivity. As under the new Belgian law, the tenant is not necessarily obliged to manage his holding according to local traditional methods and the right to apply new methods and techniques is conceded to him.

But, as regards proper management and maintenance of the holding, the tenant has further duties, e.g., the eradication of moles, mice and dangerous insects, the combating of plant diseases to save the current harvest and to avoid infection of future crops. Often expenses arising as a result of this may be shared. As regards supplies of straw, hay, manures, etc., on the farm at the end of the lease, the outgoing tenant is not usually entitled to remove such produce.—*International Labour Review*, August-Sept., 1951.



Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad

DHOLE & CO.

RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT

CUTA-TONE
for CUTS • PAINS • BURNS Etc.

NEEM OINTMENT
for ITCHES & SORES

BARNACORE • CALCUTTA



SOLITUDE
By V. D. Govindaraj

Printed by the Government of India

THE 'MODERN REVIEW'

JUNE



1952

VOL. LXXXI. No. 6

WHOLE No. 546

NOTES

The President and the Vice-President

The nationals of the Indian Union may congratulate themselves unreservedly on the election of two eminent Indians as Head of the Union and his Deputy.

Little need be said beyond the offering of respectful felicitations to Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Our Rajendrababu—as we prefer to call him—is too well-known and well-beloved for any further eulogies. He has progressed well into the hearts of his co-nationals during his previous tenure of the Presidentship and, within the limits of his personality, has striven his uttermost to carry the torch given unto him by his Master and Preceptor. Indeed of all those who have attained office and status in the present regime, he is the one person who can take the name and invoke the spirit of the Father of the Nation. May the light of that great soul bathe the reason and conscience of our President and free it of all narrow inhibitions!

The Vice-President is a truly international figure and rightly represents the Brahminic traditions of philosophy and catholicity in intellect. Our greetings to him on the attainment of the high office which he will well decorate.

It is a pity that these elections did not go without contest. Under the tenets of our newly acquired democratic constitution, faulty, flimsy and haphazard though it be, we suppose such contests are inevitable. Since he is not the Chief Executive of the Union, as in the case of the President of the U.S.A., our President should have been elected on a unanimous and non-party basis. If the opposition had accepted him without contest, they would have automatically put him above party levels. This may, not be true about

all future nominations, but we would venture to say it would have been so in the case of Rajendrababu.

The New Cabinet

A further step in Pandit Nehru's downhill progress towards autocracy has been marked by the formation of the new Cabinet. The announcement given below was released on the evening of the 13th May:

"Members of the new Central Ministry were sworn in this evening by the President at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Their names and portfolios are as follows:

Members of the Cabinet: Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education, Natural Resources and Scientific Research; Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Defence; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Health; Dr. K. N. Katju, Home Affairs and States; Mr. R. A. Kidwai, Food and Agriculture; Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Finance; Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Communications; Mr. G. L. Nanda, Planning and River Valley Schemes; Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Commerce and Industry; Mr. C. C. Biswas, Law and Minority Affairs; Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Railway and Transport; Sardar Swaran Singh, Works, Housing and Supply; Mr. V. V. Giri, Labour; and Mr. K. C. Reddy, Production.

Ministers of Cabinet Rank: Mr. A. P. Jain, Rehabilitation; Mr. Satya Narain Sinha, Parliamentary Affairs; Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, Finance; Dr. B. V. Keskar, Information and Broadcasting.

Deputy Ministers: Mr. D. P. Karmarkar and Mr. S. N. Buragohain.

Among the notable features of the new Ministry are the larger size of the Cabinet, the creation of a new category of 'Ministers of Cabinet Rank,' redistribution of portfolios and the appointment of five new Ministers, excluding Mr. Kidwai.

Compared with Mr. Nehru's outgoing Cabinet of 12, the new Cabinet consists of 15 members. At one stage, before the resignation of Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Kidwai and Mr. Sri Prakasa, the outgoing Cabinet had a strength of 15.

In the last Ministry, there were seven Ministers of State, of whom one, Mr. Biswas, has now become Cabinet Minister and three, Mr. Jain, Mr. Sinha and Mr. Tyagi, have been promoted to 'Ministers of Cabinet Rank.'

Of the other three former Ministers of State, Mr. R. K. Sidhwa was not elected to either House, while Mr. R. R. Diwakar and Mr. K. Santhanam have been appointed Governor of Bihar and Lieut-Governor of Vindhya Pradesh.

There were six Deputy Ministers in the last Ministry, two of whom, Mr. Karmarkar and Mr. Buragohain, are being retained in that rank. Of the other four, Dr. Keskar has been promoted, Maj.-Gen. Himmatsinhji was recently appointed Lieut-Governor of Himachal Pradesh and Mr. Raj Bahadur and Mr. Thirumala Rao lost at the polls.

In giving Mr. Jain, Mr. Sinha and Mr. Tyagi, 'Cabinet Rank' but at the same time excluding them from the Cabinet, Mr. Nehru was, apparently, guided by the consideration of keeping the size of the Cabinet to the minimum possible number.

It is known, however, that 'Ministers of Cabinet Rank' will enjoy the same status in all particulars as Cabinet Ministers. They will be entitled to attend Cabinet meetings whenever it is necessary.

Of the five new Ministers, the election of Mr. K. C. Reddy, who was formerly Chief Minister of Mysore, is intended to give representation to non-Brahmins from South India, Mr. Ayyangar, Mr. Krishnamachari and Mr. Giri being all Brahmins.

Some surprise was caused when the report first became current that Sardar Swaran Singh would take Sardar Baldev Singh's place in the Cabinet as a Sikh member as he was already serving as a Minister in Punjab (I).

With the exception of Mr. V. V. Giri, who has a long record of work as a leader in Railway labour, and perhaps of Mr. K. C. Reddy, who is a semi-unknown quantity, the rest of the Cabinet seem mere reflections of Pandit Nehru, or at least that is their obvious record. We should perhaps reserve judgement, for under the new stimulus, some of them might show qualities hitherto unsuspected of them. But whatever may come out in the final assay, we would say that the metal of the Cabinet is neither pure gold nor true steel. That it is not true steel there can be no doubt, for Pandit Nehru has evidently striven hard to remove all vestiges of the late Sardar's influence from his own hand-picked and truly personal Cabinet. He has chosen it in his wisdom, so that he may attain complacency, tranquillity and

strength in it, for just as the Blood is the Life to common mortals, so is adulation life's blood to a certain type of supermen. And, therefore, in felicitating Pandit Nehru in his choice, we will say that since to almost all in his Cabinet *Jai Nehru* is synonymous with *Jai Hind*, there will be little fear of discord in the family.

Of the qualifications of the individuals we need say little at present as all of them are to be put to the test in the near future. But a few remarks about some of them and their past record might be cogent.

Of Pandit Nehru with his mercurial temperament and violent likes and dislikes little need be said. He is strongly allergic to all varieties of criticism, friendly or hostile, sincere or insincere. The only outside opinion he tolerates and admits is that labelled "Made in Pakistan," or its home-made imitations. On him had descended the shining mantle of Mahatma Gandhi, and that mantle may have to be consigned to the waters like the ashes of Bapu, due to the sad lack in him of the three cardinal virtues of his predecessor in the leadership of the nation, tolerance, patience and humility, in the service of God and Man along the thorny path of Truth. We say this in all humility and in the full realisation of our own failings and narrowness of vision. He does not seem to know where he is leading his nation as his reasoning is like a compass in a magnetic storm. The world believed that he had rightly inherited the mantle, and so did we. *May he be given Light!*

Maulana Azad is a 'tower of strength' to Pandit Nehru, for in that frail personification of a medieval culture is concentrated more communism than what would suffice to neutralise all that of the Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangh, and the Ram Rajya Parishad. He has curious ideas regarding the functions of the Education portfolio. As a consequence there is little visible movement in that ministry.

Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar's first mission was to the U.N.O. over the Kashmir Affair. The world knows of his achievements there. We know that we have paid Rs. 900 millions for that briefing and may yet have to pay dearly in blood, sweat, tears and treasure.

After the debacle at the U.N.O. he was put in charge of Railways with a chosen assistant in the person of Shri Santhanam. He has succeeded in establishing an almost classless uniformity in Railway travel and transport. For delay, discomfort, theft and risk to life and property are uniformly distributed. And to cap all comes disorganisation in the guise of Regrouping.

Now he is in charge of Defence. After all *Ahimsa* is our creed. And therein lies all the comfort we may need.

We have nothing much to say about Rajkumari

Amrit Kaur. May the good lady continue to decorate the Health Ministry as intended by her chief.

Dr. K. N. Katju hears not evil, we vow, and he speaketh not evil we are sure, but in the portfolio which has been assigned to him, it is incumbent upon him to "see evil." Will he survive that ordeal?

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai is an astute politician and in intrigue a veritable Machiavelli. If he applies himself to the problems of Food and Agriculture in the same way as he did to the Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones in the previous ministry then the Union of India's problems of Food and Population might be solved for all eternity. Let us hope that in this journey the needs of the nation would have all his attention. There is no question of ability.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh has been in charge of our finances now for quite some time. If a rose smells sweet even though it be called by other names, then perhaps Bankruptcy will sound quite as impressive and reassuring if labelled Finance. For despite all made-to-order figures by tame statisticians, that is what the country is heading for, as he would realise if he descended to the common man's earth and discarded his British blinkers.

Need we proceed any further? The rest are mostly untried men, and we sincerely hope that they be found true when the trial comes.

Notwithstanding all that has been said before, we wish the Cabinet Godspeed in their venture. If they can cast off bureaucratic red-tape, discard party-consciousness, and purge their souls of the evils of parochial interests and greed for personal advancement, they may yet serve the nation well. And the nation is sorely in need of selfless service.

The Opposition Groups

Up-to-date there is no organised opposition party in the House of People. Regarding the recognition of the Opposition Groups the following news appeared in the daily press a short while back:

"There are strong indications that neither the Communist nor the Right-wing groups would be able to form the main Opposition party in the House of the People.

A minimum strength of 10 per cent of the total membership of the House, that is 50, is prescribed as a qualification for recognition as an opposition party.

Neither the Communist bloc (UDF) nor the suggested combination of Rightist members under Dr. S. P. Mookerjee is likely to fulfil this condition in the absence of support from the Socialists and the KMPP.

In that event the Speaker may recognize only 'groups in opposition,' which would be entitled to separate blocs of seats but not to the other privileges attaching to an opposition party."

The Communist hopes for directing a United Front against the Congress-in-power have been

shattered. No party is willing to serve under a group that flies a foreign flag as its party banner. It is evident that the more thoughtful amongst opposition leaders have recovered mental balance and are not likely to be led astray by spurious promises and frothy slogans, like the callow youth of our schools and colleges. Indeed as we go to press the following piece of news has appeared in the daily press, which is all to the good:

"An alliance between the Socialist Party and the KMPP was announced after a meeting of representatives, including Mr. Jai Prakash Narain and Acharya Kripalani, of the two organizations. According to a joint statement issued by these two leaders, the Socialists and the KMPP 'will work in harmony in Legislatures and outside,' forming a single party in Parliament under a common leader.

"Negotiations will now be conducted with 'other like-minded members' of Parliament with a view to extending the membership of the new party, which will be given a name after further consultations."

In their joint statement, Acharya Kripalani and Mr. Jai Prakash Narain say:

"The representatives of the KMPP and the Socialist Party met and exchanged views on the situation that has arisen in the country after the general elections."

"The exchange of views revealed a wide area of agreement and it was generally felt that to galvanize the politics of the country, it is necessary for all parties which believe in the sovereign independence of the country, are anxious to guard its frontiers and are wedded to personal freedom, to come increasingly closer together."

If the Socialists awaken to a sense of realities and the K.M.P.P. sheds its shibboleths then these two can be of immense good to the nationals of India. As men of integrity Acharya Kripalani and Sri Jai Prakash Narain have both a unique status and their standing as devoted patriots is beyond challenge. But the vision of both are clouded by the irresponsible actions and utterings of sly careerists on the one side and reckless and feckless hot-heads on the other.

It would indeed be a calamity if there is no true opposition, based on the real cause of the people, to Pandit Nehru's Government. Indeed the misfortune will be more tragic on the side of the Government for a lack of responsible opposition will only hasten Nemesis for the Congress Party Government under Pandit Nehru.

The Presidential Address

Before discussing the Presidential address, it might not be out of place to comment on the criticisms levelled at the Government during its discussion by the Opposition. Regarding the views of

the Communist Group, we have the following report :

"The Communist leader, Mr. A. K. Gopalan, who spoke after the motion of thanks had been seconded, expressed great disappointment over the address and urged the Government to take swift action to deal with the deepening economic crisis. Thousands of workers had been thrown out of employment, he said, but the Government had done nothing. The two major problems today were food and jobs. The Government had been able to tackle neither.

The word 'famine,' he said, did not occur in the address. Something was said about Rayalaseema but nothing about Hissar or the Sunderbans or other places where newspapers every day reported famine conditions.

Judged by the burdens imposed on the people during the last five years, this country had not yet got freedom or independence. Thousands of workers in the textile mills and handloom industry, the mica mines and coir factories had been thrown out of employment. After the increase in food prices 388,000 people in the Capital had been unable to draw their rations. "The freedom or independence we have got is not the freedom of the poor man."

He criticized the Government for making no mention of linguistic provinces. The Government were not in favour of linguistic provinces in Madras, he said, because they were afraid a Congress ministry would not be in office there.

Mr. Gopalan challenged the claim that the Government had followed a policy of friendship towards all countries. He said that while pass-ports were denied to people who wished to visit Russia or China and visas were not granted to some who wished to come here from those countries, 'anybody from America can come here with his bag and baggage and anybody can go to America'."

We hold no brief for the Government and therefore there is no need for us to discuss in detail all the points made by the leader of the Communist group. Indeed we are in agreement with him regarding the economic crisis, linguistic provinces and unemployment. But we have to say a few words regarding the dread word "famine" which is being so loudly shouted by his comrades in West Bengal and in Rayalaseema.

Does the Communist Party really want the people to survive the trials that failure of crops and lack of purchasing power has landed the poor people of the Sunderbans area into? Judging by the methods adopted and statements issued by their party leaders in that area and by their fellow-travellers, dupes and scrap-hunting news-hounds the reverse is the case. Otherwise why this continuous preaching to the people to demand rice, in quantities impossible of procurement and supply, as an absolute *sine qua non*?

There is no need to give a detailed report of the movement and agitation that is being whipped up, but it seems to us that an attempt is being made to make capital out of people's misery just to serve the interests and purposes of the Party.

The same process as was in evidence in Hyderabad, in the Telengana area, is being sought to be brought into action in the Sunderbans. The Government has to accept responsibility for its failures and shortcomings in the past and the present. It has neglected the people's interest and is still bungling. But that does not mean that the people should be misguided into intensifying their own distress, so that the disruptionists may score a triumph.

We do not want Hyderabad methods to be repeated in West Bengal. We append herein Swami Ramananda Tirth's comments in the House of People for the consideration of our readers :

"In the House of the People a notable speech was also made by the Hyderabad State Congress President, Swami Ramananda Tirth. Dressed in his usual saffron costume, the Swami forcefully answered Communist charges.

He strongly denied that the Communist movement in Telengana was a struggle for 'agrarian reform.' It was nothing more than an armed political campaign, he added, which the Government had treated with a measure of generosity."

Communist complaints about suppression of civil liberties were baseless. Had the Congress been responsible for an armed rebellion under a Communist Government, Congress members would not have been able to protest in Parliament."

We emphatically say that as yet there is but scarcity, and not famine, in parts of West Bengal. But attempts are being made to panic people into greater distress and perhaps into actual famine.

As to the Presidential address, we shall reproduce only two small extracts from that, as those two indicate where the President can fully exert himself to influence the destiny of the Nation. In the preamble he says :

"You and I have taken the oath of service to this country of ours. May we be true to that pledge and dedicate our highest endeavour to its fulfilment."

And at the end we find the corollary to the above :

"Your success will depend on the spirit of tolerance that governs your activities and the wisdom that inspires your efforts. I earnestly trust, therefore, that this wisdom and tolerance of spirit will always be with you."

It is obviously the President's mission to convey these exhortations to his Government, from the highest to the lowest and to endeavour for its implementation by all. We wish him success. The rest of the address is for record only.

The Final Central Budget

The Final Indian Budget as presented by the Finance Minister, Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, discloses a surplus of Rs. 3.73 crores as against an estimated revenue surplus of Rs. 18.73 crores in the care-taker Budget of February, 1952. The reduction in surplus is due to the decline in the estimated revenue receipts from Rs. 424.98 to Rs. 404.98 crores, while the revenue expenditure has been reduced from Rs. 406.25 crores to Rs. 401.25 crores. In short the revenue receipts are expected to be reduced by Rs. 20 crores whereas the revenue expenditure is to be reduced by only Rs. 5 crores. The reduction in revenue is due to a fall of Rs. 25 crores under Customs revenue owing to the recent reduction in export duties.

Referring to talk of "price recession" the Finance Minister expressed the view that though much depended on unpredictable world developments, he did not think that the present situation amounted to a depression. He added that at the present juncture the fall is not a portent calling for the reckless injection of purchasing power into the country's economy. It was necessary, however, to guard against lower production and unemployment. He gave the assurance that the Government were most keenly alive to this danger and would take adequate steps to see that production and employment were not affected. The changes in the export duties, relaxation in the control of jute exports and cotton textiles, the special assistance given to the cotton textile industry to purchase foreign cotton were the important measures adopted by the Government to meet the situation.

The level of industrial production had generally been well maintained, he said. Agricultural production had also been well maintained, jute, cotton and sugar showing encouraging results. The additional production of food-grains had, however, been more than offset by a fall in production due to drought or insufficient rain.

The Finance Minister next reviewed the balance of payments position. In 1951, this had not been as favourable as in 1950, and the deficit for that year was estimated at Rs. 30 crores. In the first four months of the current year there had been a reduction of Rs. 81 crores in the amount of the sterling balances. Till the end of last month the deficit on current transactions had been wholly met from the accumulated surpluses and it had not been necessary to draw upon the agreed release from sterling balances.

The Finance Minister then mentioned the deterioration in the dollar position of this country and the sterling area as a whole. The measures taken by the Commonwealth Governments to stop the drain on the central reserves had led to a decline in the rate of the drain. India's drawings for the second half of 1952 may also be smaller owing to the improved stock position of wheat and raw cotton. Negotiations were

in train for the grant of certain loans from the World Bank and if this came in, it would assist the country's dollar position.

The Finance Minister then mentioned the reduction in the provision for food subsidies. With the rise in the price of imported supplies it would cost the Exchequer about Rs. 60 crores if, in addition to subsidizing milo, the price of food-grains in industrial and other areas were to be maintained at the 1951 level. If prices in industrial areas were to be given to the whole range of consumers, the cost would rise to about Rs. 90 crores a year.

With so many competing claims upon our resources particularly for development of our economic resources, continued the F. M., it will be wasteful to spend sums of this order on consumption by subsidizing food.

The increase in the price of food-grains had also to be viewed against the background of the reduction in the general price level. The urban working class cost of living indices showed that the compensatory fall in the aggregate on other commodities had been substantial. A measure of initial hardship was inevitable, and the Government were doing their best to mitigate the hardship for the lower classes by subsidizing milo. He could not hold out any hope of a relief in the form of restoration of any system of subsidies committing the Central Exchequer to bringing about an approximation between the prices of imported and internally procured grain.

The Finance Minister went on to announce that he did not propose to make any changes in taxation. About reliefs in taxation he said :

"The problem before me now is really not one of having any money to give away but of how to make good the net loss of resources which the changes I have proposed involve." No one could seriously suggest a reduction in taxation with so much to be accomplished for development and when the ordinary citizen was, for the first time in four years, finding the price levels a little less irksome. Revenue had been buoyant in the last two years largely for fortuitous reasons, while demands for essential expenditure had been steadily rising. It would be dangerous to do anything to weaken the Government's revenue position at this stage.

He stressed the fact that in an expanding economy savings in administrative expenditure were likely to be absorbed by increasing developmental expenditure.

For the future, there would be no reserve represented by accumulated balances and the country would have to raise currently the money required to meet public expenditure and to finance development plans. "On any view of the future which one could take," said the Finance Minister, "there can be no

room for complacency or for the relaxation of the efforts to raise the maximum amount of resources for the country's development."

Assistance had been received in recent months from outside sources for development and, while such assistance was welcome, the country had largely to rely on itself.

"The edifice of our prosperity cannot be built on props of outside assistance without sacrificing something vital in the nation's spirit, but can be built enduringly only by the efforts of our own people."

The Finance Minister has announced that the revenue receipt for 1952-53 would drop greatly as there has been a heavy reduction of export duties on jute, oil seeds, and textiles due to depression in world market. Let us survey their real contribution to the exchequer:

Items	EXPORT DUTIES (in crores of rupees)			
	1950-51 actuals	1951-52 Budget	1951-52 Revised Budget	1952-53 Budget
Jute and jute products	26.12	36.00	57.00	40.00
Cotton	1.20	4.50	7.70	5.50
Textile and yarn	.31	2.50	2.35	2.50
Manganese	1.32	1.00	2.00	1.50
Tea	11.24	10.00	10.00	10.00
Black pepper	4.26	3.25	4.00	3.00
Other agricultural goods	.40	.24	.50	.40
Iron and steel	.21	.18	.15	.10
Mica	.29	.21	.40	.25
Oil and oilseeds	2	1.25	1.50	1.00
Wool	1.99	2.85	1.25	.75
	47.36	62.25	87.75	65.00

Receipts under jute and textiles record a loss of 17 crores and 2.20 crores respectively. But Customs in general reveals an overall improvement as against the actuals of 1950-51 and Budget estimate of 1951-52. Again the contribution from Excise marks a general improvement over the Revised Budget of 1951-52. The statistical account below will make the position clear:

EXCISE DUTIES	
1950-51 (actuals)	Rs. 67 crores and 54 lakhs
1951-52 (Budget)	Rs. 79 " " 63 "
1951-52 (Revised Budget)	Rs. 84 " " 30 "
1952-53 (Budget)	Rs. 86 " "

Receipts from Income-tax has been shown at Rs. 132 crores for two successive years and now it stands at Rs. 119 crores. As an explanation it has been declared that the general recession in trade, through which the country, according to the Finance Minister, is passing, is likely to reduce income-tax receipts.

The thing which should arrest public attention, is the deplorable condition of our cash balance position at the end of the year. The Central Exchequer started with Rs. 273 crores and 90 lakhs as cash balance after the partition of the country. Nearly 260 crores of this

sum has been used up, the balance remaining at Rs. 78 crores and 38 lakhs only. And this will stand at Rs. 83.08 crores at the end of 1952-53 though there has been a huge surplus of Rs. 93 crores from the last year. This again includes an unspent balance of Rs. 40 crores received as foreign aids. That is, out of a total amount of nearly 300 crores, only 47 crores of rupees remains as cash balance. The bulk of this money, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh declares, has been utilised for essential purposes and development. But little substantial progress in any aspect of national development can yet be seen.

No mention has been made of the workings of the Five-year Plan. It has been declared that the Central and State Governments would practise economy in expenditure by all means and the money thus relieved will be utilised for the implementation of the Plan as assigned to respective Governments. But throughout the whole Budget no claim has been made of such savings and the transference of such money to national reconstruction under the Five-year Plan.

The Budget estimate reveals a reduction of revenue by Rs. 20 crores while the expenditure has been raised even over the last Revised Budget. 'Defence' as before, still accounts for half the total revenue. Some relief under the present situation may be obtained if military training is made selectively compulsory so that trained reserves may be readily available in times of emergency.

Such enhancement of expenditure is discernible in other branches of administration as well. No evidence exists to show that the recommendations of the various economy committees have been accepted for implementation by the Finance Minister.

One of the peculiar features in the Budget of the Government of India is that both Revenue and Capital accounts are combined together. The proportion of capital expenditure overseas has increased very much. During the current year the Government would have to spend Rs. 216 crores and 70 lakhs overseas. Payment on personal account through the Banking Institutions are, however, outside this account. Of this amount, Rs. 33 crores and 90 lakhs will go from the General Revenue, while under Capital it will be 166 crores and 83 lakhs. Debt Repayment accounts for Rs. 4 crores and 85 lakhs while other Debts and Deposits will cost Rs. 19 crores and 39 lakhs. We shall earn, on the other hand, only Rs. 2 crores and 29 lakhs. The net drainage therefore will be Rs. 214 crores and 70 lakhs. In 1952-53, the net revenue will be Rs. 535 crores and 87 lakhs while the net expenditure will be Rs. 594 crores and 49 lakhs. Out of this a drain of Rs. 214 crores and 70 lakhs abroad seems to be rather a high proportion.

The difficulty of reducing the level of expenditure to what can be covered by revenue when balances

have been used up must inevitably pose a serious problem, and one that will soon have to be faced if Indian finances are to remain in good condition.

That more success has not attended the Government's efforts in economic stabilisation is due partly to the fact that more deflationary measures were not put into operation. For, although Government expenditure throughout the period maintained an expansionist bias, much the greater mischief to the economy was done by the post-war mobilisation of war-time earnings held by people who were ordinarily outside direct taxation. Perhaps the fundamental dilemma of the situation was never really resolved, i.e., whether the way of salvation lay through more controls and greater savings secured by heavier taxation or was it to be found in less control and lighter taxes facilitating investment out of larger available incomes. Economic stabilisation has been claimed by Mr. Deshmukh as one of his objects. It, however, seems unlikely, as seen through the handling of our finances by our successive Finance Ministers, that public finance can ever be a very powerful stabilising instrument in our country at least within a foreseeable future.

Railway Budget

Except for an additional provision of Rs. 1 crore for labour welfare and an equal amount for the elimination of transport bottlenecks on certain sections of the railways, the new Railway Budget does not exhibit any substantial modification on the interim budget of February, 1952. Much of it is concerned with the re-grouping of railways to which the new Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, presumably lends his full support. He confined his observations to two or three major developments only, since the presentation of the estimates in February. Dealing at length with criticisms against the formation of the Northern, North-Eastern and Eastern zones, he said that, while the general scheme for welding together the numerous railway systems in India to form one co-ordinated railway system divided into six zones had received general support and the formation of the Southern, Western and Central Railways had also been welcomed by the State Governments, trade and industry, labour and the public, it was a matter for regret that the last phase of this great administrative reform, namely, the formation of the remaining three zones, should have occasioned bitter controversy, sometimes acrimonious, in certain quarters.

When the Railway Ministry's tentative plan was circulated in January 1952 various suggestions were received from the State Governments concerned to suit their peculiar individual needs and the requirements of trade and industry of these States. These suggestions were conflicting and not susceptible wholly to reconciliation. The concern of the Government was to evolve a plan which, while giving due and

appropriate consideration to these suggestions, would not merely maintain but improve the operational efficiency of the entire railway system as an integral undertaking.

He was confident that the people "of this young Republic" were capable of rising above narrow, parochial and provincial sentiments, and prejudices in the larger interests of the unity, solidarity and prosperity of the nation as a whole.

Referring to the headquarters of the North-Eastern Railway, he said that this railway, as now constituted by the amalgamation of the old O.T. and Assam Railways, was a purely metre-gauge system and there was no question of locating its headquarters at any station other than the one on the metre-gauge system.

Regarding the retention of the Allahabad Division in the Eastern Zone, a great deal has been said in the Press and in the various memoranda received by the Railway Board during the last few weeks, allegedly based on opinions like those of the Wedgwood and Kunzru Committees. In arriving at the decision that the Allahabad Division should be integrated with the Northern Railway, Government naturally gave the fullest and the most careful consideration to all such opinions to the extent of their validity in the altered conditions prevailing today.

The case for the retention of the Allahabad and Lucknow Divisions and perhaps also the Moradabad Division with the Eastern Railway was urged by some primarily to facilitate the provision of an adequate number of empties to the coalfields. The point made by them was that the inclusion of these two or three Divisions in the Eastern Zone would give it elbow room and operational flexibility to achieve this end. It had to be considered whether the unified Indian Railways could either take such a limited view or allow this position to be perpetuated by continuing to penalize these three Divisions alone for the lapses of the other zones involved in the movements.

The Railway Minister maintained that the regulation of coal traffic in the country would be better secured by co-ordination on an all-India basis and by the realization by all the zones involved in the movements of their responsibilities in the matter. On this concept and in order to secure better and more effective co-ordination, a Deputy Director of the Railway Board had been posted at Moghalsarai. He would be in constant touch with all zonal administrations and with the Railway Board to ensure the flow-back of an adequate number of wagons into the coalfields.

Referring to the Sealdah Division on which also there has been a certain amount of controversy, the Minister said that in the tentative plan, this Division was proposed to be attached to the North-Eastern Railway to give it an access route to the Port of Cal-

cutta. The Government and the business interests of West Bengal protested against this provision and, after careful consideration, the Government came to the conclusion that the point made by West Bengal that this Division should continue with the Eastern Railway for the unity of the broad-gauge system in West Bengal should be conceded. With a view, however, to providing a wider and more effective measure of co-ordination over all the riverine interchange points of traffic than was envisaged in the original plan and to maintain the uninterrupted flow of traffic to and from the Port of Calcutta, an officer of the Railway Board designated as Director, Rail Movements, had been appointed in Calcutta to take overall charge of regulating traffic in this area.

Appealing both to the House and the people outside to bring an objective analysis and appreciation to bear upon this problem of administrative reorganization, he said he was confident they would all agree that the measures taken had the larger interests of the country as their objective.

Mr. Shastri has sought to justify the ill-advised scheme by the lame insinuation that its critics have been inspired by purely local or regional preferences and sentiments and has made an appeal to the House "to rise above narrow, parochial, and provincial sentiments and prejudices in the larger interest of the nation as a whole." But it is the Railway Ministry that has betrayed a lack of a sense of national interest under political pressure and parochialism and still it blames others for provincialism. Mr. Shastri should be the last person to accuse others!

The three major objections to the re-constitution of the railway organisation in Eastern, North-Eastern and Northern regions are the establishment of the headquarters of the North-Eastern Railway at Gorakhpur instead of Calcutta as originally proposed, amalgamation of the Sealdah Division of the Eastern Railway (E.I.R.) with the new Eastern Railway and the inclusion of the Allahabad Division into the Northern Railway.

As to the first of these issues, the Railway Minister has invented a moral plea. The North-Eastern Railway being a purely metre-gauge system, he said, there can be no question of locating its headquarters at any station other than one on the metre-gauge system. This argument, illogical and strange as it is, naturally excludes basic considerations of re-grouping like administrative and operational efficiency as also of ultimate economy. The argument moreover is vitiated by inconsistency of points and policy declared by the authority. The new Southern Zone as reorganised by the Ministry, comprises broad, metre, as well as narrow gauge systems, but still it has been grouped under one headquarters. If their existence in one section does not inhibit the implementation of the plan, why it should be so in another under same

management and control? Then, again, this leads to the conclusion that the Assam Railway, which was a purely metre-gauge system before re-grouping, was run inefficiently from its headquarters in Calcutta which was not a station on that Railway. Shri Shastri's reasoning, therefore, is an unrealistic and fantastic red-herring.

About the transfer of the Allahabad Division to the Northern Railway, the Railway Minister has contended that "the fullest and most careful consideration" was given to the opinions of the Wedgwood and Kunzru committees to the extent of their validity in the altered conditions obtaining today.

Hardly two years have elapsed after the publication of the Report of the Kunzru Committee when the Railway Ministry feels convinced that its recommendations have outlived their validity and that change in the original scheme has therefore become inevitable. A scheme drawn by any expert committee must invariably involve a time element to be ultimately executed in practice and this must be conceded in the case of railway reconstruction programmes as well. But for obvious reasons the Railway Ministry has glaringly deviated from the clear and unambiguous recommendations of the Kunzru Committee which the Ministry itself appointed, and has devised a new scheme to fulfil their own insidious purposes to the detriment of national interest. Under such circumstances how can the people maintain confidence in the Government's utterances and activities? How can a better fate be imagined for the "Five Years" or "Six Years" plans when the ultimate fate of one, not less vital in its implication, is so miserable!

Shri Shastri has tried to meet the argument of the critics about the bottlenecks in wagon supply that the transfer of the Allahabad Division would involve, by saying that under the new but overall integrated Railway control, supplies of empties would be ensured not by penalising particular divisions, as before, but by a comprehensive regulation and adjustment of traffic throughout the Indian Railway system. But how such regulation and adjustment of traffic would be prevented by the retention of the Allahabad Division with the Eastern Railway is not intelligible to us. As it stands, the Eastern Centre will have to handle about 45 per cent of the total ton-mileage of all the railways. Consequently pressure will be heaviest on it. If the Northern Railway fails to handle the wagons timely and promptly, the movement of coal and other essential commodities will be hampered. Moghalsarai, as a terminus, will hardly be able to provide ample space for the empties. A slight laxity in duty on the part of the Northern Railway would jeopardise the working of the whole system causing immense hardships and dislocation of trade and commerce. The bottleneck that is already perceptible in the supply of coal wagons in the Eastern region provides a fac-

tual refutation of the hypothetical argument of operational efficiency offered by the Railway Ministry.

Shri Shastri observes that the interested public has been consulted before the actual implementation of the scheme and that it has received a general support in the country. The consent, however, has been given to the original scheme as envisaged by the Kunzru Committee and not to the revised scheme of the Railway Ministry. Almost all the chambers of commerce of importance in Calcutta, not to speak of the important newspapers, railwaymen and the public in general, have strongly criticised this change and demanded the authority to appoint an expert committee to go through the question anew. But all such representation and persuasion fail to exert any influence on a Ministry whose distorted concept of "public interest" is too parochial to admit of any arguments on a national basis.

As regards the Sealdah Division, Shri Shastri has pointed out that under no practical scheme all the riverine interchange points could be linked up with the Port of Calcutta within the framework of a single zonal railway and as such, that division has been left with the Eastern Railway, a Director, Railway Movements, having been stationed in Calcutta for co-ordinating Railway traffic in this region. But that would entail further difficulties as permission would have to be sought from dual authorities, one in Calcutta and the other at Gorakhpur.

Linguistic Provinces

The Karnataka Unification Conference has passed a resolution urging the Government to take immediate steps for the formation of a United Karnataka State and to appoint a high power committee for determining the boundaries and allied matters. This is nothing unusual. In fact, it has become an annual feature not only in respect of Karnataka, but of all other areas claiming linguistic states. But what is unusual is that Mr. Masthi Venkatesa Iyengar, who is a retired official besides being one of the top-ranking writers in Kannada, has suggested a course of action which may be more helpful. He has asked that representatives of the linguistic areas of Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra should discuss points of difference over boundaries and other matters and try to work out solutions of these differences. One of the difficulties that linguistic patriots have been consistently ignoring is the existence of conflicting views and interests, as between the different areas. This is one of the factors which has delayed the formation of linguistic states because obviously the Central Government cannot be expected to impose a decision from above. If earnest attempts are made to arrive at agreed solutions among the various claimants themselves, something more constructive will have been achieved, than the constant attempt to stir up passions."

The above editorial comment appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated May 15. Our Bombay contemporary is a confirmed opponent of the Linguistic Province idea, while we are for it. We have often discussed the complications of the problem, and have ever felt that the ill-assorted provincial and linguistic tie-up is a stumbling-block to progress. The remedy is what has satisfied Orissa.

While on the subject, it is interesting to recall how Lord Curzon stumbled on the Provincial boundaries re-drawing. Lord Ronaldsday's *Life of Curzon* quotes a letter of the Governor-General to the Secretary of State asking a few questions.

"If the boundaries of the C. P. (Central Province—Madhya Pradesh of today) were to be enlarged so as to include Berar, might it not be advisable to seize the opportunity of taking up the question of Provincial boundaries generally?"

"I am not sure that this will not be a proper occasion on which to examine the larger question of the boundaries of local Government or of some of them in general. Bengal is unquestionably too large a charge for any single man. Ought Chittagong to continue to belong to it, or ought we not give Assam an outlet on the sea? Is Orissa best governed from Calcutta? Ought Ganjam to be given to Madras? My own view is that C. P. will and ought to develop by sundry of these accretions into a Lieutenant-Governorship. But whether the time has come or is nearing, I cannot at present say."

The Hindu Code Bill

The *Harijan* of May 22 has the following very cogent comments and quotations on this highly controversial Bill. We agree with all the comments:

"The agitation against the Hindu Code Bill has fairly subsided now. To that extent it may be justly surmised that it was more a symptom of the election fever than any real or well-thought out opposition. That apart, one may well say that the time for a dispassionate discussion of the provisions of the Bill and necessary atmosphere for it is restored, and we may well avail of it now. In this connection the reader's attention is drawn towards a very valuable contribution that Justice Gajendragadkar of the Bombay High Court has made through his extension lectures* under the auspices of the Karnatak University last year. The learned judge takes a judicial view of the whole question of Hindu reform through the ages and adjudges the chief provisions of the Bill in that light. As he says in his introductory remarks:

"The questions posed by the Hindu Code are of great importance to millions of Hindus in this country and it is necessary that they should be

* *The Hindu Code Bill*: By Justice Gajendragadkar. Published by the Registrar, Karnatak University, Dharwar. Price Rs. 2.

considered in their proper perspective in the spirit of scientific inquiry. Dogmatic assertiveness would be clearly inconsistent with the spirit of scientific inquiry."

"He takes up the following four important changes that the Code Bill proposes: 1. Divorce and judicial separation; 2. Survivorship; 3. Daughter's share; 4. Woman's right over property; and says that

"I have taken these four topics for special consideration because I wish to emphasize the fact that the departures introduced by the Hindu Code on these four points cannot be condemned as being absolutely inconsistent with all the texts of Hindu Law. . . . Indeed, the principal point which I wish to emphasize is that the Hindu Code should be considered rationally and scientifically on its own merits. I have endeavoured to show that it is an illusion to entertain the belief that Hindu Law has never changed or that it is of divine origin. Hindu Law has changed from time to time, though the method adopted in introducing these changes was somewhat unusual. I have also endeavoured to show that during the British rule Hindu Law tended to be static and by reason of the infirmity from which the Courts suffered its further growth was inevitably arrested. Attempts were made from time to time to meet the crying need for reform on some special parts of Hindu Law; but the time has now come when the problem must be attacked boldly and fearlessly and the whole of the Hindu Law must be put on a rational basis. . . ."

"And he gives his opinion that

"It seems to me that it is the peremptory requirement of the present age that we must have a Hindu Code which is based on absolute equality amongst all Hindus, irrespective of their caste, creed or sex. . . . The only feasible way of bringing about this urgent reform is to legislate and if you legislate you must legislate on an all-India basis on such an important topic. . . . I venture to suggest that the days when texts had the final voice in such matters have long gone by, never to return. It would be totally unscientific and unreasonable to go back to these ancient texts to find out how we should regulate our daily life today."

"To those who object to the Bill on the plea of having a common Civil Law for all-India he replies:

"I think it would be very unwise not to support the Hindu Code on the idealistic ground that its provisions do not embrace all citizens alike. I apprehend this attitude may not expedite the final unification of all civil laws in the country, but would merely postpone even the unification of Hindu Law."

"And he concludes his argument with the following words:

"It is no exaggeration to say that . . . (the proposals contained in the Hindu Code) affect all of us fundamentally and it is our duty to consider them dispassionately and without entering into any heated or acrimonious controversies."

Zamindari Abolition in Uttar Pradesh

The Supreme Court judgement declaring the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act

valid and *intra vires* of the Constitution has set the stage for far-reaching agrarian reforms in Uttar Pradesh. It should be clearly realised that this is only the first step. No one can acquire land in the future in excess of 30 acres. The Act contains provisions against fragmentation and sub-division of holdings. But these are negative measures and will not bring about an agrarian revolution which people expect from the abolition of zamindari. The Government should initiate positive programme for replacing the zamindari system by the formation of co-operative farms to replace the present un-economic form of cultivation. The cultivator should be helped to reduce costs by the latest methods for increasing the yield of his crops.

New Forest Policy

India should have one-third of its total land area under forests, according to a new National Forest Policy announced by the Indian Agricultural Ministry on May 13.

The policy, stated in a resolution in a Gazette Extraordinary, lays down that as an insurance against denudation, about 60 p.c. of the land should be under forests in the Himalayas, the Deccan and other mountainous tracts.

The need for protecting forest animals, particularly rare species, is emphasised. 'Bird and animal life should be controlled by special laws, and rare forms preserved by setting up sanctuaries and national parks,' says the policy statement.

The policy is based on five permanent needs of the country. These needs considered 'essential,' are: checking denudation in mountainous regions, soil erosion and the progress of the Rajputana desert; establishing tree-lands for ameliorating climatic conditions; ensuring grazing for cattle and fire wood; sustained supply of timber and other forest products for industry, defence and communications; and maximum annual revenue in perpetuity, consistent with national interests.

The new policy stresses the need for making the nation 'tree-conscious' and commends the national 'Vana Mahotsava' movement which, it says, 'will not only arrest vandalism of cutting down valuable trees but also create the urge to protect them.'

Indian forests are classified as protection forests, national forests, village forests, and tree-land. Stating that the classification is merely illustrative but not mutually exclusive, the Policy Statement says: 'It has to be realised, however, that the country as a whole has a vast stake in the conservation of all forests, irrespective of their functions and ownership and, therefore, all of them should be administered from the point of view of national well-being.'

As regards the first consideration, the new policy

recognises that the needs of local population must be met to a reasonable extent, but 'national interests should not be sacrificed, nor should the rights and interests of future generations be subordinated to the improvidence of the present generation.'

The extension of agriculture to forest lands 'has resulted in general deterioration of physical conditions and must, therefore, be given up.'

The correct solution of the land problem is to evolve a system of balanced and complementary land use 'under which each type of land is allotted to that form of use under which it would produce most and deteriorate least.'

Each State should set up a permanent organisation to deal with working plans, their compilation, revision and deviations, research and statistics.

States without a proper Forest Act should enact legislation at an early date on the lines of the Indian Forest Act.

A sinking fund should be created to secure for forestry freedom from the 'vagaries of annual budgets.'

Investment of a portion of the revenue in Government securities for this purpose is suggested.

This clear statement of policy is to be welcomed. But the Government's realisation regarding "vagaries of annual budgets" has a wider significance. Can it persuade its financial advisers to give up this particular vagary and make grants to social institutions on long-term projects? The organizers thereof are in constant fear of interference by departmental busybodies. The tendency now is to increase the bureaucrats and starve the 'essential' services of their promised grants. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad's grandiose scheme of 'social education' has foundered on the sudden blight of scarcity. And he has lost imagination that would have enabled him to scrap his departmental paraphernalia and trust to non-official initiative for giving shape to his policy. The new forest policy if it means anything, means State Socialism—the management of the State by 'managers'—bureaucrats. Burnham's 'Managerial Revolution' is seeking in India a new field for experiment.

Preservation of Wild Life

The undernoted news comes rather late in the day. Welcome as it is, knowledgeable sources are rather pessimistic because of the lax methods followed heretofore:

"The West Bengal Government propose to tighten up measures for the preservation of wild life in the State, it is learnt. With this end in view, the State Government are now considering a draft Bill to replace the Wild Birds and Animals Protection Act of 1912.

Meanwhile, it is stated, the five game sanctuaries established by the State Government have helped in

preventing the wanton destruction of wild life and in preserving some rare species of animals and birds. Four of these sanctuaries are located in the forests of North Bengal and one in the Lothian islands in the south-eastern tip of the Sundarbans.

In the Jaldapara sanctuary in Jalpaiguri District, the largest in the State, and in the Gorumara sanctuary the great one-horned rhino, which is a rare specimen found only in Bengal and Assam, is now flourishing after facing virtual extinction only two decades ago. Other animals which are being protected in these sanctuaries include elephants, tigers, wild buffaloes and deer. The State Forest Directorate are also considering a proposal to set up national parks where suitable species of animals and birds can be introduced."

The Ganges Barrage

The following piece of heartening news appeared in the daily press of May 15. We hope this portends a new outlook on the part of the powers-that-be:

"The construction of a barrage across the Ganga near Farakka has been found to be feasible, it is reliably learnt. The cost is estimated to be about Rs. 37 crores.

Investigations by Mr. Visvesvaraya, who has been deputed by the Government of India to report on the proposed barrage, are now complete and he is expected to submit his findings in a few days. It is also understood that the West Bengal Government has already approached the Central Government to take up the scheme and put through the work with the least possible delay.

The scheme is of all-India importance because it will afford facilities for navigation and irrigation and supply headwaters for the moribund rivers of West Bengal. It will also improve Calcutta port."

Relief Measures in Rayalaseema

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said at a Press conference at Madras on 16th May that the State Government was considering the levy of betterment fees in places where new works had been started.

Asked whether some of the irrigation projects in the State were being slowed down, he said that the matter was being looked into. There were hundreds of irrigation schemes to be executed both under capital and revenue heads. The Government was examining how much money it could set apart for these works and the funds that could be got from the Central Government.

Regarding relief measures in the drought-affected districts, Government had appointed Mr. C. A. Ramakrishnan as a deputy to the Famine Relief Commissioner. He would have headquarters at Cudappah—one of the worst-hit districts of Rayalaseema—and would personally speed up relief mea-

suses. 'His work will not be paper work but personal work,' he said.

Ordinarily no remission was granted to dry crops. However, because of the uncertainties of rainfall, Government was remitting the entire assessment where the damage was 75 per cent and half remission was given in areas where the damage to crops was 50 per cent. The total remission in the affected districts was estimated at about Rs. 62 lakhs. The collection of cess by local bodies had also been ordered to be suspended for the next revenue year.

The State Government intended to sink 13,000 wells in the current year in the drought-affected districts at an estimated cost of about Rs. 1 crore to provide drinking water. Additionally, the army had been asked to deepen 700 wells in Rayalaseema. Presently, 70 military lorries and 18 civil lorries were distributing water in the villages.

About 1,000 gruel centres had been opened by Government in Rayalaseema at a total cost of Rs. 34 lakhs. Three lakhs of people were receiving gruel in these centres daily. Able-bodied people were given employment in road and irrigation works undertaken in the region at a cost of Rs. 139 lakhs.

Regarding price of wheat, he said, the Madras Government was pressing the Government of India to effect a reduction. In this context one had to realise the difficulties of the Central Government also. It had to pay high price for wheat. He emphasised the need for popularising wheat in the South. He had found that the people here looked healthier now and he held this was due to the off-take of wheat during the last few years.

Indian Satyagraha for Voting Rights

"The Ceylon Indian Congress officially made an approach to all right-thinking persons and people of goodwill who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of Ceylon to support them in their struggle to obtain elementary democratic rights for the Indians in Ceylon.

The official statement issued by the Congress headquarters on the launching of the Satyagraha emphasised, "Our struggle is not directed against the people of this country, as certain Government spokesmen have tried to make it out, but is intended to focus attention on the injustice that is being perpetrated by an administration dominated by a Party who seem anxious to reduce the strength of and eliminate, if possible, parties and groups which do not agree with their policies and programme. Nor is our struggle an attempt to vilify the people of Ceylon. But it is certainly intended to expose the machinations of a Government which is determined to deny franchise rights to a community which constitutes a tenth of the population.

"The Working Committee of the Ceylon Indian Congress has been finally compelled to launch a campaign of Satyagraha in order to obtain voting rights for Indian settlers who have decided to become citizens of Ceylon so that the Ceylon Indian community would be able to participate in the forthcoming general elections to enable them to have elected representation in the next Parliament. The decision to start Satyagraha has been reached only after all efforts to settle this matter by negotiation have failed. The premature and unexpected dissolution of Parliament before the Privy Council has been able to pronounce its opinion on the validity of the recent law that disfranchised the Ceylon Indian community is a clear indication that the U.N.P. Government is determined to keep Indians, who have settled in Ceylon and who wish to become citizens, without representation in Parliament.

"We wish to stress that we are not asking for anything that is impossible or anything that is unreasonable. What we want is that Indians who have made Ceylon their home and have expressed their desire to become citizens by making applications under the rigorous provisions of the Indian and Pakistan Citizenship Act shall be given the vote. These persons have been on the electoral registers from 1931. Their names were expunged in June, 1950 even before they could make applications to become citizens under law the constitutional validity of which is now in question.

"Our earlier decision to boycott registration under the Indian and Pakistani Act was to protest against the humiliating and almost impractical conditions that have been laid down. This boycott was from August 1949, when registration first began, to April 1950, when the boycott was lifted. From April 1950 to August 1951, the last date for making such applications, nearly 2½ lakhs of applications covering a total number of about 7½ lakhs were made by adults and heads of families. Up to date only an infinitesimal fraction of applications has been disposed of. The temporary boycott has not been the cause of any delay, nor the disfranchisement. We, therefore, appeal to the conscience of the people of Ceylon to support our struggle and to bring pressure on the Government to remedy a grave injustice. We are convinced that our struggle is a struggle for civil liberties in Sri Lanka."

"The resumed emergency meeting of the Working Committee of the Ceylon Indian Congress, formed Council of Action to conduct the proposed Satyagraha movement with a view to securing franchise rights for Indians in Ceylon. The Working Committee has issued a directive calling upon all Congress District Committees to convene emergency meetings. The District Committees will consider a resolution appealing to the Ceylon Government to restore the franchise rights for Indians before the general elections."

The *Hindu's* Colombo correspondent sent on April 25 last the news of the first steps that Indians long resident in Ceylon took for the assertion and protection of their citizenship rights. On more than one occasion we have drawn attention to this world-wide grievance. Indians were tempted by local administration to emigrate and open out new lands and make them fit for profitable cultivation. The British Government in India added their own inducements anxious to be relieved of a portion of the huge idle population in India who had lost their occupations by the trading and manufacturing policy of the foreign Government. This was the genesis of the "Indians Overseas" problem. South Africa, and at present Ceylon high-lights it. And except for protests we do not find any means which can persuade these Governments to do justice to Indians.

Narsing Das Bengali Prize, 1951

We have received the following communication from T. P. S. Iyer, Registrar, University of Delhi:

"The University of Delhi has instituted a prize called 'Narsing Das Prize for Bengali' from out of the funds donated by S. Narsing Das Agarwalla of Calcutta, Director of National Iron and Steel Works, through the Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan, Calcutta, in order to reward and encourage the writing of Bengali books and theses in Arts and Science. The prize of the value of Rs. 1,000 will be awarded alternately to Arts and Science subjects. The prize for 1951 will go to Science. In the absence of a suitable candidate in any year the award may be changed from Science to Arts and vice-versa.

"The award will be made to the writer whose published production is considered the best during the year of award by the Selection Committee. Authors, publishers and admirers of authors of books in Bengali in Science subjects, published within two years immediately preceding the 30th June, 1951, are invited to send eight copies of the publication for the consideration of the Committee before the 1st July, 1952. The publications should be sent to the Registrar, University of Delhi, Delhi."

Passports for Pakistan and India

The passport conference between India and Pakistan ended on May 19, without meeting the success it deserved. This, it is understood, was in the main due to the Pakistani Government's unsympathetic attitude towards travellers in the two Bengals.

Agreement between the representatives of the two countries was reached without much discussion so far as traffic between West Pakistan and India is concerned. But there was considerable divergence of views in the case of similar travel facilities between East and West Bengal.

Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta, High Commissioner for

India in Pakistan and leader of the Indian delegation, it is believed, made a vigorous and spirited plea for the liberalization of travel facilities and advocated the opening of as many visa centres as possible in East and West Bengal.

Pakistan, it is understood, also asked for special facilities for its agrarian border population to which India readily agreed. In return, India, it is believed, asked for similar facilities for Indian businessmen and people with immovable property interests in East Bengal. But this suggestion was unacceptable to Pakistan.

According to Pakistani sources, the need for tightening up travel facilities was more pronounced in East Bengal, especially after the recent clashes over the languages issue. These aggressive acts, Pakistan said, were sponsored and engineered from outside Pakistan. The very idea underlying the introduction of the passport system, Pakistani sources said, would be defeated if travel facilities between the two Bengals were allowed to continue as now.

Pak Debt to India

There is a great deal of propaganda abroad about the dues of Pakistan from India. It is not so well-known therefore that immense sums are due to India from Pakistan, which we are perforce obliged to take in small dribbles.

"Official circles here anticipate certain amount of difficulties in regard to precise determination of Pakistan's debt to India, although they hope agreement will be reached at least on that part of the debt on which there is little doubt.

"On a rough calculation, Pakistan's debt to India is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 300 crores. The debt is to be paid in 50 annual equated instalments of principal and interest. The first instalment of the debt to India falls due in August this year.

"A conference of officials is likely to be held next month to determine the first instalment.

"The principle of such a conference has already been accepted by both sides. An Indo-Pakistan Finance Ministers' conference was last held here in May last but it ended without agreement on any major question. The only understanding reached was that another conference should be held in Karachi in August 1951 but no conference took place.

"As a part of the Partition Agreement, India undertook on herself the payment of entire liability. Pakistan's share of such liability constitutes the bulk of Pakistan's debt to India. The figure is yet to be determined. The moratorium of four years given to Pakistan comes to an end in August 1952 when Pakistan should start repayment of the debt in 50 instalments. A provision of Rs. 5 crores as the first year's payment has been made in Pakistan's budget for

1952-53. The figures of Rs. 5 crores is considered here as a 'gross underestimate.' India's estimate of Rs. 9 crores is taken to be 'more realistic'."

This was published in the papers in the last week of March last. Things have not proceeded much further since then.

Muslim Fanaticism

The following piece of news from Karachi need no comments:

"It is now learnt that a violent crowd of 4,000 persons tonight broke into a public meeting here of the Ahmadiya (Quadiani) sect, which was being addressed by Sir Zafrulla Khan, the Pakistani Foreign Minister.

The crowd burnt a restaurant, a motor garage, and a furniture shop, all belonging to the Quadiani sect.

The police used lathis and tear gas to disperse the crowd and 300 persons have so far been arrested.

Twenty-five policemen and about 100 civilians were injured, but Sir Zafrulla, who was strongly guarded by armed policemen was not hurt. He had addressed the meeting for nearly 45 minutes in spite of constant heckling.

This is the second night in succession that two groups of Muslims—Quadianis and non-Quadianis—have clashed. All police stations in the city have been alerted to prevent further disturbances and protect Quadiani property."

West European Defence

"With Soviet pressure and propaganda for German unification hanging heavily over the scene, the major emphasis in European capitals to-day is on completing the two documents needed to incorporate the Federal German Republic into the Western structure—the European Army Pact and the contractual agreements.

The two are interdependent. They are to come into force at the same time and the one is valueless without the others. The Germans do not wish to join the European Army unless they have 'Peace Pacts' which would virtually give them back their sovereignty. The French are equally unwilling to agree to 'Peace Pacts' unless Western Germany is brought at the same time into the Western Defence system.

Work on these two instruments is being pressed forward with redoubled haste in Paris and Bonn. The drafts are still incomplete and defective in many respects—as the German press keeps pointing out—but the general expectation is that they may somehow be got ready for signature within the next two or three weeks. This expectation, it should be added, is shared less confidently in French and British circles than in Washington or Bonn.

The main obstacle holding up the contractual agreements is financial in character. It was agreed at the Lisbon N.A.T.O. Conference that the German defence contribution should be slightly over ten billion marks this year. This figure has, however, to cover not only Germany's own expenses in raising the new Army, but also what have hitherto been called occupation costs of the Powers with troops in West Germany. The allocation of the total sum between these two heads is not proving an easy matter.

The Germans say that their own defence establishment will require between nine and twelve billion marks (depending on how fast the European Army is developed). They point out that while their troops may be few in number to start with, they must nevertheless bear the cost of training fields and uniforms and above all the initial investment in factories, for the production of arms.

If these calculations are accepted, there would be little or nothing left for the upkeep of Allied Forces stationed in Germany. This is said to cost about seven billion marks. The British argue that their economy cannot assume support of these forces and that any reduction in the German contribution will necessitate a corresponding reduction in the number of British troops and planes available. To resolve the dilemma, the Germans have proposed that they should pay their whole contribution to the Defence Pool and that the Pool should subsequently make payments to Britain and the U. S. for the maintenance of their forces in Germany. This suggestion does not appeal to the French, who feel it would only shift the burden of occupation costs on to France and the other E.D.C. countries."

Doctor K. S. Shelvarkar, the Madras *Hindu's* London correspondent wiring from that city on April 24 last gave us information that has become old today. A treaty with Germany has been signed giving her "sovereign status" within the limits of Western security. The problem of unification of East and West Germany eludes solution. Perhaps, another world war would intervene before it is solved.

"America's Strategy and World Politics"

Prof. N. J. Spykman is an expert on foreign affairs. In his book he has the following words:

"The statesman who conducts foreign policy can concern himself with the values of justice, fairness and tolerance only to the extent that they contribute to, or do not interfere with, the power objective. They can be used instrumentally as moral justification for the power quest, but they must be discarded the moment they bring weakness. The search for power is not made for the achievement of moral values; moral values are used to facilitate the attainment of power."

Taking off the purdah of words, Prof. Spykman's

words do not differ much from Machiavelli's or our Chanakya's. But all prophets have said that even in the "quest for power" moral values are to have primacy of place in the human conscience. But the generality of us have not their patience, and in the search for "justifiable sense of security," we have been following policies that lead to wars.

The Kashmir problem, and India's general foreign policy, have followed this example. It is well while on the Opposition to oppose the Government. But the words return ineffective as they meet conditions that are more hard than the critics are aware of.

"Israel Works Towards Self-support"

The following taken from the *World Interpreter* is an illustration of what is going on in the Near East to put a completely deficient State on its feet by financial and technical aid from the U.S.A. It should be remembered that Israel, unlike many other democratic nations, is an example as to what a small nation can achieve by organised effort and an adamant determination to survive:

"Whether Israel will ever fulfill its self-appointed mission to serve as a light unto the nations, only time will tell. But here and now, there's a spotlight on Israel serving as a Pilot Plant for U.N. and U.S. projects, to demonstrate what can be done throughout the Mid-East region.

"When alarming reports of food scarcity in Israel first appeared in the U.S. press last fall, the Israel government decried them: 'Israel's population is not starving. It is simply eating less . . . because there is a will to bring in the largest possible number of refugees and immigrants, and to share what we have with them.' But if starving was certainly an overstatement, and eating less perhaps an understatement, the insufficiency of rations was an undeniable fact, which the government frankly faces in pressing for aid.

"The first shipment of U.S. grant-in-aid to Israel arriving last February, an emergency load of 9,000 tons of wheat and flour, was front-page news—now Israel had its bread ration for the month. (Incidentally, this front-page news appeared in a single-sheet paper, so acute, among other things, is the shortage of newsprint).

"McDaniel's assignment is for at least two years, with a staff of about 30 experts in irrigation, industries, agriculture, communications, transport and fisheries. The total grant must be allocated by June, 1952, and spent by June, 1953. Other experts from the U.S. Labor Department, Bureau of Education, Technical Assistance Administration, and the U.N. International Labor Office and Food and Agriculture Organization, at the invitation of the Israel government will also co-operate in various fields: production statistics, increased productivity in industry and agriculture,

water resources, soil testing, training-within-industry schemes, improvement of industrial design, social welfare service, and tax administration.

"Chief among the experts is Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, head of the two-year U. S. soil conservation program for Israel, designed as a model for arid areas.

"McDaniel's job should fit into an over-all program administered by Edwin Locke, Co-ordinator of Technical and Economic Aid for the Mid-East, with rank of Ambassador. The Mutual Security Administration's Mid-East Economic Aid section has allocated \$180 million to bring economic stability to the whole region.

"Counterpart funds, equivalent to the U.S. grant, are to be contributed by Israel and spent under joint U.S.-Israel control. These have been subject to long discussion, due to Israel's inflation and the fall of the pound on foreign bourses, and its fluctuating value inside Israel. Officially rated at \$2.80, the pound fell to an all-time low of \$3.38, when finally, last February 13, in a speech to the Knesset (Assembly) Prime Minister Ben Gurion announced the government's new economic policy based on a multiple exchange rate of the pound.

"A panoramic picture of Israel facing U.S. and U.N. experts today includes these factors: 1. General background of the big-power East-West cold war tensions; stockpiling and price-raising of all essential materials and resultant world shortages. 2. Israel's own local East-West tension; armed armistice with neighbouring Arab states, which refuse peace, threaten war, and impose highly effective sanctions by economic blockade. 3. Mass influx of Jewish refugees and immigrants from Arab and Mediterranean countries, over-doubling its initial (1948) population of 650,000 to 1,500,000 in three years, and resulting in serious economic, financial and psychological strains. 4. The country's limited and still largely undeveloped natural resources."

"Little Lands Look for Big Weapons"

These are evil days for peace-loving folks. We can well appreciate the troubles of small nations as shown in the following excerpt from the *World Interpreter*:

"Small countries that will not fall in line when the giants want them to, and have no armament industries of their own, are worried over defense. There are not many in this classification: Sweden is small, but has a first-class arms industry. Czechoslovakia has the same, and has also fallen in line. Denmark and Norway have thought it well to toe a line, too, but not the same one as the Czechs. The Republic of Ireland, unlike Denmark and Norway, was not occupied by an enemy in the war, and for two reasons has not fallen in line with anybody.

"The first ostensible reason is partition—a natural objection to falling in line with Britain while British troops are used to support the division of the country. But probably the desire for aloofness from wars between giants that it cannot even influence, is as strong a factor as any political or national one.

"So far as the British people themselves are concerned, the Irish people probably never had a more friendly attitude towards them.

"The Republic has not lined up and it cannot make arms. It asked the British government to sell it some, and the reply was, 'Certainly not, unless you line up.' It turned to the United States, which said: 'Certainly we'll let you have arms. You can have them for nothing just as soon as you'll line up.' Then it tried Sweden, to be told: 'Certainly, you can buy any that we have to spare, only we really can't spare any.' Or not much. Actually, Sweden did sell some.

"What then will a country like Ireland do if war comes? Religious influence will put her almost unanimously against Russia, but the religious and moral attitudes of America and Britain may not inspire much confidence in them as ideological comrades. And there may be no war, or only a far-away one, say in the Arctic or Pacific. If so, Ireland may just try to stay at peace. Disgraceful!"

Poorer Britain Reduces Poverty

The following extract, which is highly illuminating, comes from the *World Interpreter*:

"Everybody must know by this time that England is a poorer country than she was in 1939, but that, by a paradox of history, fewer of her people are poor. Hitherto there has been very little precise information about this reduction of poverty, and the vague pronouncements of economists attached to different political parties have tended to cancel each other out. A new book by Seebohm Rowntree, dean of English sociologists, provides for the first time some intelligible figures.

"Mr. Rowntree is a Quaker and a capitalist, the owner of a big chocolate factory in York. In 1900 he made his debut as a sociologist by publishing a study of poverty in his own North Country city. He issued another study of the subject in 1936, and in October, 1950, he went over the same field once more.

"His latest inquiry might be put in another way. Between the year of his previous survey, 1936, and his new one, lay the war and the creation of the welfare state by the Labor Party. What difference had the coming of the welfare state made to poverty in York, a fairly typical English industrial city—although, being the seat of a cathedral, it had probably been richer in 1936 than most industrial towns?

"His findings are remarkable. Whereas in 1936, 17.7 per cent of the people of York were 'in poverty,' that percentage had, after five years of Labor rule, fallen to 1.66.

"(Other reports show that only 60 persons in Britain had incomes of \$16,800 or over, after taxes, in the fiscal year 1949-50. In Sweden, however, where the dominant party is Socialist, millionaires—in kroner—increased by 129 in 1951 as compared to 1950, the total numbering 914.)

"Mr. Rowntree's 'poverty line' is inevitably to some extent an arbitrary one. But he has taken minute care to compare like with like in the two periods, even to allowing for the increased price of a daily newspaper. The chief difference between 1936 and 1950 is, of course, the difference between unemployment and full employment, but the Rowntree survey shows that the welfare state could reduce the proportion of poor people to 10 per cent of the working class; under 1936 conditions, the proportion of the working class below the poverty line was over 31 per cent.

"The chapter entitled Heights and Weights of schoolchildren shows that social improvement since 1936 is not confined to the working class. Despite food rationing, children of the middle class show increases in height of half an inch and in weight of half a pound. There have been substantial increases in the heights and weights of working class children, but they have been less marked than might have been expected.

"One point which emerges from these figures concerning children is that Labor rule did not imperil the welfare of the middle classes, although it has reduced so very severely the amenities of middle class life."

Australia Faces Trade Restrictions

The undernoted news comment is from the same source and indicates further headaches for the British Chancellor.

"The Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference held in London early this year decided among other things that each Commonwealth country would have to live within its own income. Already, Australia is learning just what effect this is likely to have on the national economy. January figures on overseas trade, recently compiled, showed a trade deficit of some 53,500,000 pounds, which is the second highest monthly deficit ever recorded.

"For the first seven months of the present financial year, the trade deficit of 268,500,000 pounds compared with a surplus for the same period in the previous year amounting to 90,000,000 pounds. One unofficial estimate is that in the next financial year, Australia will have to reduce its imports by more than 100,000,000 pounds, and the Cabinet is considering a system of licensing imports, with heavy restrictions.

"Observers believe that among the imports to be restricted will be textiles, radio and electrical goods, motor cars, etc. Only goods essential to the national

economy will be unrestricted. This will affect British trade because Australia's deficit with the sterling area is about 80 per cent of its total deficit."

Communist China

In view of our goodwill mission's tour in China the following extract from the *World Interpreter* is of interest. We hope our own observers will find matters better in a land which has been friendly for 2,000 years:

"What's going on in Communist China? It's important to know, but the question is so inflamed with emotions that if you talk about it, from any angle, you're likely to face a Congressional inquiry. Besides, China is so vast that even the few people who have been inside in recent months come out with reports that are often contradictory.

"It happens that I have a number of friends who are really well informed on China's background, and even on its more recent aims, successes and failures under Communist control. Some have been in China, not from the United States, but from Britain and India. From these observers I have had a modicum of impressions and descriptions.

"Some things are not at all shadowy. It is universally agreed that among the Chinese people—only a minority of whom are actual Communists or even understand what Communism is about—the refugee government of Chiang Kai-shek remains intensely unpopular. So far as support from his own people is concerned, Chiang is finished. One of the worst sins of his regime was graft. Have the Communists done better? There is one difference: top Red leaders really want to eradicate corruption. They are, however, finding it hard to do. For graft among their own officials, they have had to jail, pass new laws, purge, and execute.

"What is Russia's role? While the Soviet Union did not participate actively in a physical sense in the overthrow of Chiang, and the people wanted him to go, Moscow had an important intellectual part in the Red victory and its consolidation. You'd best discount the wild stories, most of them emanating in Hong Kong's rumor mills, about there being 60,000 Russian infantry troops, two regiments of artillery forces, etc., inside China. But there is no doubt that anti-aircraft guns have been sent in by Russia, both for use in Korea and to guard Manchuria. There are also unknown, but substantial, numbers of Russian technicians and officers to assist in military training.

"The biggest gains made by the Communist government of Mao Tse-tung have been economic. Only a third of the arable land has been affected by land reform, but nevertheless many thousands of peasants are profiting from the change. Taxes are very heavy, but the people are getting something for their money—better roads, schools, new industries. Rehabi-

litation lags in some respects because China desperately needs outside help, and Russia can't provide nearly enough. While the people as a whole do not necessarily approve of all that the government is doing, it has helped them enough so that they have a certain zest and a tolerance of the regime. In short, while the government rules by force in the last analysis, its hold does not depend completely upon compulsion.

"How brutal are the Communists? Here again, it is wise to separate wild rumor, or hostile propaganda tales, from what are the probable facts. Don't credit such nonsensical stories as the one given currency by certain usually well-balanced commentators, who have said that the number executed by last November was (exactly!) 15,672,050. The real number is undoubtedly far less, perhaps a tenth as many. But make no bones about it—there have been wholesale, and brutal, executions for nothing more than political opposition, or resistance to one program or another.

"Have the Communists remained the simple 'agrarian reformers' they were represented as being, by their own propagandists or by visitors in the early months of their rule? The answer is, they never were. They left many capitalist enterprises untouched, and they did not attempt to put through a wholly Communist re-ordering of society. But that moderation was not fundamental to their creed. It best suited their purpose at the time."

Formosa

It is curious as to how the other Chinese Government carries on. The following extract from the *World Interpreter* gives the key:

"In Chiang Kai-shek's bailiwick, Formosa, there has been a halt to the worst of the inflation that threatened the island. But recent reports received from Taipei, the island's capital, show that Chiang's economy is far from stable, and has been sustained through American aid. The note-issues increased by 50 per cent during 1951, wages lag far behind prices, and administrative efficiency is poor. Whereas E. C. A. supplies amounted in 1950 to \$20,000,000, the figure for 1951 was \$56,621,030; with military aid counted, it reached \$97,000,000."

Soviet "Great Projects"

The Five-year Plans of the Soviets have become almost legendary. Even so the latest plans as revealed in the columns of the *World Interpreter* are staggering in their audacity and magnitude:

"Of the greatest importance to the whole world is the fact that Soviet Russia and its East European satellites are engaged in the construction of vast public works projects which captivate the imagination of the Communist-ruled peoples.

Many details about the plans, and about the pro-

gress thus far made, have been kept secret. From various European sources, however, plus analyses of the Soviet Press, *Worldover Press* has gathered reasonably trustworthy reports.

Expected to be finished this summer, and one of the most impressive of the projects, is the Volga-Don Canal. Once these key rivers have been united, great reservoirs, filled mainly with water from the Don, will prevent some of the disastrous drought that have long afflicted this region. Extensive afforestation will help keep water in the soil. From the standpoint of economic and military strategy alike, there will be a waterway connecting the Black Sea with the Caspian Sea, facilitating shipments of petroleum westward from the rich oil fields in the Caspian region.

The importance of this link is heightened because another canal is under construction, to join through a new route the Danube River and the Black Sea. Sizable vessels will thus be able to traverse the Danube from Central Europe to the Black Sea, thence to the Don, from there to the Volga, and from the Volga into the Caspian Sea. More: a canal is also projected, though its completion is several years in the future, just north of Czechoslovakia, which will join the Vistula and the Oder, connecting the Black Sea with the Baltic.

Along the Volga, tremendous hydro-electric plants are to be completed within a few years. One of these will be located at Kuibyshev, about 500 miles southeast of Moscow. Its production will triple that of the famous Dnieprostroi Dam north of the Black Sea, which was considered one of the world's marvels before Hitler destroyed it during the war. The output of current will come close to three-quarters that of the gigantic American T.V.A. Moscow will use more than half its ten million kilowatt hours, while most of the rest will be used for great irrigation systems.

Farther south on the Volga, near Stalingrad, a big dam will not only provide irrigation, but will enable Soviet engineers to raise the level of the Volga itself, which is often too low. A higher water-level will permit some of Russia's largest ships to go up and down the river, furthering the distribution of vital materials for the Soviet economy.

From the days of Peter the Great to 1957 is a long time. Peter wanted to launch irrigation projects on the Amu Darya River, which extends northwesterly from Afghanistan to the Aral Sea. Communist Russia is taking up Peter's idea, going at it far more ambitiously, and plans to finish the job five years from now. Central to the scheme is the Turkmen Canal, projected by a 1950 decree. This will furnish water for a dry region, provide 300,000 kilowatts of electricity, and link up several areas now lacking waterways. These areas, be it noted, are not far northeast of Iran.

The 'great projects,' of which the foregoing are not all, have met many technical problems, but no

longer are Soviet developments relying on American or other outside experts, and the equipment is being produced in Soviet factories instead of being imported. Some of the projects have lagged for lack of manpower, and there is evidence that on some of them, slave labor has been used.

What relation do these projects have, if any, to the possibility of an offensive military move by Moscow? With the world as it is, that question is bound to be asked. It should be noted that most of the works, and these in general the biggest, are far back from the borders of the non-Communist European countries. Even the projects going on in the satellite states, such as Bulgarian works in Thrace and the Dobrudja, the new Arges-Bucharest Canal for water supply in Romania, and similar constructions in Hungary, are primarily industrial and agricultural in their aims. Those who know the projects best are not inclined to attribute to them any offensive military purpose.

They will, however, immensely strengthen Soviet economic, and in a secondary sense, military power. They will raise Soviet production of food, goods and machines to previously undreamed heights.

Russian Criticism of British Rearming

Each nation of the opposing war-like blocs is growing under the load of armament expenses. As such sympathy from opposing camps has a flavour of its own, as is shown in the following comments in the *World Interpreter*:

"The official English-language paper of the Soviet Union, *News*, is sorry for the British people. 'A country of 50 million inhabitants,' it says, 'that spends 4,700,000,000 pounds on armament within three years—nearly a hundred pounds per capita—cannot have a sound economy, a healthy budget, or a high standard of life.' A study of this sympathy, in relation to the USSR's arms expenditures, is instructive.

The Soviet Union is going to spend on armament during the next year a sum equivalent to 10,178,570,000 pounds. Taking the figure for the British that is given by *News*, it would mean that Britain's outlay for a single year would be about 1,566,666,666 pounds. Russia's population is four times that of Britain, so if Russia were spending only at the British rate, on a population basis, its arms cost would be 6,266,666,666 pounds—whereas it is actually spending per annum some 3,911,903,334 more than the British. Each person in Britain, according to the *News*, is spending on arms about 33 pounds. But in the U.S.S.R., each person is spending about 50 pounds."

Communist Illusions

During Napoleon III's short and sabre-rattling empire, Karl Marx wrote a book containing considerably more wisdom than in *Das Capital*. He did not find the causes of revolution in economic factors.

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it . . . under circumstances directly found; given and transmitted from the past . . . specially in epochs of revolutionary crisis they conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle slogans and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in time-honoured disguise and borrowed language."

Raymond Aaron, one of the intellectuals of France, adds to this. Explaining the policy of the present rulers of the Soviet Union he says:

"Stalinism does not represent the revolt of the sovereign people, it claims to stand for the conquest of power by the proletariat. The psychological effect on fellow-travelling circles is the same. It is taken for granted that Stalinism implies the political victory of a Christian principle. At the same time, Communists are pictured as applying to our industrial civilization the old principle. 'The voice of the people is the voice of God.'

"Collective ownership of property, economic planning by the state, spontaneous activities of the masses in carrying forward a revolution—these concepts of Marxism, more or less formalized, have retained a seductive power among our intellectuals even after thirty years of Bolshevism. In the eyes of Merleau-Ponty, they remain above philosophical criticism. If history should give them the lie, if the proletariat happens not to 'become the human race' and does not accomplish its revolutionary destiny, Merleau-Ponty would still not conclude that Marxism was wrong. In his view, it would be history which had gone wrong. At the end of his life, Trotsky suggested a line of thought closely approaching this. If the proletariat failed to accomplish the mission assigned to it by history, then Marxism would remain a sort of paradise unattained and the world would slide into barbarism. That the efforts of the Marxists to realise false ideals or attain inaccessible goals might be one of the causes of the descent into barbarism—that line of reasoning never touches the minds of our philosophers. . . .

"What is the lesson which we are to draw from the upshot of Stalinism? The sociological lesson is that a directed economy with collective property does not necessarily lead to the liberation of man. Or, perhaps, they lead rather to a regime of oppression. The political lesson is that the campaign methods used by a party have more influence on its action than the ideas which it proclaims. Violence tends inevitably to extend itself. A party assumes absolute power under pretext of transforming the social order and ends by creating a system in which a minority exercises a despotism as a matter of necessity. The lesson in philosophy is that the notion that the heroic deed of a group can reverse or radically change the course of human events is a supreme illusion. Revolutions are sometimes inevitable, but they are almost always misfortunes. They destroy irreplaceable goods.

Their gains could have been won at less cost. The history of the world does not present a rational process. It does not reveal to man his vocation. It does not dictate his morality. If one turns history into an absolute, gives it a definite objective in the form of an absolute value posited on the horizon, one has innocently, fallen victim to a trap of Machiavellianism."

The above is taken from the *New Leader* of New York. It will enable our Indian "pinks" and "rid" to cultivate a new sense of history and reality, and find that the slogan of "Revolution for ever" make no sense other than blood-shed.

Yemen Challenges the Powers

Liberty is a very potent stimulant to those who appreciate it, as exemplified by the little State of Yemen. We give the following from the *World Interpreter* as an example to those who fail to realise the quality of freedom:

"Yemen, the little Arab country near the mouth of the Red Sea, has recently been standing up to the world's great powers like a Moslem version of David fighting a whole group of Goliaths. The issue has been a possible Security Council action on Tunisia's bid for greater self-government within the framework of French rule. The French had broken off negotiations and had detained the moderate Tunisian leader, Bourguiba, with consequent riots.

Fifteen Asian and Middle Eastern nations took up the diplomatic battle for a Security Council hearing on the Tunisian case which will have a strong bearing on the peace and security of the entire North African area. These nations are: Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Yemen.

Even before the Fifteen had drafted their appeal, Yemen, at the end of February, announced formally that the attitude of the U.S. would determine whether or not the case of Tunisia would be heard. Knowing that official U.S. opinion was being sounded out quietly in advance, Yemen sought to bring out favorable American opinion before too late.

The driving force behind this unorthodox and audacious diplomacy is Dr. Adam Tarcici, who has been Political Adviser to the Yemen Foreign Office for four years, and is now in New York as his country's delegate to the United Nations. Born in Lebanon, and graduated from the Sorbonne in Paris in 1940, Dr. Tarcici was sent to Yemen as head of a Lebanese cultural mission. Yemen's King Saif-islam Ahmed urged him to take up permanent work for the Yemen government; so in 1945 he moved to the picturesque capital at San'a, where he served the government three years as cultural adviser before joining the Foreign office."

Hugo—A Controversy

The world celebrates this year the 150th anniversary of Victor Hugo, one of the greatest writers of France. But his homeland is bitterly divided about his heritage. The Left claims the author of *Les Misérables*, *Cromwell*, and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* as its own, and so does the Right.

The Left stresses the fact that, after the Revolution of 1848, Victor Hugo joined the Constituent Assembly, animating the revolutionaries' fervor with his eloquence; and that, after the reactionary coup d'état of 1851, he left France and stayed abroad as an exile for nineteen years. And the Right recalls that, on some points at least, he did not see eye to eye with the Commune of Paris in 1871, even though he defended the partisans of that second revolution of his life-time when they were being suppressed by the military.

Consequently, France today has two Victor Hugo Anniversary Committees: the one formed by well-known authors of the Left, supported by his only living great-grandson Jean Hugo; the other formed by famous *hommes de lettres* of the Right, who have secured the patronage of the President of France.

In our own country Rabindranath has been claimed as a Rightist or a Leftist, according to the political inclination of the living contestants. And his glory is that he is both and above both as Hugo, Goethe and Tolstoy were.

An English Lady Recalling the Past

Lady Clayton's name is not wholly unfamiliar to us. Her husband started life in India, drifted to Arabia during the first World War, and his lady has tried to recall the past. In an U.S.A. weekly, a review appears of this book; a quotation is made which we share with our readers, as it is amusing today giving voice to the inner sentiments of the old-style 'Anglo-Indian' bureaucrat, civil and military.

"Nationalism, as catching in the Middle East as measles, clamoured in a newspaper racket that gave public life the feeling of a hornet's nest; and it surprised me to see how often the good men of both sides found and liked each other through the torrent that washed about them. Between 1929 and 1932, when her independence and entry into the League of Nations were achieved, Iraq reached a climax of invective and inaccuracy only equalled in Egypt and India. It was not deep-seated, but was irritating like a nettle rash, and was carried on in an outer frame of older, more sporadic but more perennial troubles, of tribes, floods, Kurds and Assyrians."

But the disgust with this region of Asia has not induced her people to shake its dust off their feet. They stick on it like leeches. Why?

Iqbal Day

The last week of April last was celebrated as "Iqbal Day" by numerous admirers of the great Muslim poet. The *Sonar Bangla* of Dacca had certain articles depicting the character of his genius. It must not be forgotten, however, that with all Islam's cosmopolitanism, Iqbal was the poet of Islam during the last 40 years of his life. To the Maulanas and Maulavis he appeared as a *kafir*.

"Zahide Tung Nazar ne miyhe kafir jana
Aur kafir yah samjhte hain Musalman hoom.
main."

[The bigoted religious Maulavi branded me as an unbeliever. But look at the irony of the situation that the unbelievers denounce me as a Muslim.]

The writer of *Hindusthan Hamara* lived to be the prophet of separatism.

The world today honours him because ever so often he transcends the narrow concepts of race and religion and appeals to the progressive mind by his dynamism of thought. He uses Arabic and Persian phrases, no doubt. But who can resist the call to "desperate deed" as Rabindranath wished his people to be roused to.

"It behoves thee to go back to the Arabs:
Thou hast gathered roses from the garden of Persia,

And seen the spring-day of India and Iran.
Now, taste a little of the heat of the desert
Drink the old wine of the date!

Build a nest on the high mountains
A nest embosomed in lightning and thunder,
Loftier than the eagles' eerie,
That thou mayst be fit for Life's battle,
That thy body and soul may burn in Life's fire."

Nazrul Day

Another Bengali poet, Kazi Nazrul Islam, a paralytic whose golden tongue has lost its use, did in the hey-day of his youth utter the same desperate call to duty to man and to the motherland.

Steeped in Islamic thought though Nazrul was, he was no less a student of his Hindu neighbours' ideas and ideals. To this we owe "The Ode to Partha":

"O thou charioteer of Kurukshetra!
Blow, blow thou your Panchajanya conch-shell
trumpet.

Chase away our hearts' weariness, our hearts' weariness!

Put courage into the hearts of the men and women who are afraid.

Strike hard on idleness of spirit and its littlenesses."

To the martyrs to our freedom's cause, Nazrul sent this benediction:

"Those who sang of the victory of Life standing on the scaffold

They stand disembodied by our side to embolden us to make the supreme sacrifice.

Today is the nation's testing time, its call to Freedom . . ."

KASHMIR WITH THE LID OFF

The Sheikh Spoiling for a Fight

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms . . ." —SHAKESPEARE

THIS is not, let me confess, the first occasion that I am writing about Kashmir in these columns: nor, with the Sheikh Sahib in his present obliging mood, is it likely to be the last. What, at the beginning, had been a pellucidly clear issue has, with the passage of time, been made to appear as intricate as a Chinese puzzle; and the longer it takes to be settled the more, needless to say, will it be made to appear so. Unforeseen complications have arisen and confusion has become worse confounded. The unabashed self-interest and the utter narrow-mindedness of the Western nations have obfuscated the original transparency of the problem. The whole affair, by now, well-nigh stinks to heaven and in any other country but our own those responsible for such monumental bungling would have been put in their places long ago. In ours, however, they still flourish like the proverbial green bay tree. We have allowed ourselves to be played on by them as on a stringed instrument.

SLOGANS AND SHIBBOLETHS

I should have imagined that at least on the Kashmir question our people would have screwed their courage to the sticking place, thus inducing the authorities to pay more attention to their opinions than they had been wont to do in the past. I know that the vast majority of them feel very strongly about it and that they are chagrined that their point of view is not shared by their *soi-disant* leaders. They are convinced that these leaders have not, on any issue that has confronted them since their "taking over" from our alien rulers, displayed even that minimum of prescience that is expected of them in the formulation of their policies. The suspicion is rapidly gaining ground that they have rarely, if ever, placed the interests of those over whose destinies an inscrutable Providence has ordained that they should preside above everything else and that, far from that being the case, they have been callous to a degree in the discharge of their sacred obligations towards them. What they have been preoccupied with, on the other hand, is certain stock slogans and shibboleths which they have been exploiting for all that they are worth.

PLAYING TO THE INTERNATIONAL GALLERY

It is evident that if they have been working to a programme it is only the programme of their own

pet notions and fantastic theories which, apparently, age cannot wither nor custom stale. Macaulay, it will be remembered, severely castigated those who, in his day, were so myopic as to put Party before State. Imagination boggles at the thought of what vitriolic expletives, had he been living now, he would have employed with respect to our new "Ma Baps" who have consistently put the aforementioned slogans and shibboleths of theirs before that highest of all democratic ideals, the greatest good of the greatest number. The tragedy of tragedies is that even the Kashmir question has been no exception to that general rule. Playing to the international gallery on every conceivable occasion has been their main concern since coming into power. They have not realised that this incessant obeisance to world opinion—with scant regard for the over-riding interests of their own country—has done us infinite harm in the past and, unless checked in time, will continue to do us incalculable damage in the future as well. The Kashmir issue is a flagrant instance of our Government's insane obsession with what other nations may think of any particular action of theirs. The people's will has not counted, nor, perhaps, if the truth is to be told, have their own innermost convictions.

LORD MOUNTBATTEN'S INFLUENCE

In addition Pandit Nehru appears to have been unduly influenced by Lord Mountbatten—much as he had been unduly influenced by him earlier on the equally crucial subject of partition. With the passing of days it is becoming increasingly clear how disastrous the Nehru-Mountbatten combination has been to our hapless country. One does not need to be inordinately clairvoyant to guess who, in a famous Wodehousian phrase, was the gin in that ginger-beer. It was a case of Mary's little lamb all over again. Lord Mountbatten led and Pandit Nehru simply followed. I have no wish to appear to be the least little bit uncharitable, but the impression one gathers when one reviews recent history is that our beloved Panditji contented himself, more often than not, with playing second fiddle to his illustrious friend.

THE MAN WITH A MISSION

Lord Mountbatten, let us never forget, came out to India with a mission. Any political adole-

scent could have discerned the nature of that mission and the reason for that particular selection. Lord Mountbatten had, in other fields, earned the reputation of being the man who got things done. He was a live wire. There was no difficulty that he could not overcome. He had a flair for finishing his work before its appointed time. The corollary naturally followed that he would not let anything or anyone stand in his way. His mission was the vivisection of our thrice-hallowed land. He came to it like one possessed. His irruption in our midst was like the blowing in of a mighty rushing wind. Quite a lot obviously depended on his hustling everyone to such an extent that none would have sufficient leisure to sit back and think. He did not have sufficient leisure to sit back and think himself. And the partition was completed before people could realise what was confronting them. In the process he rode roughshod over his terms of reference. *His terms of reference had provided for the peaceful exchange of population before the actual "surgical operation."* He would, however, have no truck with such a humane proposition. It might delay the putting through of his noble mission. The essence of his success, as he conceived it, was that not only should there be no available delay but that, as far as lay in his power, he should complete his mission ahead of schedule. And that was how partition became a *fait accompli*. We woke up one fine morning and discovered that the precious geographical unity of our beloved Motherland, about which the late Lord Wavell himself had waxed unusually eloquent in his celebrated address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta in December of 1943, was as dead as the dodo.

THE PANDIT SELLS THE PASS

But it would be well to remember that Lord Mountbatten was not the only villain of the piece. He had an enthusiastic coadjutor in Pandit Nehru. If Pandit Nehru had withheld his consent to that dastardly act there would have been no partition and Lord Mountbatten would have had to return to England with his mission uncompleted—a sadder, if not a wiser, man. Nor was there any overpowering necessity for Pandit Nehru so to oblige him. It was open to him, as a patriotic son of our country, to tell Lord Mountbatten that all was up with his mission and that he had better go while the going was good. But he did not. He chose, instead, to sell the pass. Nor was he in the least apologetic about it. He said "Yes" to the Viceroy without so much as consulting his colleagues on the Congress Working Committee. Nor had he the gumption to moot the point about a plebiscite on the issue. The man who could think of plebiscites where no question of plebiscites could normally arise disastrously failed to think about it on the one occasion where he

should have gone all out to press it on the architect of partition. If Lord Mountbatten deserved to win the first prize as regards that historic event Pandit Nehru deserved no less to win the second prize for having valiantly supported him in his arduous task. Our future Prime Minister gaily informed the A.-I.C.C. meeting that had been hastily convened in New Delhi in June or July of 1947 that the responsibility for partitioning the country was "solely his." He threw his chest out while saying it; and was loudly cheered by the audience for that highly meritorious deed.

KASHMIR

Pandit Nehru offered similar collaboration to Lord Mountbatten in the matter of Kashmir. He signed on the dotted line just as he had done earlier in *l'affaire* partition. It was said of someone that he did not touch anything that he did not adorn: it can be proclaimed with equal truth about his lordship that he did not touch anything that he did not disfigure. The story of Kashmir, like the story of pre-partition days, would have been other than what it is if Lord Mountbatten had not strutted on the Indian political scene just then. Here also he seems to have had a mission: nor did he fail to put it through. He was behind almost every crucial decision. The hapless Maharaja of Kashmir's rather nerve-racking indecision about accession, it now transpires, had been influenced by no less illustrious a personage than the noble lord himself. Lord Mountbatten took the view from the very beginning that Kashmir stood apart from the other States. And that was at the bottom of the initial indecision of the Maharaja, the withholding of military assistance to Kashmir until after accession, the gratuitous tacking on of a promise that there would be a plebiscite subsequently to finalise the accession or otherwise, and the appeal to the U. N. Nor was that all. As Portia said:

"Tarry; there is something else."

When the U. N. sidetracked India's complaint about Pakistani aggression and concentrated its attention on the conditions for the plebiscite and appointed the Kashmir Commission it was Lord Mountbatten who persuaded India to accept it—by "*India*" meaning, of course, *Pandit Nehru*.

A DIABOLICAL RUSE

It appears from Mr. Campbell-Johnson's book, *Mission with Mountbatten*, that it was possible even that Lord Mountbatten wished the Maharaja of Kashmir to accede to Pakistan and that the Maharaja had just enough courage to mark time with a Standstill Agreement. While India never exerted any pressure on the Maharaja to accede to it Pakistan, it should be noted, continuously turned the heat on him to link his lot with that country and, in spite of the Standstill Agreement, applied economic sanctions

against Kashmir with a view to coercing him to do so. It is possible also that Lord Mountbatten, being the astute politician that he is, set his heart on a plebiscite because he hoped that the solid Muslim majority in Kashmir would unhesitatingly plump for accession to Pakistan. The facts seem to be that Lord Mountbatten, while perhaps not openly advising the Maharaja to go over to Pakistan, yet contrived, by sundry subtle ways, to convey such a hint and that his insistence on a declaration that the accession to India was only temporary and was subject to a plebiscite to be held when the alarms and excursions ceased was a diabolical ruse to let Kashmir merge with Pakistan ultimately.

(Incidentally it may be mentioned that even after the Maharaja's accession to India Lord Mountbatten and the British military authorities discouraged, on professional grounds, India's sending her troops to Kashmir. Fortunately the Indian Cabinet overruled their objections—with what salutary results we have since had occasion to see). According to Mr. Campbell-Johnson this suggestion about a plebiscite was not welcomed either by the Maharaja or by the Indian Cabinet. As usual, however, Lord Mountbatten was able to persuade them, *malgré lui*, that was the best course in the circumstances. Mr. Johnson himself has no doubt that the Maharaja's accession was absolutely legal and that there was no point in trying to paint the lily or to throw a perfume on the violet. But Lord Mountbatten chose to think otherwise and by inducing the Maharaja and the Indian Cabinet to toe the line to him in that matter not only encouraged but, in a manner of speaking, instigated the late Quaid-e-Azam to doubt the validity of that accession. His last act in the series was the appeal to U.N. My readers will not fail to notice that both as regards partition and as regards Kashmir the role played by Pandit Nehru was the abject one of passively agreeing to whatever suggestions happened to emanate from the fertile brain of Lord Mountbatten: he appeared to have had no mind or will of his own. When the Kashmir issue came to the forefront Lord Mountbatten was not the Viceroy but the Governor-General; yet he was the real ruler even then and Pandit Nehru, though even then he was the Prime Minister, occupied an inferior position. The story is not without a moral.

I have written at such length on the subject of Lord Mountbatten's double mission because I am convinced that it throws not only a revealing but also a lurid light on the occurrences in our country during the last six years and not least on the Kashmir imbroglio.

JOLTS FROM FRIENDLY QUARTERS

I have written that with the passage of time the Kashmir issue is becoming more and more complicated.

The initial complication, I need hardly stress, arose out of our benign Government's taking it to the U.N. merely to satisfy the private whim of an *ex-satrap*. Since then the complications have multiplied a thousandfold. But these have been exclusively the doing of the U.N. We had asked for them. By now we are rather used to these than otherwise; and perhaps we should be feeling that there was something seriously amiss if the U. N. stopped throwing its weight about and making the gruel "thick and slab." Habit makes one inured to disasters. But these disasters, for the most part, come from outside. It is when they come *from within* that we receive the jolts of our lives. For some time now we have been receiving such jolts as far as Kashmir is concerned. It is those whom we have been regarding as our friends and even as our brothers who have stabbed us in the back. No U. N. Commission and no U. N. Mediator has administered such a rude shock to us as Sheikh Abdullah, the uncrowned King of Kashmir, has recently been doing. The Sheikh has admirers galore in India, but I have a hunch that their serried ranks will be becoming appreciably thinner ere many summers pass.

"COCKING A SNOOK"

If I am not mistaken he has, of late, been modelling himself on the lines of our own beloved Panditji. The Pandit's popularity, surprisingly enough, persists in spite of his irritating theatricalities, which are many and varied. Personally I detest them "more than somewhat," but I cannot deny that there are still many who adore him notwithstanding these serious blemishes. I am not so certain about the durability of Sheikh Abdullah's popularity. Mere tantrums do not make a politician. The Sheikh will do well to think again. Biting the hand that feeds him is decidedly not the way of building up an enduring fame. "Cocking a snook" at India—however "secular" it may be—is also decidedly not a way of building up an enduring fame. A State may be "secular" and yet be in a position not to stand any nonsense from any one least of all from a trusted friend. But, of course, no hard and fast rules can be laid down on this interesting and instructive theme because, since this huge globe of ours began spinning on its axis, there has, so far, been only one "secular" State—to wit, our own—and any number of persons who have conceived it their life's mission to "cock a snook" at it with impunity. Still, on principle no difference should be made between "secular" and "non-secular" States in this matter and I hold that "cocking a snook" is bad in itself, quite irrespective of against whom that supreme mark of disrespect is being directed. No one—not even a Sheikh—ought to take undue advantage of our State's reputed "secularism."

On April 10 at a place called Ranbirsinghpura,

13 miles from Jammu, Sheikh Abdullah addressed a meeting and, while doing so, dropped a veritable bombshell. It has fluttered many Central Secretariat doves and Pandit Nehru himself was compelled to issue a delicate warning to his *chela* that that sort of thing had not been expected of him of all people. But before coming to that I should like to make it clear that there was nothing out of the way in that speech since, during the last two years or so, he has been harping on the same theme off and on—with more or less emphasis as it suited him.

THE PARIS VISIT

The recent statements of Sheikh Abdullah in London and in Bombay as well as Mrs. Kusum Nair's *verbatim* report of her interview with him published in the *Times of India* of February 15 are not a little revealing inasmuch as they are nothing less than unmistakable pointers to the shape of things to come. The Kashmir issue is fast assuming a "new look" and it is high time we began taking notice of the more remarkable changes in its visage. Sheikh Abdullah is the undisputed ruler of Kashmir and what he says (and when he says it) are on that account invested with an importance beyond the ordinary.

The Paris visit appears to have mellowed him to an extraordinary extent and his tributes to the U. N. and to its representative and the expression of his unlimited confidence in both are in striking contrast with some of his previous challenging utterances.

Probably the years with him, as with Wordsworth, have brought the philosophic mind and we see the former "fiery particle" burgeoning before our eyes into a sort of Brother Cheerybyle. Only the sky is the limit for his present benevolence towards the world organisation. That is all, doubtless, to the good, but some of us still remember his scorching invective of an earlier day with respect to that organisation no less than his violent antipathy to Dr. Graham's setting foot on Kashmir soil. But perhaps it is no use recalling old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago.

RESURRECTION OF AN OLD IDEA

But two or three serious points emerge from his recent published views. One is what seems to me the resurrection of an old idea of his that gained wide currency a year or so ago. In a mood of unconcealed impatience he virtually cried, "A plague on both your Houses" (that is, India and Pakistan), and eagerly plumped for an "independent" Kashmir. That fairly took the breath away of even the staunchest of his supporters and the result was that in due course he had to issue a flat denial of that report. A sufficient amount of oil having thus been poured on the troubled diplomatic waters, the affair was nearly forgotten and events resumed the even tenor of their ways.

But now the Sheikh comes along and makes a statement in London on the eve of his departure for India that, in his opinion, "more might have been achieved towards a settlement if the U.N. had paid greater attention to the wishes and aspirations of the people of Kashmir." "Expanding" his views to "the measure of his intention," in Walter's Pater's beautiful phrase, he proceeded to say that "it sometimes seemed to him that the objective of the U. N. was to satisfy India and Pakistan rather than the people of Kashmir."

The question naturally arises since when he has been nursing such a gnawing grievance against India. Another question that similarly arises is what separate status, after its Instrument of Accession in October, 1947, whereby it legally became a limb of India, Kashmir possesses apart from India. If one proposes to talk of grievances the boot, I am afraid, is bound to be on the other leg.

It is, however, not considered "good form" to talk of certain matters in our country and I could have wished that just as we, on our side, have been submitting to that self-denying ordinance without any undue fuss those in Kashmir had also been submitting to it with the same uncomplaining meekness. It is not always easy to follow Sheikh Abdullah's intricate processes of thought, but is it not possible that by employing the words that he did he was merely reviving his earlier idea of a thoroughly "independent" Kashmir that, for some reasons, had, shortly after being mooted, to be put in cold storage?

LET US KNOW THE TRUTH

We, Indians, are by now pretty well fed up with the inexpressibly tortuous course the Kashmir dispute has taken in the U.N. councils and have no longer any illusions either about the outcome of that dispute or about the benefits that India stands to derive from even that limited accession of that State to it which Pandit Nehru, in the plenitude of his wisdom, has deemed sufficient—unlike in the case of the remaining States where the accession is complete and where there is no hocuspocus of any kind.

TWO VOICES

Kashmir leaders have, of late, been speaking in two voices and not all of them share the views of Sheikh Abdullah. There is Mr. G. M. Sadiq, for instance, who has been incessantly holding forth on the subject and not in a pianissimo key, either. He boldly asks India to take the case out of the U.N. and he shares the suspicion of M. Jacob Malik of Russia that the Western nations have been making of Kashmir a pawn on the international chessboard in the interests of their "cold war" strategy. Mr. Sadiq opines also that India would be committing a tragic

mistake if she were to withdraw her troops from Kashmir.

According to him, that would be an open invitation to the tribal hordes, with the active connivance of Pakistan, to overrun the sacred soil of Kashmir once more. It is evident that the divergence of opinion between Sheikh Abdullah and his colleague on this matter is very wide indeed and the gulf dividing them nearly unbridgeable. The former, as I have pointed out above, complained in London the other day that the U.N. has been consulting the views only of India and Pakistan and not of the people of Kashmir. May I politely enquire from him who represents the views of the people of Kashmir more correctly: himself or Mr. Sadiq? Or do the people of Kashmir think differently from both?

Further, now that there seems to be some talk about the creation of an "independent" Kashmir again, how does Sheikh Abdullah propose to reconcile it with an earlier conviction of his that that creation is not feasible alike in the context of the existing East-West tension and in that of the inexorable economic factors that govern the world today?

THE WHEEL COMES FULL CIRCLE

I have endeavoured, in the foregoing paragraphs, to relate the stage-by-stage development of Sheikh Abdullah's views with respect to the position of Kashmir *vis-a-vis* India. He had toyed with the idea of complete independence, then gave it up as a bad job owing, presumably, to lack of the requisite encouragement from persons higher up, and recently began resurrecting it again for reasons we are not in a position to guess. Though opinion on this is not unanimous in Kashmir, as evidenced by the statements of Mr. G. M. Sadiq, the Sheikh has been able to secure the support of Mirza Afzal Beg, Chairman of the Basic Principles Committee of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly who, speaking on March 24 in Jammu on a motion on the Assembly's first winter session, asking for four months' extension of time for the presentation of the Committee's report, declared that "the Jammu and Kashmir State would be an autonomous Republic within the Indian Union." The Kashmir Premier himself stated unequivocally in the Constituent Assembly on March 29 that "neither the Indian Parliament nor any other Parliament outside the State has any jurisdiction over our State." He proceeded:

"Certain organisations of landlords in the State have argued that our Constituent Assembly is not a fully sovereign body. No country—neither India nor Pakistan—can put any spoke in the wheel of our progress." (My italics).

THE SHEIKH WAXES COMMUNAL

It was but a step from this to his historic address on April 10 at Ranbirsinghpura referred to above by

me which has rattled to no small extent even such a staunch supporter of him and of his policies as Pandit Nehru himself. There is no doubt that it is a landmark in Indo-Kashmir relations. From now on things cannot be the same as before between India and Kashmir unless (which is very problematical) our Prime Minister musters sufficient courage to pull up the Sheikh Sahib and to put him in his place. Our objections to the latter's extremely provocative speech are many, but the principal one is that it was so unashamedly communal. For all the "secularism" that he spouts he can never forget either that he is a Muslim or that the majority community in Kashmir is Muslim. His communalism breaks out like a rash over the whole body of his oration. He speaks as a Muslim to the Hindus of India, but with a difference. While he keeps prominently in his mind that the Muslims of Kashmir, as the majority community, must be the privileged citizens of that State he is not concerned to remember that what is sauce for the Muslim majority goose in Kashmir is sauce for the Hindu majority gander in India as well.

The Muslims ever since India began flaunting her "secularism" before the entire world, have missed no opportunity of lecturing Hindus on the evils of communalism. That is "rich," as Mr. Squeers would have said. It would appear that what is merely "secularism" for a Muslim is rank "communalism" for a Hindu. It is, for instance, "secularism" for a Muslim if, on the strength of his forming part of the majority community, he drives the Hindus in his State from pillar to post and generally harasses them to the top of his bent. The point is that it is supposed to be the most natural thing for him to do in the circumstances—the circumstances, that is, of his forming part of the majority community. It comes within the ambit of "secularism." Not so, however, with the poor Hindu. Where he belongs to the majority community he should not only not harass the Muslim minority community but should be careful to be on his best behaviour towards it. He should not even mention the word "Hindu" either by accident or by design.

DICTATING TERMS TO INDIA

I think the time has come for us to indulge in a little plain-speaking on the subject. Sheikh Abdullah charges India with being communal. He dictates terms to India. Unless the last vestige of communalism is shed in India Kashmir's accession to India, he insists, must be of a severely restricted nature. The question arises since when he has become the cock of the walk in Indian affairs. The point is not whether communalism is rampant in India. It is not, as it happens. But it is extraneous to the issue. The point is: "Where does the Sheikh Sahib get off? What is his *locus standi*? And what is 'communalism'?" Are

we Hindus—even in India—to efface ourselves completely and make way for the Muslims? Does he pretend to be “secular” when he says in that speech of his at Ranbirsinghpura:

“I would like to warn those who talk lightly of Kashmir's complete accession to India in all subjects that they are fanning the fires of conflict once again. For instance, if there is no special status for Kashmir in the Indian Constitution how can we go to the Muslims in Kashmir and convince them that India does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of Kashmir? I am not saying India will interfere in our affairs. But there is something called sentiment which has to be recognised. We have acceded to India in defence, foreign affairs and communications and not in other subjects because we want some kind of autonomy for ourselves in internal matters. Now some people here and in the Indian press have started questioning our very fundamental right to shape our destiny in our own way. They do not tell us what will happen to Kashmir if there is a resurgence of communalism in India and how we are to convince the Muslims of Kashmir that India does not intend to swallow up Kashmir.” (My italics).

THE PANDIT TO BLAME

To be fair to Sheikh Abdullah he is not entirely to blame for this *faux pas*. The blame must be laid at the door of our beloved Panditji. It was from him that the Sheikh caught the contagion. After all it will never do for us to forget that the Sheikh is a *chela* of the Pandit. He not only apes the Pandit's tantrums but copies his slogans as well. It was our Prime Minister-cum-Congress President who, if I may be permitted to say so,

*“Broke the silence of the seas
Amidst the farthest Hebrides”*

by embarking on a raging and tearing campaign against what he was pleased to call “Hindu communalism” during the recent elections. That was his principal contribution to the gruelling contests in which the Congress was engaged; and it paid that organisation handsome dividends in the end. The electorate—or a very large section of it—implicitly believed the stories that the Pandit put about regarding the manifold sins of “the Hindu communal bodies” and routed them to its heart's content. But the end does not justify the means and the means employed by him, as he must have known himself, were detestable in the extreme. The mud that he hurled at these bodies has stuck. The Muslims—of Pakistan as well as of India—have not been slow to take advantage of it; and the Sheikh Sahib has but brought up the rear of that imposing procession. Had Pandit Nehru—with the object of scoring off the rival parties—not stooped so low as to spread such wanton lies about “Hindu communalism” the ground would have been cut from under the feet of Sheikh Abdullah to deliver his

April 10th ultimatum to India—for an ultimatum it undoubtedly is.

STIRRING A HORNETS' NEST

Even as it is the Sheikh's speech has shaken the country from end to end and one wonders how tremendous our reaction would have been if it had dropped out of a clear sky, as it were—I mean, if Pandit Nehru's malicious propaganda against the Hindus had not preceded it. But now the Sheikh Sahib can well take shelter under the Pandit's capacious umbrella. We can but hope that the latter has realised, even at this admittedly late hour, what a hornets' nest he has stirred. He has been doing nothing else of late than playing into the hands of the Muslims here as well as across the border and he could not have done more for Pakistan if he had “tried with both hands,” as Humpty Dumpty would have put it. Most Muslims are communal as the sea is salt and it is but natural, they being what they are, to spring at any chance to be “agin” the Hindus. But these considerations, of course, have never weighed with the Pandit in the past and are not likely to weigh with him in the future either,—although there is a ray of hope that they may in view of his delicate hint to Sheikh Abdullah that his speech did not “amuse him.”

THE SHEIKH RETURNS TO THE CHARGE

Apropos of this delicate hint it would be well to bear in mind that it does not, in its turn, seem to have “amused” the Sheikh Sahib: for if it did he would not have dared to return to his previous charge, as a dog returns to its vomit, in his later speech at Hazratbal, five miles from Srinagar, on April 18. Reiterating his complaint about “Hindu communalism” he declared:

“People in India cannot say that in West Punjab alone Muslims killed non-Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs of East Punjab committed worse atrocities on Muslims.”

Now, this question needs looking into a little. Does the Sheikh Sahib really intend to convey that we on our side should meekly submit to Muslim atrocities and that we should not retaliate at any time and place? Is the blame to be laid at the door of those who begin atrocities or at the door of those who, when the ball of atrocities has been set rolling by someone, just courteously return it over the net? The law itself says that the punishment should fit the crime. The whole point is that Pakistan has not received the punishment from India that fits its crime. If it had it would not have dared to repeat its sanguinary performances so very often. That there is no communalism in India on the Hindu side is amply borne out by the fact that the 40 millions of Muslims in India are as safe here as the Muslims of

Pakistan are there. Can it be said that even now the Hindus of Pakistan—the few that are still allowed to be there, that is—are equally safe?

MINORITIES' CONDITION IN EAST BENGAL

Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Dutta, Member of the Pakistan Parliament from East Bengal stated in Karachi on March 18 that the position of the minorities in Pakistan, especially in East Pakistan, was “exasperating.” He suggested that the Pakistan Government should enter into an agreement with the Indian Government for “a speedy but peaceful exchange of population.” Speaking during the debate on the Finance Bill in Parliament he said: “As days pass we (minorities) feel more and more depressed.” Addressing Pakistan's Prime Minister he proceeded:

“What is the good of keeping these ten millions of human beings (minority population in East Bengal is placed at around ten million) perpetually under such a nerve-racking sense of insecurity, uncertainty and helplessness under such an unrelenting pressure of an administration armed to the teeth with unrestricted power of law or absolutism or whatever you may call it? Won't it be more honest and human to tell us that we are not wanted here? Or, better still come to an agreement with the Indian Government and let there be a speedy but peaceful exchange of population.”

TURNING THE SEARCH-LIGHT INWARDS

My point is that Sheikh Abdullah does wrong to the Hindus of India when he lectures to them on “secularism.” If he wishes to hold forth on the subject he should address his thought-provoking remarks to Pakistan: they are wasted on India because we have so much of “secularism” here that we can afford, for instance, to export quantities of it to the Sheikh Sahib himself and to his Kashmir. For what he has been doing in Jammu can, with no stretch of imagination, be called “secularism.” Since he has been ranting so much on it he would do well to turn the search-light inwards and re-examine his and his officers' actions there “... with calm of mind, all passion spent.” The harassment that the minorities in Kashmir have been receiving at his and their hands ought to put to shame any government that professes to be civilised. If he is so very much convinced about the rightness of his conduct why is he fighting shy of instituting an impartial enquiry into the happenings there recently? The students' strike, as a matter of fact, was merely an excuse for him and his minions to come down with a very heavy hand, indeed, on the Praja Parishad Party, which is Hindu and which has all along wished for the accession of Kashmir to India to be complete. The testing-ground of “secularism” is Kashmir, not

India; and the test has already failed miserably. Had I had sufficient space at my command I could have quoted extracts after extracts in proof of the “leonine violence” of the Kashmir authorities in Jammu during the past few months. But I have not and so can but touch the fringe of the subject.

Some time ago Sheikh Abdullah accused the virtually deposed Maharaja of Kashmir of acting secretly in league with Pakistan and plotting against his (the Sheikh's) regime in Kashmir. The Maharaja promptly denied the foul accusation. Sheikh Abdullah asserted in reply that he had evidence in his possession to prove it. But so far that evidence has not been forthcoming. After this he is a fool who takes the Sheikh's charges seriously.

As for the so-called complete independence of Kashmir the final word has been said by Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, a retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who asserted a short time ago that “the sovereignty of Kashmir ended with accession.” And as for Kashmir not acceding to India completely unless “communalism” is eradicated here to the Sheikh Sahib's fullest satisfaction, our reply should be that when Kashmir acceded to India no such condition had been laid down and that that is not at all pertinent to the issue. The Sheikh will be well-advised, in the vulgar phrase, to keep his breath to cool his porridge.

THE THIN END OF THE WEDGE?

It was only the other day that Mr. Gopala-swamy Ayyangar had been impelled to advise the leaders of Kashmir to be a little more circumspect in their utterances. Apparently this adjuration did not apply to the topmost leader of them all. Or, perhaps, Sheikh Abdullah's ventilation of his views is by way of “cocking a snook” at the distinguished Minister of States. Be this as it may, it is all to the good that he has at last, casting discretion to the winds, decided to come out into the open and to stake all on an undisguised challenge to India. It is a moot point, however, whether under the conditions now prevailing, India will be prepared to take up the challenge. One wonders what tests he chooses to apply in the matter of satisfying himself that, to adopt his own picturesque idiom, “the grave of communalism has been finally dug in India.” One wonders also whether, at the hectic pace at which he has of late been going, the time may not arrive when he will be disposed to consider it feasible, in the light of this same “communalism,” to switch over Kashmir's at present semi-demi-hemi accession to India to an unqualified accession to Pakistan—all the more so as, obviously, he moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform.

SOIL PROBLEM IN INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

THE importance of the study of the Indian soils cannot be over-emphasized specially when agriculture forms the predominant occupation of the majority of our countrymen. The agriculturists, horti-culturists and the forest officers are all in a way connected intimately with the question of the soils. For unless the nature of the soils is properly understood, it is not possible to derive maximum of the produce from the soils.

For our purpose we can divide Indian soils into two types: (1) Soils of the Indo-Gangetic Plain, and (2) Soils of the Peninsular India.

(1) SOILS OF THE INDO-GANGETIC PLAIN

Indo-Gangetic Plains have the alluvial soils which are more fertile. They occur in the greater part of Northern India between the foot of the Himalayas and the northern slopes of the Vindhyas and extend in a narrow fringe round the coast line of the peninsula, increasing in width from the Western Ghats or the tableland of Central India. Territorially they cover the greater part of Sind (now in Pakistan), northern Rajputana, East Punjab, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, East and West Bengal, half of Assam and of the East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna and Tanjore districts of the Madras Presidency. The whole of the vast Gangetic Plain comprises nearly 300,000 square miles whose width varies from 300 miles in the west to 90 miles in the east, while the depth as far as can be ascertained exceeds 1,600 feet below the ground surface.

These soils are derived mainly from the debris brought down from the Himalayas or from the silt left by the old sea which has not retreated. These soils are deficient in nitrate and humus, but they are rich in potash, lime and magnesia. The percentage of phosphoric acid in the oven-dry soil varies from .005 to .02, and in humus it varies from .08 to .09. The percentage of potash varies between .1 and .35 while that of lime is less than 1.0.¹ These soils are of marvellous fertility, consisting of heavy rich loams producing under irrigation splendid crops of rice and sugarcane. In fact a wide variety of Rabi and Kharif crops is grown.

These soils differ in different parts of the country in physical texture and chemical properties. In Northern India, it is dry, porous and in some places

sandy, giving rise to the crops not requiring the retention of a great deal of moisture about their roots. In Bengal, it becomes more compact, less coarse and moist where rice, jute and sugarcane are largely cultivated, while in the Peninsular India it is actually clayey and dark in colour.

The alluvial soils may be further divided into newer alluvium and older alluvium. The former is found on the level plain above the flood level of the main rivers and their tributaries. They contain clay in admixture with particles of quartz and mica and become a loam or sandy loam; while the latter soil is confined to terraces and the flood level plains of the rivers. It is composed chiefly of sand, silt, mud and clay. In the bed of the channel, usually sand and sandy loam occur but on the adjoining flat ground both fine loam and clayey loam are to be observed.

The deltaic soils of the Ganges and the Indus are more or less a continuation of the alluvial soils of the valleys, with the only distinction that they are richer in humus content. Owing to the repeated bifurcations of the soils some soils are very humid, almost water-logged. During flood fine fertile silt is deposited. These lands, therefore, are very favourable for paddy and jute cultivation especially in the deltaic lands of the Ganges.

The alkaline soils are to be found in certain parts of the northern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, East and West Punjab, and Rajasthan, which have been rendered uncultivable due to impregnation of saline and alkaline compounds in the upper soils. These soils are called *reh* or *kallar* in U.P. and the East Punjab respectively, while such land is known as *Usar* or *Kallar* land. These soils occupy lands in the districts of Saharanpur, Mathura, Aligarh, covering over 5 million acres in U.P. and nearly 300 square miles in the Punjab. Similarly large land areas are subject to salinity of sea water in Bengal, Gujarat and the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The plant food and the calcium content differ greatly within these deposits. The percentage of oven-dry alluvial soil varies from .03 to .103 of nitrogen, .3 to .7 of potash, .03 to .13 of phosphoric acid, and .3 to 2.0 of lime.² The salt is transported in solution (consisting of carbonates, sulphates of calcium and magnesium) by the Himalaya rivers, which later on percolate in the subsoil of plains. This salt goes

on accumulating in the areas of arid climate and insufficient surface drainage; during the dry seasons the soluble salts are sucked up in solution by capillary action to the surface and are deposited there in the form of white efflorescence. The alkaline soils are deficient in calcium and nitrogen and are highly impervious.

The soil in Western Rajasthan owes its origin to wind and hence, it is largely wind-blown soil consisting of sand which is sterile but wherever water is available from deep wells for irrigation some cultivation particularly of bajra and barley is carried on.

(2) SOILS OF THE PENINSULAR INDIA

The Peninsular India is the most ancient land-mass of India and hence, its soils are very old and fully matured. These soils show a great variation in their texture, structure, moisture and humus content. These soils are divided into three types *vis.*, (a) Red Soil, (b) Black Cotton Soil and (c) Laterite Soil.

(a) *Red or Crystalline Soils* have been derived from the crystalline or metamorphic rocks and are believed to be of sedimentary origin. These soils are characteristic of tropical regions. Their red colour is due to the presence of ferric-oxide. It happens that during the capillary action the iron oxide is precipitated after the evaporation of water. These soils cover an extensive area in the Peninsular India comprising the whole of Madras, Mysore, South-East of Bombay Presidency and extend through the east of Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh to Orissa and Chota Nagpur. Northward the red soil area extends into the greater part of the Santhal Parganas and the Birbhum district of Bengal, Mirzapur, Jhansi and Hamirpur districts of Uttar Pradesh, and the Baghelkhand state of Madhya Bharat, the Aravallis and the eastern half of Rajasthan.

In these widely dispersed tracts, red soils differ greatly in consistency, depth and fertility. On the uplands the soils are poor, thin and gravelly, sandy or stony and light-coloured, on which food crops like bajra can be grown. But on the lower plains they are rich, deep and dark-brown or black-coloured fertile loam on which under irrigation can be produced excellent crops. Red soils are rich in potash and lime. The percentage of phosphoric acid in the oven-dry soil varies from .005 to .02 and in humus it varies from .08 to .09. The percentage of potash varies between .1 and .35 while that of the lime is less than one.

(b) *The Black Cotton Soil or Regur* is the name given to this type of soil because of its colour and its suitability to the cultivation of cotton and is endowed literally with inexhaustible fertility. It

extends over the greater part of the Bombay province, inner parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar, Berar, Madhya Bharat, and the districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddappah, Coimbatore, Salem, Tinnevelly, and also Madras.

The black cotton soil has been divided into two main varieties *viz.*, the black soil associated with the Deccan Trap and the black soil of Madras. These soils are highly retentive of moisture and extremely sticky when wet and rich in chemical properties.³ These soils are highly argillaceous and contain a very high proportion of calcium and magnesium carbonates and are also fairly rich in iron, lime and aluminium. The nitrogen content is very low, .02 to .05 per cent, phosphoric acid .08 to .2 per cent, potash varies from .8 to .15 and that of lime is between 1.0 to 7.7.

In the dry season the damp soil contracts producing the wide deep fissures which house scorpions and snakes. This soil is so rich in plant food that cultivation has been carried on here for thousands of years without the use of any sort of manure. The greatest fertility of the soil occurs in such parts where its greatest depth is about 20 feet. Near the margins and on the slopes the soils are thin and the rocks underlying it generally appear on the surface.

(c) *The laterite soil* is a porous clayey rock found on the summits of the basaltic hills and plateaus of Madhya Bharat, along the Eastern and Western Ghats and in Assam. The distinguishing feature of these soils is their acidity. These soils vary in quality. On the higher level of the hills and the plateaus they are exceedingly thin and gravelly with little power to retain moisture. On the lower plains and in the river valley they are dark, heavy loams and clays which readily retain moisture and produce good crops. These soils are deficient in potash, phosphoric acid and lime but humus is present in quantities decidedly better than in most other Indian soils, while the nitrogen content in oven-dry soil vary from .01 to .04 per cent, their marked acidity is due to almost total absence of lime and magnesium.

Thus it will be apparent from what is given below how widely even the plant food and calcium content of the four main soil types differ among themselves:⁴

Alluvial Soils: Nitrogen .03 to .103; Potash .3 to .7; Phosphoric acid .08 to .13; and Lime 3 to 210.

Regur Soils: Nitrogen .02 to .05; Potash .15 to .8; Phosphoric acid .08 to .20; and Lime 1.0 to 7.7.

Red Soils: Nitrogen .005 to .02; Potash .1 to

1. Baljit Singh: *Whether Agriculture in India*, p. 24.

2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 23.

3. P. N. Banerjee: *Indian Economics*, p. 10.

4. *Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Corps and Soils Wing of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India (1936)*, p. 231.

.35; Phosphoric acid .08 to .09; and Lime less than 1.0.
Laterite Soils: Nitrogen .01 to .04; Potash .1 to .4; Phosphoric acid .01 to .08; and Lime less than 1.0.

THE PROBLEM OF SOIL EROSION

The cutting away of the soil particles either by rain or strong wind currents is called soil erosion. Several agents like the sun, the rain, running water, sea waves and the wind are responsible for the denudation of the land. Heavy rainfall or rainwater, if it is not properly controlled, has a tendency to run off the surface which percolates into the soil towards the drainage lines after washing away the most valuable and fine particles of the soil and a large part of the organic matter. Soil erosion is caused by many factors. They may be briefly discussed here.

(1) *The concentration of rainfall*: During the rainy season when heavy rainfall beats down on the surface of the earth and loose particles of the soil, the formation of deep ravines is an established fact. The more concentrated and intensive the showers the more forcefully it will strike the surface and the greater will be the run-off erosion.

(2) *The general slope of the ground*: On a steeper slope the soil is washed away much more rapidly than on a gentler slope. On the steeper slopes landslips and landslides due to percolation of water and the instability of slopes owing to gravity will be common and frequent. In places where the ground is flat, the erosion has more pronounced effects as in the peninsular parts of India particularly in C.P. and Bundelkhand than in the alluvial plains of the Ganga. In the plains owing to the flatness of the surface the fine soils are washed away, without being noticed, from every part of the surface of the fields.

(3) *The nature of the soil*: It also affects soil erosion. Light open soil lose more silt than heavier loams. Heavy black cotton soils, which swell up when wetter, are probably not denuded as rapidly as the lighter soils found in the peninsula. The dry tracts are also affected by the water which rushes over them. Again, the soft shale and sandstone erode more readily than limestone and granite and hence erosion is greater in the Siwaliks than in the Gurgaon Hills (Delhi). The silt carried by water also aids in soil erosion. By abrasion or friction it increases both lateral and vertical erosion, i.e., both on the sides and on the bed stream. The greatest loss due to soil erosion occurs when the ground is bare of vegetation.

TYPES OF SOIL EROSION

The soil is chiefly eroded in two ways, viz., by sheet erosion and gully erosion.

(1) In sheet erosion the soil is eroded as the

layer from the hill slopes, sometimes slowly and insidiously and sometimes more rapidly. Such erosion is the result of the reckless felling down of the timber, over-grazing and shifting cultivation or the improper terracing of flat fields. Sheet erosion is more or less universal on all bare fallow lands on all uncultivated lands whose plant cover has been thinned out by grazing, fire or other misuse; on all sloping cultivated fields and on sloping forests and scrub jungles whose natural fertility of soil has been reduced by heavy grazing, clear felling of trees or burning.*

(2) In gully erosion the water forms small rivulets which wash away the soil from gullies. First, there is the main ravine and then side rivulets form lateral gullies. The phenomenon once started, and if not checked, goes on extending and ultimately the whole land is converted into a 'badland topography.' Gully erosion is more common (1) where the river system has cut down into elevated plateaus so that feeders and branches carve out an intricate pattern of gullies; (2) in relatively level country wherever large blocks of cultivation give rise to concentration of field run-off; and (3) besides these two types there is also wind erosion which works havoc in sandy parts of Western Rajputana and Western U.P. leading to a great waste of cultivable land and producing nothing but sand-dunes. Roads, railways and other works frequently divert natural drainage and concentrate it so that serious gullying results. In India, it is common in Siwaliks, the Jamuna and the Chambal rivers of U.P.

CAUSES OF SOIL EROSION

What takes Nature hundreds or even thousands of years to manufacture man can and often does destroy almost overnight by haphazard land use and improvident husbandry. Jacks and Whyte have rightly remarked that

"Cultivation, deforestation or destruction of natural vegetation by grazing or other means unless carried out according to certain immutable conditions imposed by each region may so accelerate denudation that soil, which would normally be washed or blown away in a century, disappears within a year or even within a day!"

Failures of rain, floods, depopulation and loss of cattle caused by famine and pestilence, disturbances caused by war and interference with or change in the natural drainage system have had their deleterious effect on our soils at some time or other. Soils and forests grow gradually. Even in favourable conditions a soil layer of suitable depth requires about

5. N. P. C.'s Report on Soil Conservation and Afforestation, p. 73.

6. *The Rape of the Earth*: "A World Survey of Soil Erosion," p. 20.

a hundred years for natural growth and generally it takes longer. A forest cannot be created in less than thirty years. But both may be and have been lost in an incredibly short time either as a direct consequence or injudicious interference by man or indirectly from his neglect or lack of knowledge or of supervision. A hill-top capped with a magnificent forest harbouring flora and fauna of inestimable economic and aesthetic value soon becomes a bare piece of rock through shifting cultivation or uncontrolled grazing or other unsound methods of land utilisation. A flourishing farm if deserted soon becomes a ruin and it takes long to refashion it to its former state of productivity where this happens to be at all possible. Even frequent changes of human personnel managing it or their lack of interest have deleterious effect on the soil. Let us examine these factors in some detail.

(1) DEFORESTATION

The chief agency of soil erosion is man who helps erosion by changing the vegetation-cover. But the destruction of forest-covers by deliberate human interference leads to increased run-off of rain water and its diminished seepage and storage in the soil. The decomposing forest litter is no longer replenished by fresh falls of leaves or decaying roots and plant remains, and the soil organic matter and other plant nutrients gradually diminish. The structure of the soil suffers; the run-off increases, loosens the soil and transports it; deposits nearer the scene of destruction and finer particles go to make the streams turbid to be deposited far away. The increased run-off especially after heavy downpours comes in sudden rush and often gets blocked in the silted streams. The water develops power enough to cause devastating floods.

Forests have been ruthlessly and continuously destroyed for the supply of timber and fuel for increasing population and shifting cultivation. In a natural forest the roots of the trees go deep into the soil and penetrate into the cracks and interstices of the rocks which they help to rend apart. There is also an undergrowth of bushes, shrubs, grasses and annual herbs which drop their leaves and decay to form a mat of humus which covers the soil. The force of rain is broken by the leaves of trees and the carpet of vegetation, while surface covering of soil and the humus soak up the rain water like sponge and let it sink into the ground to emerge later on in springs and streams. When rain falls gently the whole is absorbed; in violent storms, when the rate of precipitation is greater than the rate of absorption, the flow of storm-water over the surface of the soil is impeded by the soil covering and the violence of the floods in the streams is lessened. The roots of the trees, bushes and herbage are intertwined to form a great net which binds the soil together and keeps it in place.

(2) DESTRUCTION AND OVERGRAZING OF PASTURES

Permanent grassy areas also afford some check in the actual erosion of the soil. A properly managed, lightly grazed pasture might form a permanent protection to the soil because it provides an efficient cover for preventing erosion and reducing run-off inasmuch as it covers the surface of the ground, protecting it from the direct impact of the falling rain-drops and thus keeping the pores of the soil open and capable of receiving excessive amounts of water. But whenever there is over-grazing as has been the case in the rainier parts of India where grasslands are lushed with monsoon grass but in the hot season when the sun is fierce and the growth of grass stands still there is lack of herbage; as the teaming herbivora pushed by hunger graze the pasture bare to the bone the soil becomes uncovered; as the grass over-grazed becomes worn and thin, rain-drops begin to fall directly on the soil puddling the surface and clogging up the pores with mud, infiltration into the soil is reduced and the run-off of the water increases. All this invariably leads to a deterioration in botanical composition and an increase in the growth of weeds as well as to an increase in the area of bare ground. This over-grazing has done much harm particularly in the western Himalayas and the foothills and eastern Rajputana.

Besides over-grazing, grazers are permitted to lop trees for fodder provided that the trees are not lopped to death, but in practice the trees are lopped right to the top. Due to frequent cutting of thorn branches for fencing and lopping of trees for fodder, deforestation gradually occurs and it becomes a fruitful source of soil erosion. The combination of present unrestricted grazing and browsing of local animals often accompanied by seasonal grazing of nomadic herds of buffaloes and flocks of sheep and goats, and lopping in an arid climate (western Rajputana and the contiguous portion of eastern Rajputana) is more than what hardy species of trees can stand and, therefore, it is disappearing from a landscape already devastated by erosion.*

(3) SHIFTING CULTIVATION

Man's ruthless destruction of the forest for shifting cultivation has also decreased the area under forest. Shifting or Jhumming cultivation is chiefly practised by the primitive tribes for raising food for them. According to this system of farming, a patch of forest is selected. Its trees and bushes are then cut and burnt down on the ground in order to clear room for a field. The ground is, then, lightly ploughed and the seed is sown broadcast and raked into the

7. H. C. Glover: *Soil Erosion*, p. 8 (Rp.).

8. R. P. Singh: "Soil Erosion in Rajputana" in *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 105.

soil, at the first fall of the rains, which is immensely fertile owing to the wood ashes and accumulated humus. After two or three years' crop the soil is exhausted so that the crops are so poor as not to repay the labour of cultivation, and then another felling takes place and the first is abandoned. The woods are set on fire annually to improve and open out the grass for pasture, or to facilitate bear hunting. Such a type of nomadic cultivation is known as *Taungya* in Burma, *Jhum* in Assam, *Podu* and *Dahya* in Central Provinces, *Khil* in the Himalayas, and *Kumari* in the Western Ghats.⁹ All these wasteful ways of subsistence are being followed on a much larger scale in the States of Sirohi, Mewar, Dungarpur, etc., (all in Rajputana), as the forest tribes of Bhils and Todas and Meenas find it more and more difficult to live by robbery and being pent up within their own wilds are compelled to draw their food from the soil.¹⁰

(4) FAULTY METHODS OF CULTIVATION

Faulty methods of cultivation and ploughing of instable slopes have resulted in millions of tons of the most fertile soil of India being carried down the rivers and deposited uselessly in the sea.¹¹ When the virgin land is ploughed and naked soil is exposed to the rain, the loss of the fertile soil of the fields is enormous, particularly on the steeper slopes, and the crops produced grow poorer and poorer in each succeeding year until the land soon becomes unculturable and is left fallow. The potato cultivation in the Himalayas and the Nilgiris, where the rows run straight up and down hill, causes an abnormal rapid loss of soil; elsewhere the fields are ploughed without regard to the prevailing slope and the soil is lost which might have been preserved by ploughing along the contours.

Only the better and more easily manured fields near the villages, particularly the rice fields, are properly terraced and levelled, and represent the results of many years of unremitting soil. But where the cultivated fields are neither terraced nor have embankment the soil erosion is immense, so that the rain falling on the unprotected soil pours down the slopes gathering speed as it proceeds until it sweeps away the soil from the terraced fields below. Huge weirs, broken bunds and ruined fields in the Rawalpindi division of the Punjab bear witness both to the industry of individual zemindars and to the failure of their neighbours to act in co-operation with them and to terrace every field within the catchment area.

SOIL EROSION IN INDIA

India's fertility is unfortunately slipping away from her. Soil erosion is the greatest single menace

9. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III, p. 25.

10. *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 23.

11. H. G. Glover : *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

facing Indian agriculture today. Examples pertaining to such a state of affairs are not far to seek. Recent investigations have shown that in the bare fallow fields in the foothills of Northern India (except properly levelled rice land) a single storm leads to the loss of soil at the rate of 1½ tons per acre; while in the Bombay Deccan there is a loss of 123 tons of soil per acre per year from a field of jowar. In the face of rapid scouring of the soil, the improvement of soil, the improvement of crop varieties or introduction of chemicals are more or less a drop in the bucket of productivity. Such scouring is specially acute in India along the Himalayan foothills and sloping grounds throughout northern India, in parts of Madras, the Bombay Deccan, and other provinces including Madhya Pradesh, Chota Nagpur, and Madhya Bharat.

There are no statistics of the extent of the area which is affected by soil erosion but at a very low estimate according to Sir Harold Glover, soil erosion is seriously lowering the productivity of 150 million acres.¹² It has been estimated that the amount of soil lost by erosion ranges from 1 to 115 tons per acre in different parts of India.¹³ It has been further held that every year one-twentieth of an inch of the top fertile soil is washed away by the rains in India.¹⁴

Along most of the bigger rivers soil erosion has led to the formation of a vast and intricate network of fissures and gullies and the loss of invaluable agricultural land so that soil erosion is responsible for 8 million acres of ravine lands in the United Provinces, for the man-made desert between Rajputana and the U.P., which is now intruding its thirsty tongue into the south-western districts, is also responsible for the partial filling up of the reservoirs and choking of irrigation courses in the Punjab and U.P.

Without the co-operation of the village panchayats in the control of grazing and improvement of natural grasslands, many fertile lands in India would share the fate of the *Brajabhumi*, once flowing with milk and honey, but stripped entirely of its vegetation-covering, now a cattle-made desert extending over several hundreds of square miles in the heart of the world's most fertile plain.¹⁵ In fact, the villages which were once surrounded by valuable fertile fields now lie in a network of useless gullies¹⁶ carved out of the soft mud of the Jamuna river by uncontrolled drainage with the result that thousands of acres of good cultivable land have been and are annually lost to cultivation.

12. H. Glover : *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

13. J. Russel : *Report on the Work of Imperial Council of Agricultural Research*, p. 61.

14. *The Villager's Guide Calendar*, 1941, p. 132.

15. N.P.C. *Report on Population*, pp. 54-55.

16. A. Howard & L. C. Howard : *Development of Indian Agriculture*, p. 13.

Less striking but even more serious losses of soil have taken place by the actions of floods in the Chambal and other rivers flowing through Gwalior, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh.

The intensity of gully erosion can best be judged from the fact that in the Jamuna-Chambal basin the amount of soil eroded is estimated to be equivalent to the removal of 12 cusecs or ½ ton of soil per second day and night without stopping for the last 1000 years.¹⁷ The damage caused to the soil by ravines can be comprehended by the examples of extensive wastelands in Agra, Mathura and Etawah districts. The ravines of the Jamuna and Chambal rivers form almost a compact mass with the extreme length of 70 miles and breadth of 13 miles in the centre. In Etawah alone there are about 120,000 acres of ravine land.

The Himalayan rivers, which had built up the upper plains of the Gangetic Valley, have cut deep channels in the plains which they originally formed, they actually erode gradually, but continuously carry away the silt which they once laid on them. Not only this but at each bend the concave bank is being eroded, while the opposite bank receives a new alluvial deposit to fill up the void left by the receding river.

The wastage in the Etawah district as a whole has been estimated to be not less than 11 cubic feet of soil per second, equivalent to a steady outflow of earth in a stream 13 feet wide and 2 feet deep flowing at the rate of 3 miles per hour. It has been ascertained that the processes of erosion and ravine formation commenced within the last 400 years.¹⁸ It is in the Chambal-Jamuna tract that the tangle of wild and sterile ravines sloping from the uplands to the river banks shows its worst features. As far as can be seen one meets here a labyrinth of rugged ravines and green valleys covered with acacia jungle, every prominent bluff showing the ruins of some robber stronghold. This has been for centuries No Man's Land occupied by wild Rajput tribes, robbers and raiders by profession, who settled on the flank of the Imperial Highway through the Doab and were a thorn in the side of the Mussalman administration.¹⁹ It has been estimated that the total area of such desert-like and inhospitable ravines in the U.P. alone is between half a million and a million acres.

Similarly the barren and uncultivated areas in Oudh contain many large trees whose roots are entirely laid bare by unchecked sheet erosion, and

more than a foot of the soil has been carried away in the course of about 200 years.²⁰ Other cases of the same kind abound in Fatehpur Sikri, and tahsil of Agra, as also in many parts of Bundelkhand.

Along the banks of the Chambal in the States of Dholpur, Karauli and Kotah one finds thousands of acres devastated by soil erosion. There are ravine lands adjoining most of the Indian rivers but the Chambal is the worst offender in this respect. Many thousands of acres of cultivable land have been destroyed and the ravines continue to cut back into plateau cultivation. Mr. A.P.F. Hamilton has correctly described the unreclaimed country along the lower course of the river (Gwalior State) as a sea of brown ridges and troughs with a few browsed relics of the desert species.²¹

In this territory land has been "hopelessly cut up into winding and tortuous ravines some of which are so big that they can hide whole armies." That they actually shelter gangs of intrepid dacoits is an undoubted fact. Far from being suitable for cultivation the land dessicated and barren is hardly fit even for pasture. These ravines are the most glaring and tell-tale example of the gully type of soil erosion and havoc wrought by it.²² The absence of protective vegetation and the flow of water from the high plateau to the river has caused this complicated network of ravines.

Gully erosion is also noticeable in the rolling uplands of Burdwan division. In many places the accumulated top soil has been washed away and the sub-soil exposed due to sheet washing. In Lower Bengal bank erosion is serious along all the major rivers and the loss affects urban areas as well as cultivable lands to an alarming extent.

In Behar also both sheet and gully erosion do immense damage the main cause being uncontrolled grazing and faulty field cultivation.

In Bombay, as regards dry areas with less than 40 per cent of rain, run-off measurements taken for black cotton soil cultivation at Sholapur confirm the loss of 133 tons of soil per annum from well-tilled fields.

Even in great alluvial plains of India where at first sight the ground seems to be perfectly flat damage is considerable. The land surface near the Jamuna and its tributaries provides the ideal conditions "for gully erosion." In consequence of these conditions the Jamuna basin provides one of the finest examples of gully or ravine formation in the world. The banks of the Jamuna and its tributaries are now so completely drained that the greater part of

17. Dr. Thair Rivzi : *Presidential Address of the Section of Geography and Geology to the Indian Science Congress*, 1941.

18. R. K. Mukerjee : "Broken Balance of Population, Land and Water" in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, 17th Conference No., 1934, p. 256.

19. Crooke : *North-Western Province of India*, p. 26.

20. S. L. Agarwal : "Soil Erosion in U.P." in *Indian Journal of Economics*, Vol. XI, p. 78 (July, 1930).

21. A. Hamilton : "Chambal : Ravine Reclamation Scheme" in *Indian Forester*, Vol. 73, No. 3, p. 99.

22. Chaturvedi : *Economic Survey in Kotah Village*, p. 52.

the areas has become almost destitute of vegetation.²³ The left bank of the Indus has lost vast areas of land owing to the formation of the mischievous network of ravines which produce little more than a crop of grass during the rainy season.

In Northern India vast expanses of deep alluvial soil of exceptional fertility have been converted into valueless ravines. These ravines cut backwards into the arable fields and have already destroyed hundreds of thousands of acres of very fertile cultivation and are extending daily.²⁴ In the Siwaliks and the outer Himalayas the ravines are hundreds of feet in depth and it is by no means uncommon to see abandoned homesteads poised on the edge of a chasm where a farm or a village once existed.²⁵

With increasing soil erosion the area gets drier and drier and as the wind breaks the trees, and hedges and grass cover vanish, the area becomes more liable to dust and storms. Wind erosion is generally found in the desert area of the Punjab, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Kotah, Jaipur and Bharatpur in Rajasthan.

In the desiccated area of Rajasthan the wind erosion has removed as much as six crores of maunds of soil per square mile in certain places during the last hundred years. The hot dry winds sweeping across these deserts or semi-deserts dry out even the meagre rainfall which they receive. At Jodhpur which gets about 13 per cent of rain the surface evaporation is about 7½ per year, a terrible state in an area of scanty rainfall.²⁶

According to Wad, there is always an encroachment of wind-borne sand on the arable lands of Rajputana as well as sorting out of finer particles by wind from field surfaces leaving the soil less retentive of moisture and its surface poorer in plant food.²⁷ In many instances this blown sand has been deposited in transverse valleys amongst the hill ranges and seems to encroach slowly over the entire land. Many a farmstead has been absorbed in an advancing tide of wind-blown sand. Crops in many parts of Western Rajputana are frequently damaged by sandstorms. Major Erskine writes about Bikaner that high winds often cover the sown fields with a layer of sand and thus prevent the germination of the seed, or by carrying away the light soil leave the young plants exposed and cause them to wither up,²⁸ and on grassland areas the superior

grasses are frequently choked or burnt up by hot dust-laden winds, which smother near-by vegetation, bury fences and block roads and railways.²⁹

The condition of the engines of the trains which come from the desert tract is well described by Webb in these words: "The engines which come through from the desert beyond was patterned on the windward side of its long boiler-casing with clinging tawny sand."³⁰

As a result of the disturbance of the delicate ecological balance of flora and fauna by over-grazing or other misuse in many portions of Western Rajasthan the advancing dunes (which are here known as Tibbas), no longer bound by the peculiarly adapted vegetation, threaten the people living in Kishanganj and Western Jaipur States.³¹ Here the sand is blown from the north-western district of the Jodhpur State. Similarly in the Jodhpur State, "land is being out of action progressively and the same cause is behind the dust content of the storms experienced during the hot weather of the last three years."³²

Interesting and reliable evidence of the pace of desiccation in the Punjab has been furnished by Major W. Wright of the Survey of India. According to him, the desert conditions are steadily advancing north-eastward out of Sind and Rajputana in the direction of the two great cities of Lahore and Delhi at the rate of half a mile.

In the desert fringes of the southern districts extending from Delhi to the Indus and beyond there is a belt of low rainfall where the average is from 5 to 12 inches. Not only is the rainfall very low but is exceedingly erratic ranging from nothing at all in one year to floods in the next. In the east these conditions are found in Hissar, Gurgaon and Ferozepore and in the States of Faridkot and Bikaner and in the west (which now falls in Pakistan) in the districts of Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Shahpur and Mianwali; beyond the Indus similar conditions are confined to Dera Gaji Khan and Ismail Khan (N.-W. F. P.), all in Pakistan. Even the low and erratic rainfall of these areas adds appreciably to the damage initially caused by wind erosion. North of the desert fringe are to be found large expanses of unirrigated plains and slightly rolling uplands with considerably better rainfall of about 18 to 25 ins. (such are the districts of Jullundhar, Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak in the east and in the west the enormous stretch of uplands flanking the Jhelum Salt Range and extending through the districts of Gujarat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock). In this zone the movement of sand is more localised

23. D. L. Shah: "Prevention of the Extension of Erosion in Ravine Lands" in *Agriculture and Livestock in India*, Vol. IX, Pt. V.

24. H. Glover: *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

25. H. Glover: *Op. Cit.*, p. 16.

26. *Indian Information*, Vol. 14, (1943), No. 36.

27. Y. D. Wad: "Soil Erosion and Its Control in Central India and in Rajputana" in *Agriculture and Livestock in India*, Vol. IX, p. 537.

28. Erskine: *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 342.

29. R. P. Singh: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 102-103.

30. A. W. T. Webb: *These Ten Years*, p. 50.

31. *Jaipur State Five Year Plan*, p. 30.

32. *Stamp Committee Report*, p. VI.

but is still a serious handicap for agriculture. The sand is usually derived from the nearest open torrent bed where soil-eroded rainwater from the neighbouring uplands has been dumped and another source is the main river channels. From both these sources the sand is whipped up by the hot summer winds and carried a considerable distance. According to MacLagan Gorrie, sand from the Markanda torrent bed in the plains of Ambala district has practically buried villages two miles from the east bank.

Effects of Soil Erosion

Soil, washed from the hillslopes, fallow lands and pastures, fills reservoirs and clogs irrigation courses and stream channels. Agriculture, irrigation and navigation are all affected. The denudation of the Himalayan slopes, the undue increase of cultivation on the hill sides and the seasonal concentration of migrant flocks along the travel routes leading to the meadows of the upper ranges, have brought about unmeasured loss of soil and water.³³ In the Punjab, soil erosion has increased the load of silt derived from the Jamuna and Gujarat foothills which is carried by the Jhelum river. The increase of the run-off and loss of soil in the less adequately covered hill-slopes of the Tehri-Garhwal region will similarly result in the partial filling up of the reservoirs and the clogging of irrigation ditches before long.³⁴

1. HEAVY FLOODS IN THE RIVERS

In India as the population has increased the plough and the axe have ascended the hill-sides, the destruction of the forests in the catchment areas of the rivers and their tributaries has caused rapid run-off and erosion leading to the deposit of an increasing mass of debris on riverbeds in low lands thus increasing the damage from floods. The Goghra, the Gandak, the Kosi, the Sone and the Subarnarekha, the Ajaya, the Damodar, the Tista, the Padma and the Brahmaputra, the Mahanadi and the Godavari—all bring flood which is in large measures due to deforestation in the hills. The increasing severity and frequency of floods in recent years in Bihar, Assam, Orissa and Bengal are due to man's invasion of the cradle of streams and trees. A great deal of soil belonging legitimately to these territories is now at the bottom of the Bay of Bengal. The evil of the extension of the ravine lands is not confined to the U.P. and the Punjab but extends to the Bengal and Sind Deltas where the removal of the soils of whole valleys by denudation has led to the silting up of the riverbeds and the meandering rivers. The reclamation of swamps in Oudh, the eastern districts of U.P., Northern Bihar and Assam has also forced an exceedingly heavy run-off. It is estimated that the

Ganges now carries to the sea eight times the quantity of silt carried by the Mississippi, and that from a catchment area of one-third the size.³⁵

2. LOWERING OF SUB-SOIL WATER LEVEL

As a result of torrential rainfall the water rushes violently along the drainage lines without being soaked by the soil which has resulted in lowering of the sub-soil water level so that the water level of the wells has gone down causing hardships and inconveniences to the agriculturists in a numberless ways. Water level has thus increased in the Hoshiarpur and Jullundhar districts of the Punjab and in the Etawah, Agra, Mathura and Jalaun districts of Uttar Pradesh.

3. WATER-LOGGING AND DECREASE IN CROP YIELDS

Again, water-logging is always often associated with erosion which causes a great loss to the available nitrogen and destruction of the prosperity of the sub-soil resulting in the low yield and poor quality of the produce.

The soil erosion leads to abandoned regions, run-down communities and wandering agriculturists. The evils that have been enumerated above are not the creation of one year or a few years but of decades and therefore, soil erosion has been justifiably called the "creeping death."³⁶ Its effects are not confined to the land but man suffers as well.

In wind erosion the larger soil particles have a cutting effect on tender plants; on grassland areas the superior grasses are frequently burnt up by the hot dust-laden winds. The effect of sand drifting and blowing on the inhabitants of these tracts is extremely depressing and demoralising. The tracts seriously affected by these present a desolate sight inasmuch as such soil has been blown away from the fields and the scanty water supplies have been choked in many cases.

Thus, the combined effects of the various phases of sheet erosion, gully and bank erosion, and wind erosion, can be summarised as follows:³⁷

- (1) Increasingly severe and sudden floods.
- (2) Longer intervening periods of drought affecting canal efficiency.
- (3) Failure of underground supplies affecting water table level, wells and springs leading to uncertainty of irrigation supplies.
- (4) Raising of riverbeds by sand deposits leading to catastrophic changes in river courses and blocking of navigable channels and harbours.
- (5) Reduced crop yields from eroded crop fields owing to loss of top-soil.
- (6) Reduced area of cultivation due to gully and bank erosion.

CONSERVATION OF SOIL RESOURCES

To check soil erosion and to regain the lost

35. H. Glover: *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

36. National Planning Committee Report on Soil Conservation and Afforestation, pp. 74-75.

37. National Planning Committee Report on Population, p. 55.

38. *Op. Cit.*, p. 56.

fertility a fight must be put against the forces of Nature and against the activities of human beings. Sir John Russell has suggested the following remedies:

- (a) Afforestation of the top slopes,
- (b) Putting the upper slopes into grass,
- (c) Ploughing along the contour lines instead of across them, and
- (d) Bunding or terracing.

CREATION OF PROTECTIVE SURFACE

If all the rain water were absorbed by the ground upon which it falls soil erosion would be reduced to a minimum. Hence, a protective surface may be created mainly by afforestation and controlled grazing. The National Planning Committee suggests that a minimum of about 20 per cent of the land area should be covered by forests. But this does not obtain in many provinces excepting Central Provinces and Assam. Even the existing forests are ill-distributed and are not easily accessible in many cases. Hence, they should be more evenly and uniformly distributed over the entire land. Villages and minor forests should be established to secure this uniform distribution. Trees of economic importance for fuel, fodder and timber should be similarly planted wherever possible.

This will certainly conduce to a diminution in floods and soil erosion losses, a more even supply of water in streams and rivers, conservation of moisture in soil and colder summer temperatures.

CONTROL OF GRAZING

Control of grazing is also necessary. For this purpose the forests may be opened to grazing by rotation after a period of 3 to 5 years and in certain seasons along with a proper classification of cattle for purposes of levy of differential or favoured rates and exclusion of others like goats which cause damage.

CONTROL OF WATER

Reduction in the volume of water deserves two measures: the construction of small tanks to collect water on the slopes and the construction of reservoirs to divert surplus water of the flooded rivers. Tanks, ponds and bunds have for ages served the purpose of conservation of rain water and have an important place in irrigation and also in plans of soil conservation. More systematic attention requires to be paid to rehabilitation of the existing tanks, ponds and bunds where desirable and to excavation of new ones.

Every small catchment of even 2 or 3 acres of hilly land should be used as a trap for water so that whatever escapes from it is guided by means of diversion ditches into the fields on either side of the natural drainage channel. If these small catchments

are already so eroded that the water rushes down in an uncontrollable flood the use of small check dams at frequent intervals will help to reduce the force of water. At a suitable point in the channel where a slightly larger check dam or bund can be built, the water may be caught and led out through a masonry or spillway and from these onwards round the hillside into a ditch which must be graded so as to give a slight fall and ensure the passage of this water out into the fields.

On the plains bunding at small distances across the sloping fields is preferable to bunding at the bottom of the fields. By creating bunds along the contour the rapid flow of water is prevented and time is allowed for water to soak into the soil. Such bunding prevents the loss of fine surface soil, increases the moisture-absorbing capacity of the land and increases the yield of crops.

BENCH TERRACING

What has been written above applies to the gentle slopes on which it is possible for a reasonable amount of labour to make each field into a saucer which will hold comfortably all the rain which is likely to fall upon it. But in the higher hills (as in the Himalayas and in the other ranges of Central and South India) it is not economically feasible to do this. Wherever there are old established settlements on hilly lands, some form of bench terrace (or strip cultivation) has been evolved to check the loss of soil. The best example of complete bench terracing is seen in the hill rice cultivation, where the ruling factor is the retention of water for long periods in each field.

Where a fairly broad field is wanted stone terrace walls are essential but where a narrower field will serve the terrace walls can be built up of turf or grassy banks which, if properly maintained, are much more absorbent than stone walls. With good turf banks maintained without bulges and with the ploughed land properly levelled between them, such land is not likely to develop gullies because there is little run-off.

Measures that should be taken to repair and prevent the damage done by erosion may be summarised and classified under five heads:

(a) *Economic*: (1) Removal of whole villages precariously perched on ravine tops or seriously threatened by gullies (all hamlets situated in badly eroded or threatened areas should be moved in an orderly manner to new lands, for the prevention of fresh destruction of cultivated areas and village sites in and around the critical slopes), (2) Plantation of village groves in the interior that will relieve the pressure of grazing in the eroded areas, (3) Provision of wells and tanks that will also remove the need for concentration of human and livestock populations.

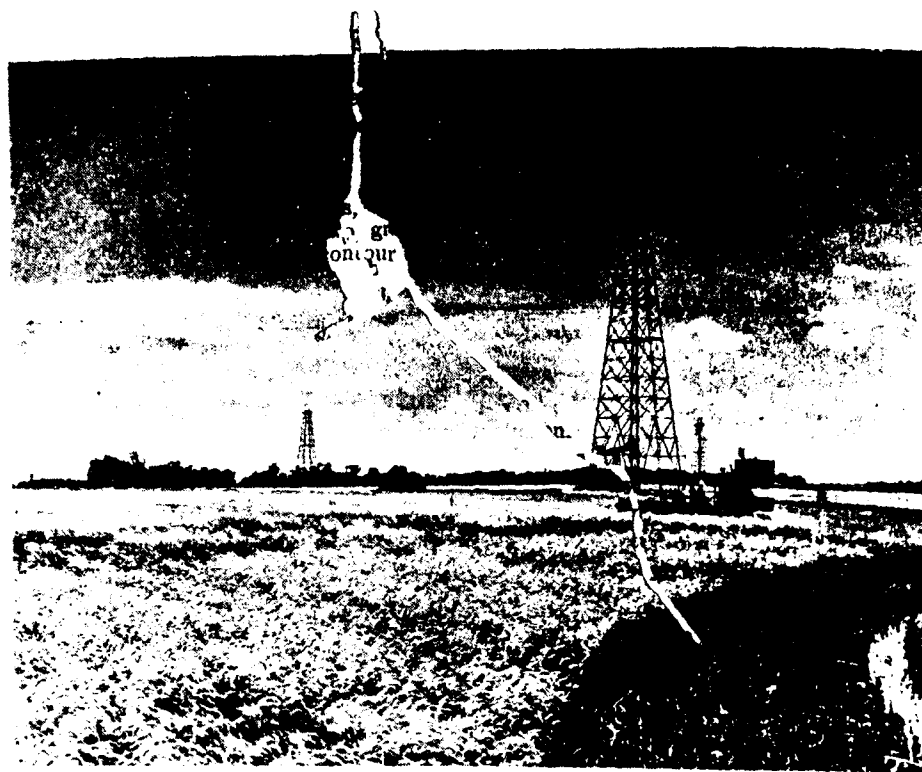
(b) *Agricultural*: (1) Prohibition of cultivation



Mr. Eugene R. Black, President of the International Bank and Mrs. Black, photographed with President Dr. Rajendra Prasad at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on February 11, 1952

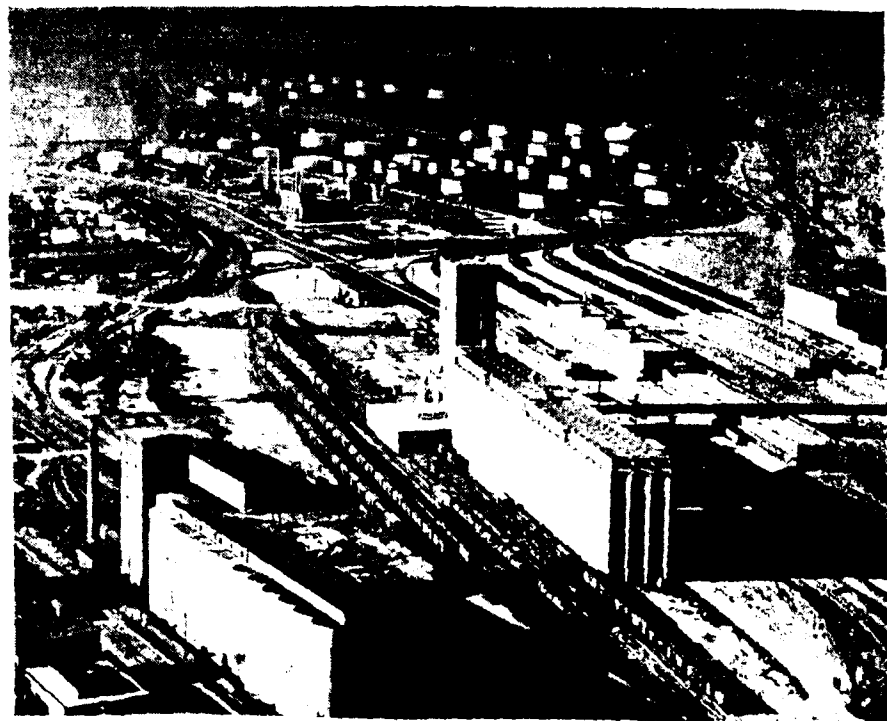


For the first time in the history of South Africa, a United front of Africans, Indians and Coloured have launched a passive resistance movement against the exploitation by White settlers, on April 6, 1952



Petroleum derricks pump up their rich treasure from beneath a Kansas field of waving grain

Courtesy : Kansas State Parks



An aerial view of petroleum refineries and grain elevators in Kansas, a State in the American Midwest

at and around the gully fingers and on steep and fairly steep slopes, (2) Terracing of the slopes, ploughing and planting along contours, (3) Strip cropping on moderately steep slopes, (4) Cultivation of soil binding crops and fodder plants like small peas, jowar, bajra, gram and other legumes, clover, guar, alfalfa, berseam and various leguminous fodder; and exclusion of erosion-inducing and soil-depleting crops, such as tobacco, cotton, maize, arhar, potatoes, etc., (5) Planting of wind break, (6) Introduction of mixed farming.

(c) *Veterinary*: (1) Closure of badly eroded areas to grazing by cattle, sheep and goats, (2) Improvement and regulated grazing of pastures, (3) Complete prohibition of goat-keeping, (4) Reduction or removal of the livestock population.

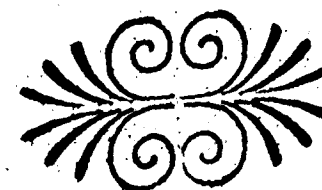
(d) *Sylvicultural*: (1) Establishment of forest reserves and reforestation of eroded or threatened areas, the trees being selected with reference to their quick growth, value as fuel and timber and rate of evaporation from leaves, (2) Establishment and improvement of defensive grass plantation in threatened areas the grasses being selected with reference to their quick growth under dry conditions, edibility for cattle and soil-stabilising qualities.

(e) *Mechanical*: Construction of terraces, bunds, contour trenches and discharge channel ways. Various kinds of heavy earth-moving machinery, such as bulldozers, tractors, tanks, terracers and sub-soilers may be utilized for easy and quick reclamation of large areas of ravine territory and in this connexion mechanical units that have been demobilized may be utilized as is proposed recently by the Punjab Government.

Most of these objects aid and overlap one another and an attack on all fronts has greater chances of success than isolated and piecemeal measures. Ravine Reclamation Panchayats should be organized for dealing with each particular eroded area that requires individual treatment or specific and appropriate control measures in which the peasantry as a whole must be educated and induced to participate. The working plan for erosion control would be to compute carefully for each single village unit in an eroded area its total needs of firewood and pasturage. The proper allocation of land uses according to soil and topographic and vegetative conditions is integral to any erosion control

plan and it is required the co-ordination of the various sciences of the soil and of life.

In the planned strategy against erosion steady team-work is essential. The economist will work out the total needs of the rural community in terms of crop, fuel and fodder and in relation to the aggregate land available for different uses for the longest duration. He will also seek remedies for tenurial conditions under which a large section of the agricultural community is forced into methods of land use which exhaust the soil. The agriculturist will introduce contour bunding, trenching and strip-cropping in place of erosion-inducing farming methods and reduce erosion to a point where losses are equalled by 'soil-building' practice. Where gullies have begun to form, the forester will be there to plant, at the heads of both the critical slope and the areas above and below it, trees that grow rapidly and that have quick evaporation from their leaves, as also soil-binding and drought-resisting grasses. The restoration of severely eroded cultivated lands to the permanent protection of trees or grass, is, in fact, the major step for the prevention of fresh gullying. The forester and the ecologist will have to work side by side. The ecologist will select the nutritive and drought-resistant grasses for stabilization and pasture improvement through rotational grazing, reduced grazing and mixed grazing. The livestock population will no doubt have to be drastically reduced in the ravine territory; but the selected superior beasts that will remain can be nourished by regulated grazing in carefully managed pasture lands which, in erodible slopes, will take the place of cultivation for the protection of soil. The ranger will be aided by the veterinarian who will show the methods of disposal of superfluous and uneconomical cattle and wasteful goats. Finally, the administrator will enlist the co-operation of the peasantry organized in Ravine Reclamation Panchayats for the control of grazing and regulation of agricultural practice. The conservation of soil and the conservation of water which are intimately associated with each other, together touch the entire field of man's exploitation of the earth and thus a rational programme involves the highest amount of co-ordination of uses of trees, grasses, soils and waters in the background of his population pressure and standard of living.



GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

Prof. BELA BOSE, M.A.,
Hooghly Women's College, Chinsurah

Food is the basic need of man and on assured supplies of adequate food depend the progress and the prosperity of a country. The problem of agricultural development in general and food production in particular has been the subject of enquiry of many commissions and committees set up by the Government of India since 1942. These committees have all left valuable suggestions for the execution of food and agricultural development plans. But the problem is still left unsolved. After ten years of investigation and experiments it is now time that a scrutiny of the results claimed by the Central and Provincial Governments in their food production drive should be fully examined. Adequate and reliable data on the results of the food drive are not available. We, however, propose to examine the results of the Grow More Food Campaign in West Bengal against the background of an all-India plan.

FOOD PRODUCTION CONFERENCE

The Government of India, in April 1942, called a Food Production Conference with the object of concerting measures for the increased production of foodgrains in India. The measures recommended by the Conference may be summarised as follows:

- (i) An increase in the area under food and fodder crops by—
 - (a) bringing new land, including fallow land, under cultivation,
 - (b) double cropping and
 - (c) diverting land from non-food crops to food crops.
- (ii) An increase in the supply of water for irrigation by the improvement and extension of the existing irrigation canals, the construction of additional wells, etc.
- (iii) The extended use of manures and fertilizers.
- (iv) An increase in the supply of improved seeds.

GREGORY COMMITTEE

The Food Grains Policy Committee was appointed in 1943 first with H. D. Vigor as Chairman. Mr. Vigor fell ill and was succeeded by Sir Theodore Gregory. The Gregory Committee said that during the Great War No. 1 and also in the present war until the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East, there was no shortage of food in India. When, therefore, the course of the war against Japan made it clear in the spring of 1942 that India would be temporarily cut off from Burma, her main source of supply, India was confronted with a problem, which was indeed unparalleled in her recent history. The first step taken by the Government of India was to

call a Food Production Conference of representatives of Provinces and Indian States, which met on the 6th April, 1942. The comprehensive recommendations made by it were embodied in a series of resolutions which formed the basis of the Grow More Food Campaign initiated by the Government of India in the summer of 1942.

The following were the principal recommendations of the Gregory Committee:

- (1) Government should encourage large-scale distribution of improved seeds.
- (2) Steps should be taken by Government to promote the production of compost from night soil and town refuse.
- (3) Assistance should be afforded to industrialists for the importation of plant and in all other ways such as the giving of technical advice for the manufacture of Ammonium Sulphate to the extent of at least 350,000 tons a year.
- (4) The Government of India should urge upon the Provinces and States to promote with all energy and expedition such irrigation and drainage schemes as promise quick results.
- (5) The Committee welcomed the assurance given by the Government of India that action had been initiated in regard to the importation of tractors and other agricultural implements and their parts.

FAMINE COMMISSION

In 1943 the Bengal Famine came and the acuteness of our food deficit was realised at a very great and painful cost. After the famine was over taking a toll of half a million lives, the Woodhead Commission was appointed. The Woodhead Commission laid great stress on the Food Production Conference of 1942. The Commission declared that the Grow More Food Campaign did not produce the anticipated result.

Extension of cultivation had not been adequate. The chief reasons why cultivable waste land could not be brought under the plough were enumerated by the Woodhead Commission as follows: (i) Lack of water, (ii) lack of drainage, (iii) unhealthy conditions, chiefly due to malaria, (iv) deep-rooted grasses and weeds, (v) low fertility of the soil, (vi) salinity and alkalinity, (vii) liability to damage by wild animals.

The Woodhead Commission admitted that these were formidable difficulties and could not be overcome in a short time. Irrigation canals involved heavy capital outlay and could not be built in a day. There was also a limit to the rate at which wells, tube or open, could be constructed. Land covered

with jungle could not be brought under cultivation without labour and capital. Deep-rooted grasses could not be eradicated without the assistance of tractors. The draining of marshy lands was frequently an expensive and technical matter. Unhealthy tracts presented problems of peculiar difficulty.

THE SECOND FOOD-GRAINS POLICY COMMITTEE

In 1947 a Second Food-grains Policy Committee was appointed with Sir P. D. Thakurdas as Chairman. This Commission had been asked to examine the present position in regard to food-grains in India and the prospective position in the next five years in the light of considerations of production, procurement, imports, distributions and controls. This Committee examined the main planks of the Food Production efforts between 1943 and 1947 which were: (a) a switch-over from cash crops to food crops, (b) intensive cultivation of existing cultivated lands through better irrigation, better seeds, better manures and better farming practices, and (c) extensive cultivation by bringing under plough current fallows or cultivable waste land including old fallows. Intensive cultivation took the form of raising the yield from the cultivated acreage by (a) provision of irrigation facilities, (b) supply of manure, (c) supply of improved seeds, and (d) supply of better implements and other miscellaneous measures.

This Committee clearly stated that no large-scale or systematic effort was made to survey, to locate and to bring under cultivation new land from old fallow, weed-infested land or cultivable waste land. Only very recently a small beginning had been made in the U.P. and the Central Province to plough up new and kankar-infested lands. The Committee also admitted that no easy and dependable method was available to assess accurately the increase in the foodgrains production resulting from the Grow More Food Campaign. The Thakurdas Committee, therefore, examined the question whether the Grow More Food Campaign of the past five years, i.e., since the recommendations of the First Food Production Conference of 1942 provided the basis for the programmes undertaken by the Central, Provincial and States Governments in the following five years, had resulted in a definite increase in the foodgrains production and if so whether it had afforded relief to the supply position and reduce the imports requirements of India. Nevertheless, after careful examination of the matter the Committee came to the conclusion that by and large the Grow More Food Campaign did not produce the results aimed at. The measures which were undertaken were doubtless in the right direction but the objectives were too diversified. The effort was inadequate and in most areas the necessary vigour and drive was lacking. The

Committee also stated that the restriction of areas under jute and cotton had not led to corresponding increase in the production of food crops. In their opinion, if definite results were to be achieved, a radical revision in the present food production policy and machinery was called for.

The Thakurdas Committee said that Indian food economy was exposed to a number of risks, the principal of which were:

- (a) The total average production of cereals was short in relation to the total cereal requirements of the existing population;
- (b) the annual cereal production was not a constant average quantity but fluctuated widely once in three years;
- (c) there were certain chronic deficit areas commonly called the famine tracts in different parts of the country.

The total imports into India from Pakistan and other countries were calculated to be about 2½ million tons.

There was general unanimity amongst experts, said the Committee, that agricultural development in India had not been commensurate with the potential resources and that there was considerable scope for increasing the foodgrains production.

The Committee admitted the need for large-scale multi-purpose projects for increasing food production and reducing the absolute dependence of Indian Culture on the monsoon. For the chronic deficit areas a special rehabilitation programme was recommended by them embracing increased irrigation facilities and dry farming methods.

But the Committee laid great emphasis on the need for intensive cultivation. They said that the yield per acre of principal food crops in India compared very unfavourably with the yield per acre in other countries. They suggested the following methods for intensive cultivation:

- (1) **Irrigation:** Out of the total areas under food crops of 170 million acres only about 33 million acres or about 20 per cent was irrigated. The rest depended on monsoons for water supplies. Apart from major irrigation projects a number of minor irrigation methods could be adopted such as (a) open surface wells, (b) tube wells, (c) lift irrigation and pumping installations, (d) clearing of old tanks, (e) bandharas, and (f) drainage cuts.

- (2) **Manures:** (a) Farm yard manure, (b) village and town compost, (c) green manure, (d) oil cakes, ammonium sulphate and bonemeal, were the principal organic and inorganic manures which had been tried. The main deficiency in Indian soil was that of nitrogen but the view was now growing that if inorganic manures like ammonium sulphate were used extensively, then a combination of nitrogen and phosphatic manures was essential. The

(a) *Green Manure*: In their view extension of green manuring should be undertaken on the maximum extent possible and necessary supplies of seeds and inverting ploughs arranged for. This manuring is required once in three years and even in the year of manuring a second crop can be grown with advantage.

(c) *Night-soil, Village and Town Compost*: There is considerable scope for expanding their use. A major difficulty is the prejudice against using any compost made of night-soil.

(e) **Bonemeal** : On the basis of the present cattle strength the total quantity of bones available for crushing is estimated at 1 million tons a year. In the past about 2 lakh tons of bones were crushed primarily for export purposes. The experts are of the view that a combination of bonemeal and ammonium sulphate will prove very beneficial and an increased use of bonemeal will be economic if together with larger crushing capacity ancillary industries for the manufacture of glue and gelatine are developed.

(3) *Improved Seeds*: Experiments on the use of improved varieties of seeds had shown that improved seeds raise the yield per acre by about 10 per cent. Not much progress had been made in the direction of bringing larger areas under principal food crops under improved varieties of seeds. In the course of evidence submitted to the committee they were told

EXTENSIVE CULTIVATION

The Committee said that their investigation supported the conclusion arrived at by many expert committees in the past that there was considerable scope for increasing foodgrains production in India by intensive and extensive methods of cultivation. Taking into account all the factors the Committee came to the conclusion that the country should set itself the goal of increasing foodgrain production by 10 million tons annually within the shortest possible time.

The Committee felt that the provincial Governments should make special efforts in the following directions:

(a) Supply of concentrated organic manures such as oil-cakes, to irrigated areas under food crops. The Committee recommended that export of oil seeds except in the form of oil should be banned so as to conserve the supply of oil-cakes for manurial purposes :

(b) Multiplication and distribution of improved seeds on a large scale ;

(c) In areas where sub-surface water supplies are known to exist, a maximum number of tube-wells should be sunk ;

(d) Fertilisers made available to Provincial Governments should be used for increasing food-grains production particularly in irrigated rice areas.

The main planks of the Foodgrain Production Plan which the Committee recommended were:

(a) Multi-purpose projects.
(b) Intensive cultivation of lands already under cultivation, and
(c) Rapid reclamation of suitable blocks of cultivable waste lands of all types.

(To be continued)

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

"Before man parted for this earthly strand, while yet upon the heavenly verge he stood," wrote the poet Matthew Arnold, "God put a heap of letters in his hand, and bade him write with them what word he could . . ." The poet then went on to describe how often the letters had been turned over. At one time they formed the word Greece, at another the word Rome, and so on. All the way down the ages man has been spelling something. Indeed often, in the widely sundered civilizations of the past, quite different words were forming. But what word is our own age spelling? Does anyone know?

This question posed itself the other day as I was passing the newspaper sellers near my office. Day after day, for months past, the posters have proclaimed that we live in an age of violence. The figures for breaking and entry, as robbery is called somewhere, there has been a robbery—and robbery on the grand scale. For present-day thieves for the most part are not the old familiar underdogs who resorted to crime in order to live. Those belonged to the era of unemployment. The modern kind are men of brains and energy who draw up carefully timed operations and get away with booty often running into thousands of pounds. Why do these men, with talents that society could use, prefer instead to make war on society? The obvious answer is that they can make so much more by robbery. And yet, at what a price. No peace of mind. No self-respect. No 'honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,' to quote Macbeth's famous catalogue. It is hard to believe that men will wittingly throw away all these intangibles for the sake of the biggest safe that was ever cracked!

If we asked these men what word the age was spelling, I suppose the answer would be—cynicism. One of the definitions of cynicism is contempt for human nature. Contempt for human nature may be a very arguable proposition but it does not alter anything. (Except for the worse. There was a broad streak of it in Puritanism). The men who have altered history for the better are those whose pity was immense. Some such men there are still and one of them is the present Archbishop of York, Dr. Cyril Garbett. I wonder what people in India think of his recent denunciation of the petrol bomb. This bomb, says the Archbishop, "when used over a wide area . . . burns up almost instantaneously all life and buildings within it. There is little possibility of escape for man or animal." And he asserts that "Christians should demand the outlawing by international agreement of the use of weapons so horrible and destructive to all who come within their

range . . ." Had he ended thus, it might have been just another statement of principle. But in his closing words he swept the enemy—and one's duty to the enemy—right into view. The Christian Church, he said, should call upon all nations to pledge themselves to refrain from the use of weapons which indiscriminately destroy 'those for whom Christ died' as if they were worthless flies.

It certainly is a memorable protest and I for one hope it will prevail. I am not impressed by the argument that Russia would use the bomb in any event—and that for us to abandon it would merely be to expose ourselves to attack. One cannot take expediency for a guide. It is a sign-post that leads nowhere.

Yielding to expediency, in fact, was the beginning of the present be-devilled state of world affairs. When during the War we threw in our lot with Russia, in spite of her aggressions against Finland, Poland and the Baltic States; when later at Yalta we left all Eastern Europe in her power, it was done in the name of expediency. But we did not achieve anything by it. Russia was amazed at our abdication. She never expected to gain so much and so easily. But for us it was the old story of 'he who sells his soul to the devil never gets the price.' Russia remained indifferent as ever to the general plight of the world and there followed her long series of vetoes in the United Nations Assembly.

The United Nations is the biggest disappointment of the post-war world. What a mistake it was to domicile it in America! Reason and sentiment set the League of Nations at Geneva. It was perpetually neutral and it had atmosphere. All down the ages Geneva had been a haven for poets and reformers and other voluntary and involuntary exiles. Also, the setting was lovely. Harassed envoys could 'lift up their eyes unto the hills' whenever they felt in need of help. The League Council used to meet four times a year, the Assembly in the autumn; all the year round Geneva stayed in the midst of things. But how many of us could tell how often the United Nations hold their meetings, or even if at any given moment a meeting is being held?

It is depressing to read in the *Daily Mail* a description of the United Nations' new headquarters. The building cost \$65,000,000 and it feels like 'a super-colossal hotel containing everything but guests.' (Irrelevant but not irreverent query: What would it have been like if the Pope had invited the United Nations to use part of the Vatican as its headquarters?). There are hundreds of offices and scores of lounges, but at present all is quiet. It mostly is, says

the guide, unless there is a crisis. Strange comment! Wars are raging in Malaya, Korea and Indo-China. Egypt and the Middle East and Japan are in an unhappy temper. And yet apparently nothing is going on at the United Nations. In the old days at Geneva, in times of crisis, some committee or commission was always investigating and reporting and right on the spot.

It is tempting to digress on the subject of this enormous empty shell of a headquarters. Vast buildings have gone to our head. We pile up Government offices and we pile up blocks of flats. And parallel with this, bureaucrats grow callous in their entrenched positions and families disintegrate in the noisy agglomeration of their rabbit warrens. Public expenditure, when it comes to building, does not seem to march with private well-being.

But to return to the United Nations. It is very unfortunate that, as a consequence of Russian intransigence, the ideal of co-operation between the nations is dropping out of sight. The world is splitting along the lines of Russia and her satellites and America and the rest. Why do we allow this to happen? The other day, as part of the city column of the newspaper, a column which few people read, appeared the news that the International Wheat Council is meeting in London. No information was added as to where this Council is to be found and who exactly are its spokesmen. Yet we were told that it represents both producing and consuming countries. In other words, and about a matter so vital as our daily bread, surely the whole world! "Economics, currency and politics," said the City Editor, "all come into the matter." Of course they must. . . . Here if anywhere, one would have thought, was a chance to remind society of the interdependence of the various parts of the world. But that was the first and last we heard of the International Wheat Council.

Foreign affairs indeed have become very dull. Co-operation is no longer the word that politicians are trying to spell. The magic word is Containment. To contain Russia has become the object. Are we succeeding in that object? Judging by a broadcast which the Prime Minister made the other night, we probably are. He did not use that word but he feels that fear of another world war is so great, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, that such a war will, in fact, be averted. Please God he is right. Yet at best this is a very negative hope since presumably the Iron Curtain will remain as before. Was there ever before in history this utter lack of any means of bringing two sides together? Russia seals herself off and surrounds her territory with a wire which no one can cross. It is said that Joshua with his trumpets blew down the walls of Jericho. But were he alive today to pulverise that wire with his breath, he would still be confronted with the Russian mind which tolerates such a devil

wire. . . . We have got to get behind that wire somehow or at least to persuade the Russians that it need not contain the Poles and the Czechs and their other enforced associates. Recently I read somewhere—though I cannot for the moment recall where—a heart-rending description of Polish Communists, enthusiastically greeting their Russian 'comrades' with the clenched fist salute, only to be met with a blank indifferent Russian stare. . . .

Mr. Mors, an official of the International Labour Office which still functions at Geneva, is evidently of Mr. Churchill's opinion that war may be averted. He has been warning Governments that they should get busy now on employment plans if mass unemployment is not to follow when rearmament comes to an end. It would be a good thing if our own Labour Opposition, which up till now has devoted the principal part of its energies to the mere obstruction of Government measures, were to turn its attention instead to this imminent and appropriate business. The Labour Party in this Parliament have been a great disappointment. It is bad luck for them—and for the country—that Sir Stafford Cripps is no longer there to bring them down to realities. They know as well and better than the Government—whom they left to unscramble the eggs—just how desperate is our financial plight. Were they now in office they too would have to take equally drastic steps. Yet they have turned every such step into an opportunity for making party capital. They won the municipal elections on the strength of their outcries against the cuts in the food subsidies. They pledged themselves this week to remove the charges which the Government is imposing for certain of the health service items. And yet if they can read the arithmetic of our balance of payments—and they certainly can—they know that they are in plain terms egging the country on into bankruptcy. In his recent broadcast Mr. Churchill recalled that when this Government first took office they were anxious to conciliate the Opposition. They hoped that, just as the Tories had supported the late Government in times of international crisis, so the Labour Party might support the present Government in the no less serious crisis in our domestic affairs. This, one might remark, is a novel departure in our politics. In such circumstances one might have expected the Tories to seek a Coalition. Did they fly that kite?

Labour, however, judging by its conduct in Parliament would have declined to join in a Coalition. There is a general feeling in the country that the party leadership is passing from Mr. Attlee to Mr. Bevan. Mr. Churchill in his broadcast, in common with other members of the Tory front bench, was at pains to emphasise this. Mr. Bevan certainly is setting the pace. He seems obsessed with the idea that the Health Service must be 'free.' The proposition that anything can be free, except the sun and the moon

and the stars, is of course an illusion. Everything has got to be paid for at some stage. But it is an illusion that is spreading. One day a Labour member asserts that all the Public Schools should abolish their fees. Another day two hundred men are dismissed as redundant from a clock factory and the rest go on strike and demand that the factory shall go on paying wages to the two hundred until suitable employment is found for them. (This in a country which provides state insurance pay in times of unemployment). The dangers inherent in this illusion are manifest to all but those who refuse to look beyond their own noses. The seller's market is passing and we are getting back into a world of keen foreign competition. How can the

price of our goods compete with the price of goods abroad, if included in our price are all these extra charges? There is also the invisible but far greater danger. It is a dreadful defeatism to grudge another man a different kind of education or to expect the State to take all the hazards out of existence. To let the State take over so much of the ordering of one's life is to have no life at all. As the Dean of Windsor told some boy scouts the other day: "It is like providing a lift that will take you up to the top of Mount Everest. It spares you all the danger. But do you think it's worth getting there at all if it's as easy as all that?"

Westminster, London, 5th May, 1952

HEALTH EDUCATION AND SANITATION

By M. J. FERREIRA, M.D., M.P.H. and O. J. SILVA, M.D., M.P.H.

"Sanitation is a way of life. It is the quality of living that is expressed in the clean home, the clean farm, the clean business and industry, the clean neighbourhood, the clean community. Being a way of life it must come from within the people; it is nourished by knowledge and grows as an obligation and an ideal in human relations."—*The National Sanitation Foundation.*

Nothing could be more realistic than this guide to good living, nothing more true than our need to know, really know, what can bring it about. But this knowledge is more than mere information. It comes only when we have understood the full meaning of some information, accepted it and then being one with it. Only when we are fully convinced of the truth and utility of something we hear or see and when this becomes part of our own way of life can we hope for success. And success in this case means the voluntary everyday use of that which we were meant to learn.

At one time and in line with our professional duties, we came upon an experience which deeply impressed us as a fine illustration of just this intangible thing that must come "from within the people." It may show how valuable health education can be for the public and how permanent its results will be if the proper methods are used to arouse personal interest and thus induce personal knowledge.

It happened in 1949. That year we decided to select "Hookworm and Sanitation" as the subject for our next educational film. We wanted realism in this film and accordingly went to a real life situation to get that ragged appearance, poverty and overcrowding found in all parts of the world where poor people live. Our search among country folk in their own habitat was soon rewarded with the selection of a typical underprivileged family who had everything we were looking for in our fight to root out such squalor.

Their hut was in disrepair and steeped in filth; their habits of sewage and garbage disposal were most primitive. The people were sad and discouraged, the children dirty and sickly. In its misery, ignorance and neglect this family was a true picture of thousands like it. It was exactly what we needed to show how in so many ways the people's living habits pre-dispose them to illness, suffering and early death.

Then we began our work. In a development of the plot we took shots of pre-arranged situations within this background, using as "stars" all members of this family and showing them how to act "naturally" and without makeup. Needless to say, during this work we had to explain hundreds of details in order to get the right action. Though our goal was and continued to be the production of educational material that would be used for thousands of families, we started in spite of ourselves to pay attention to a new factor that presented itself. The family began to change its attitude of complete apathy, and to become more and more interested in our work, to the point where everything we were doing was carefully observed and questioned with countless "whys." By the time two weeks had passed and our work completed, every member of that family had become part of the act and joined in the fun.

But during this period we also had changed their environment. We had cleaned the house, built a privy, boiled and safe-guarded their water supply;

we had promoted facilities for bathing and laundering and provided a net to protect the newborn against flies and mosquitoes. Finally, we had also taken them all to the health post, there to be tested, examined and treated.

A few weeks later, when our filmstrip was ready for distribution, we had the idea of giving a special show for our stars. Our surprise was really great when we found upon our return to their hut that the changes we had created just for the film had actually been incorporated by the family into their own habits and customs. They were no longer "actors" playing a different and unnatural role but red-blooded human beings living a new way of life as their own way of life. It was a much better way from the old way they had started to shed, a way of dignity, decency, happiness and health.

After we finished our show we were repaid, by the words of the "old man" who was earnestly trying to explain what went on inside of him: "We were blind all these years when we did not see but from now on life will be different."

It was all very moving but we had also been enriched by an experience that had taught us something of value. Even the small village as a whole had been shaken up by the event, after it had been shown our information and not just passively exposed to it once or twice. As if a magic wand had touched everything in that village, *knowledge* in its most permanent form had begun to seep into the minds of all the inhabitants. No film, book or pamphlet or even course could have achieved so much in so little

time as did our actual indoctrination-and-participation-in-living.

Our own conscious experience was doubtless similar to many other identical but unknown or forgotten times when teaching was possible through demonstration and exemplification. It is to those nameless incidents and hard-won private victories that humanity owes its constant progress, today as in the past or in the future.

Slowly but surely, through proper education humanity goes toward a higher standard of individual and community living, fulfilling what can be rightfully considered as an ideal in human relations.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Dr. Manoel Jose Ferreira: Graduate in Medicine, 1919; Graduate in Public Medicine, 1920; Director Public Health of the State of Rio de Janeiro, 1932; Professor Hygiene at the Faculty of Medicine, State of Rio, 1925; Director of the Faculty, 1931; Technical Advisor of SESP (Co-operative Service between US and Brazilian Governments), 1951.

Dr. Orlando Jose da Silva: Graduate in Medicine, 1937; Graduate in Public Health, Harvard University, 1944; Yellow Fever Service (Rockefeller Foundation); Malaria Control (Gambia Eradication in Brazil); Special Service of Public Health (Co-operative Service between US and Brazil); Director Health Education Division, Servico Especial de Saude Publica, Rio de Janeiro.

World Health Organization, Regional Office for South-East Asia, New Delhi, World Health Day, 7th April, 1952

—:O:—

SOME REMARKABLE TERRACOTTAS FROM TAMRALIPTA

By PROF. PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.

TAMRALIPTA, the ancient city-port of Bengal is too well-known to Indologists. It was once a great commercial emporium as well as a cultural centre in East Asia connecting the sea-routes between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. On various grounds scholars locate this city in the region of Tamruk in the Midnapore district of Bengal. The international character of Tamralipta has been attested by the glowing descriptions of this city, which are to be found in the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahavamsa* and in the writings of Ptolemy,¹ Pliny, Fa Hian, Hiuen Tsang, Itsing and others. The information which can be gathered from different ancient Indian and non-Indian texts shows that the city probably flourished even at the time of Buddha (6th century B.C.—5th century B.C.).

1. MacCandless: *Ptolemy*, 1927, pp. 167-68, 170.

Tamralipta acquired great reputation during the days of the Imperial Mauryas (c. 321 B.C.—187 B.C.) and the Guptas (c. 320 A.D.—c. 510 A.D.). Possibly, it declined as a port since the days of the Palas due to the growing shallowness of the river Rupnarayan and some other topographical as well as political factors.

Very recently, I have discovered a large number of antiquities (chiefly consisting of terracotta figurines and pottery fragments) from the region of Tamruk, and they have been presented by me to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. The terracottas collected by me are extremely interesting and many of them stylistically belong to the Maurya-

2. B. C. Sen: *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, Chapter II.

T. H. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, p. 108.

SOME REMARKABLE TERRACOTTAS FROM TAMRALIPTA

Sunga period.* The terracotta figurines are wonderful in execution, and their delicate pattern forms a class by itself. Even the terracottas of the Peshawar

preserves the same mysterious smile, which may also be noticed on the faces of many Maurya and Sunga Yakshi figures. The figurine shows all the character-



Pl. I. A winged female figure

region, Mathura, Kausambi and other ancient places of India cannot equal in refinement the Tamralipta terracottas.

Now, in this paper I shall briefly discuss a number of important terracottas, which have been recently collected by me from Tamruk.

No. 1. (Pl. I) is highly interesting from the standpoint of archaeology. It is the fragment of a standing female figure. She is most luxuriously decorated wearing large earrings and a necklace with a big oval-sized locket. Her hairs are tied by a ribbon and are thus plaited on the top of her head. The right wing of the figurine is unfortunately lost. The left wing, which is clearly visible, is lovely and beautiful. It is apparently made of feathers having fine spots on it. The spreading wing is so lively that it seems that it may flap at any moment. The face

3. They may be classified into the following classes:
(i) Figurines representing elephants, horses, dogs, apes, fish, makara, serpent, etc.

(ii) Yakshi and other human figures.

(iii) A big human head with double faces on opposite sides. The pattern of the neck suggests that it was possibly the anthropomorphic lid of a huge earthen vase (perhaps, wine-jar). There is a large ring above the head, which was probably used as a handle. The heads are helmeted and they possess large eyes with thick eye-brows, sharp noses and divided chins. The faces look typically Roman, with the exception of the signs of *tilaks* on the foreheads. Do they represent Indianised Romans? In near future I shall try to publish its photo in the present journal. For the ancient anthropomorphic pottery discovered in the north-west of India, see D. H. Gordon, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. IX (1943), pp. 170-171. Pl. XVI.3.

4. These belong to the author's collection.



Pl. V. Torso of a female figurine
(c. 2nd century B.C.—c. 1st century B.C.)

tics of the terracotta and stone-made female figures of the Maurya-Sunga age. So, possibly we can fix the age of this winged terracotta figurine in the 1st century or 2nd century B.C. As terracotta winged figures are very rare in India, its great importance may easily be perceived. There is one-winged female figurine in the Peshawar Museum, which has been given the title of the *Angel of Khan Mahi* by the well-known Indologist D. H. Gordon. D. H. Gordon proposes a date of late 1st century or early 2nd century A.D. for this figure on stylistic ground. The scholar finds strong Western influence in this figurine. Thus, he remarks:

"At first glance this figure has all the appearance of an angel produced somewhere in Europe

5. *Ibid.*, p. 171, Pl. XV, Fig. No. 9.

during the early 15th century. The fact, however, that it comes from Khan Mahi, only some two or three miles North-east from Sar Dheri, and in the centre of the chief terracotta producing area of Western Gandhara, and that its clothing and ornaments are essentially Indian, preclude its being an importation from Europe. The fact also that winged figures are not uncommon in Gandharan art serves to place it in the period suggested."

However, in this connection, it cannot be ignored that the few ancient Indian winged figures which have been discovered are not all of foreign (i.e., Western) origin or influence. In December 1949,



Pl. IV. Fragment of a decorated figurine and a miniature 'chakra'

the present writer collected a winged female figure in flying attitude from Kausambi, the ancient capital of the Vatsas. On stylistic ground it may be assigned to the 1st century B.C. It has been already pointed out that the winged figure from Tamralipta may be assigned without hesitation to the 2nd century B.C.—1st century B.C. Now it is difficult to trace Yavana or Greek influence on such winged figures of the Maurya-Sunga epoch. About the Western influence of the *Angel of Khan Mahi*, D. H. Gordon himself remarks: "It is not wise to presume such influence before C. 50 B.C." The Tamralipta figurine probably suggests that the current notion about the Western influence on the ancient Indian winged figures is not sound. We are almost certain that this winged figure from Tamluk is independent of any European influence. It may certainly be presumed that the motif is totally Indian as also the style. By closely studying this terracotta figure, it also seems that the *Angel of Khan Mahi* and the fairy of Kausambi might have been influenced, to some extent, by the art of Tamralipta of Maurya-Sunga epoch. It is not improbable that the terracotta art of Gangaridae (Bengal) spread to Kausambi and Gandhara during the rule of the Imperial Mauryas, and of the Sungas whose capital Pataliputra was in East India.

No. 2 (Pl. II first from the left) is a miniature earthen vase with grey complexion. It has been un-

earthed by a peasant from under a good depth while digging. It is probably of high antiquity.

No. 3 (Pl. II second from the left) is the small fragment of an ancient pottery. Its design is highly interesting.

No. 4 (Pl. II first from the right) is a small ram with dots on the back. Its face is a bit mutilated. The figurine was unearthed from a great depth while digging a tank a number of years ago. It is difficult to fix its approximate date. That it is ancient, there is no doubt about it.

No. 5 (Pl. III) is the head of a decorated toy ram. It is represented as wearing precious necklace and other fine ornaments. Its lower portion is cylindrical, the exact significance of which is not understood. It has been very recently unearthed from a depth of about 12 feet while digging a tank in the Parbatipur locality of Tamluk. The pattern of the necklace and the general style of the head indicate its high antiquity. On stylistic grounds it may be roughly dated in the Gupta age. This figure is very important, because so far as I know such a figure is not found in any other part of India. Other three similar figures have been found at Tamluk, two from Abasbari locality and one from the same tank of Parbatipur which has yielded the above terracotta.⁷



Pl. III. Ornamental head of a ram

No. 6 (Pl. IV first from the left) is probably the fragment of a figurine, with same cylindrical base as No. 5. It resembles the neck of the lamb as described above, and a study of the figure will show that the animal represented here had a long neck. The style of decoration points to an earlier date than that of No. 5.

6. The animal figurines found in and around Tamluk may be compared with the similar animal figures yielded by the different sites of Western Gandhara (i.e., Sar Dheri, Kula Dheri, Sari Bahlol and others).

7. One of these is a very mutilated piece. It has been presented by me to the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University. For a description of this piece, see, my article "Some Newly Discovered Terracottas from Tamralipta" in *Calcutta Review*, February, 1952. The other rams belong to the author's collection.

SOME REMARKABLE TERRACOTTAS FROM TAMRALIPTA

No. 7. (Pl. IV, first from the right) is a toy wheel greatly resembling the well-known *Asoka Chakra*. It might be even the wheel of a toy clay cart. I have collected a good number of such fragmentary terracotta *chakras* from Tamluk. Most of them have been presented to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University.⁸

No. 8. (Pl. V.) represents the torso (6" in length) of a much ornamented and attractive female figure. The figure is standing with her two hands placed akimbo slightly below her waist on the upper region of the hips. The graceful and elegant pose of the lady is extremely remarkable. The ornaments of the figure are highly interesting. She is wearing the typical round earrings (with small hanging pendants below) of the Maurya-Sunga period.⁹ She has two fine necklaces, one small and



Mutilated figure of a ram

heavy, and the other large resembling a big flower-garland. The latter beautifully adorns the bosom of the figurine. A jewelled belt and a loose girdle with three tiers of roundish lobes adorn her waist and abdomen. The former possesses long pendants with broad tips which sensitively touch her well-shaped knees. The transparent skirt touches her ankles and shows fine folds. Her body is partly adorned by a long veil-like piece, which luxuriously adorns the margin of her body in a folded manner. Its one end is flowing, as if by the wind. She is clasping this linen with her right hand, while by the left hand she is pressing it on her hip.

The bracelets of the figure are also remarkable. The ornament of the left hand is much more elaborate than that of the right hand.

On stylistic grounds the figurine may be easily dated in circa. 2nd century B.C.—circa. 1st century

8. It is difficult to ascertain what was the relation between these *chakras* and the *Asoka Chakras* of the 3rd century B.C. It is not impossible that they also belong to the Asokan period.

9. They are comparable with the earrings of the well-known *Sunga* head from Rajghat, presented in the *Bharat Kala Bhavan*, Benares. See, also, D. H. Gordon: *Ibid.* Pl. XII, 6.

B.C. The graceful pose of the figure and the general style make it comparable with the famous Oxford



Mutilated figure of an elephant

Figurine,¹⁰ which is said to have been recovered from Tamluk region quite a number of years ago. The figure may be styled as *Yakshi* or it may be a Mother Goddess, and it is artistically by far better executed than many other ancient female figurines found in the regions of Bihar, U.P. and the Punjab.

In conclusion, it may be rightly remarked that the terracottas from Tamluk will completely revolutionise the history of the ancient Indian terracottas. Henceforth, after the discovery of these pieces the general notion of the Indologists about the absence or scarcity of pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and post-Mauryan terracottas in Bengal should be changed. The terracottas of Bengal as found at Tamluk



Pl. II. A miniature vase, a pottery fragment and a tiny ram (ancient Tamralipta) are too wonderful and exquisite to ignore, and a proper study of them will undoubtedly create a new chapter in the history of Indian Art and Civilisation.

10. See, Prof. Johnston: *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. X, 1942. In his article Johnston expresses: "The main clues to the development of Sunga terracottas come from Taxila and Muttra." The discovery of the Tamralipta figurines totally explodes this view. Some experts on Indian archaeology seem to have long ignored the fact that parts of Bengal always belonged to the Central Province of the early Magadhan empires. For Maurya and Sunga terracottas they have searched in Taxila, Muttra and other distant sites but not in Bengal.

THE GADABAS OF ORISSA

By L. N. SAHU,

Servants of India Society, Cuttack

THE mountain-belt between the Narmada and the Godavari rivers contains a large number of aboriginals, like the Munda, Santal and Oraon of the Chota Nagpur plateau, the Ho and Bhumija of Singhbhum district and the Juang, Kharia, Khond, Saora, Bonda and Gadaba of the Orissa hills. The Gadabas live mostly in the mountainous district of Koraput in the State of Orissa at an altitude of about 3,000 feet above sea-level. The census of 1941 enumerated 16,593 males and 16,543 females, that is to say, over 33,000 Gadabas in all. There are about 17,000 Gadabas in the Godavari district.



Gadaba dance

The Gadabas are not a migratory people. They live permanently in fairly large villages, situated in mountain fastnesses, that can only be reached with considerable difficulty. Their houses today are thatched rectangular constructions with the usual verandah in front, but the ones that are supposed to be more ancient consist of two adjacent rooms, one rectangular in plan and beyond it a circular one topped by a conical roof.

The Gadabas are divided into several groups, like the Bada, Kollar, Kalayi, Kapu, Kateni, Porangi and Jurumu. Due to their contact with the outside world, the Kapu and Kateni Gadabas have adopted certain modern ways of life. Bada Gadabas are considered to be the highest in the social ladder and would not

even accept water from the other classes of Gadabas. The Kaley Gadabas, on the other hand, are the lowest in the social scale and cannot even sit by the side of the other Gadabas. But the other classes of Gadabas can and do mix with one another freely.

As regards dress, the men dress simply like other hill-tribes, but the women put on picturesque clothes with red, blue and white stripes. These clothes are woven by the women themselves on primitive looms, of which the warp is the hand-spun bark fibre of different deciduous jungle shrubs and the woof is cotton, dyed and coloured at home. Either over or under this coloured garment, they wear another made of some forty strands of stout black cord, tied together at the ends. On the upper part of the body is worn a piece of cloth similar to, but smaller than, the waist cloth.

The women entirely cover the right fore-arm from wrist to elbow with a number of brass bracelets. In the ear they wear enormous coils of thick brass wire. On the forehead is a chaplet of cowrie shells, but this is not worn by the Parengi Gadabas.

The Gadabas worship a goddess whom they call *Thakurani*. In the month of Chaitra, which falls round about May, they observe the annual worship of the goddess when they eat the new rice and sacrifice goat, fowl, sheep, pigeon, etc.

The Gadabas practise hunting and fishing with bows and arrows. But as this hardly provides a sufficient food-supply, they have taken to agriculture extensively and practise both shifting and permanent cultivation on hill terraces irrigated by streams. In addition to weaving referred to above, another Gadaba occupation is that of the palanquin-bearer. All divisions of the Gadaba, except the Kollar, have taken to this and, therefore, do not touch a horse as it is their rival in occupation.

The social organisation of the Gadabas may now be considered. The residents of a village are divided into two or more phratries (*bonso*) and these in their turn into several clans (*kuda*). It is interesting to observe that the phratries bear names of animals,



Gadaba girls, Sentiuguda



Shifting cultivation at Koraput on the way to Kalyansingpur



Gadaba girls, Sentiuguda



Shifting cultivation on Raysada-Koraput Road

like the bear, snake, or tiger and are thus indicative of a totemistic origin.

In Gadaba society descent is in the male line. The units referred to above are exogamous but marriage within the *bonso* does happen at times. Marriage takes place after the attainment of puberty. The institution of boys' and girls' dormitories obtains among the Gadabas and the unmarried boys and girls



Gadaba males, Gobindpalli

are organised under a young man called *bise*, who is the leader of the village youth. When they go to a village to fix a marriage, the Gadabas choose an auspicious day. If there is a death in the house concerned or in any of the other houses of the village in question, the marriage cannot be settled on that day. The men and women who go to the bride's house at the time of the marriage say to the bride as follows:

Let us go soon.
It's getting late.
We may not find time to reach home.
The sound of the *bani* bird, of the *suka* bird we hear.

Why so late? Why delay?
Let us make haste.
O, our hands are now paining.
So also our legs.
We are thirsty, we are hungry.
Let us go to the pond to wash our hands and feet.
When you come we shall eat rice gruel.

The Gadabas call themselves *Kadami*. They call their language *Gudab*, from which the name Gadaba is apparently derived. Theirs is an Austro-Asiatic language which is agglutinative and generally monosyllabic. Each word is doubled, like *bong bong du du*, which means "I am keeping." Some Gadaba words are: *Bulu*, mango; *sas*, tamarind; *keranga*, paddy; *biti*, salt; *bandi*, cow; *gissingi*, fowl; *budubui*,



Gadaba girls, Santiguda

snake; *buba*, maternal uncle. While keeping their tongue intact, the Gadabas have borrowed a number of Oriya words as they live among the Oriyas, the natives of the State of Orissa.

According to the eschatological beliefs of the Gadabas, the dead lead a life similar to that of the living. Moreover, death does not bring about any separation from the living and the spirits of the deceased (*duma*) can affect favourably or otherwise the life and crops of their relatives in the world of the living. The Gadabas practise cremation and elaborate feasts are given on the third and tenth days after the funeral in the memory of the dead.*

Photographs: N. Senapati.

* In writing this article I am indebted to Sri Gopinath Mahanti, M.A., and Sri Gopinath Das, M.A., I.L.B., Research Scholar, Deccan College. I am also indebted to Sri N. Senapati, I.C.S., President, Board of Revenue, Orissa, for the photographs.—L. N. Sahu.

A YOUNG PAINTER OF PROMISE Debnath Mukherjee

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

The facilities for small exhibitions in our one-man shows and in groups in Calcutta and in Bombay are affording easy opportunities to many young artists to place before the public the revelations of their talents and to invite criticism of their works from press and to benefit by such reviews in the daily papers and to critical appraisal of the products of their brush-works. In Calcutta a generous patron of young painters, Sri J. N. Majumdar, has acted as the kind god-father to young artists unable to hire a show-room by lending them a fine series of rooms at No. 1, Chowringhee

shows of their works at 1 Chowringhee Terrace for three successive years, marking progressive steps in the development of their works. A visit to the Ajanta Caves and a contact with the remarkable techniques of the Classical school of Indian painting had provided the necessary reprimand and discipline to the early immature efforts of this group, which for a time had led to a paralysis of their ambitions and aspirations from which they have just recovered to reveal a substantial progress in their artistic career.

Though Nikhil Biswas has been the pivot and



Willow Background
By Debnath Mukherjee

Terrace where almost throughout the year, incessant exhibitions have been held by many young and aspiring artists, each lasting for a week to a fortnight. This happy loan of exhibiting rooms has brought to light the works of many budding and promising artists, struggling for a position in contemporary art. Generally, these exhibitions have included the works of a group of artists rather than of individuals. These combined shows are not necessarily based on any unity of artistic creeds or common methods of vision or of technique. Many of these combined shows have included the works of two to six different artists, each revealing manners and techniques widely divergent from each other. One such group, labelled as the "Chitramshu Group" composed of Nikhil Biswas, Debnath Mukherjee, Tapas Dutt and others, has held

inspiration of the group (and on whom we expect to write on a later occasion), recently, Debnath Mukherjee has come out with astonishing revelations of his talent, unexpected three years ago. One happy feature of his works is that Debnath Mukherjee has stoutly resisted the current fashions of modern artists, particularly evident in the works of the art-exponents of Bombay groups to suppress their Indian personalities and also to deny and repudiate their Indian artistic heritage or affiliation, studiously avoiding the traditions of Indian pictorial art. Debnath Mukherjee, though not wholly immune from the influences of Western Impressionistic creeds, has happily turned to the manners and points of view of the Chinese and Japanese schools (Japanese rather than Chinese), an affiliation which many sound critics prefer for modern



Pain in Spring
By Debnath Mukherjee

Indian artists, if only to save themselves from the alluring slavery of the European "isms." Debnath in his last show (March 1952) has revealed some astonishing and distinctive powers, both in vision and technique, which deserve to be known beyond his narrow circle of admirers in Bengal. He has already obtained an all-India recognition, as, encouraged by Mr. Mukandi Lal, the well-known connoisseur of the Pahari school, Debnath has exhibited at Mussoorie, and recently also, at Patna, where his landscapes have won appreciation and admiration. But, as a figure-painter, he has already made his mark, and his figure-subjects demand equal attention with his "Impressionistic" Nature-pieces. We cite here one example of each to justify our appreciation of his clever brushwork, which nearly touches the masterly. Generally, our modern aspirants confine themselves to technical gymnastics, revealing and parading bravura of brushwork, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. Many of Debnath's creations are rich in content as well as in technical form. This will be apparent in his powerful study of "Pain in Spring," recalling the emotional richness of the many presentations of the *Virahini Nayika* of the old masters of the Rajput schools. His "Willow Background," a river scene dominated by a willow tree, has invested a topographical sketch with a permanent vision of universal quality. It is more than a transcript of a particular scene, a masterly generalization of universal appeal. He is undoubtedly a young painter of great promise with considerable present achievement.

—O—

KANSAS: MIDWESTERN AGRICULTURAL STATE

By WILLIAM O. LYNCH,
Professor Emeritus of History, Indiana University

THE State of Kansas, located in the heart of the American Midwest, is sometimes referred to as the nation's bread basket as it leads all other States in the production of wheat. It ranks second in the production of livestock, and in recent years petroleum and natural gas have become major industries. But aside from its material resources and wealth, Kansas has been influential in the historical, educational, and political life of the United States. A land which was first home to the hardy pioneer in the nineteenth century, Kansas has been a proving ground for new ideas, but at its core is a conservatism which makes it in many ways typical of the entire Midwest.

The State of Kansas forms an almost perfect rectangle, 408 miles long and 207 miles wide. It is drained by two river systems, the Kansas which drains the northern half of the State and the Arkansas which, with its tributaries, drains practically all

of the southern half. The State is a part of the Great Plains area of the United States, but the elevation rises from 750 feet above sea level in this portion to as much as 4,000 feet above sea level on its western boundary.

The first recorded history of Kansas begins about the year 1540 when the Spanish explorer Francisco de Coronado led a great exploring expedition (1540-1542) into the central part of the present State, reaching the Indian village of Quivira on or near the Kansas River. Approximately 50 years later another group of Spaniards explored the Quivira area and in 1682, after the French explorer Rene de La Salle discovered the mouth of the Mississippi River (the river was discovered a century and a half earlier by Hernando de Soto), the Kansas region was claimed as a part of the French colonial empire in the New World. This empire—the great province of Louisiana—was ceded to Spain in 1763 and retroceded

KANSAS: MIDWESTERN AGRICULTURAL STATE

to France in 1801. In 1803 Louisiana was purchased from France by the United States and soon American explorers were setting out on expeditions to determine the size and content of the new acquisition.

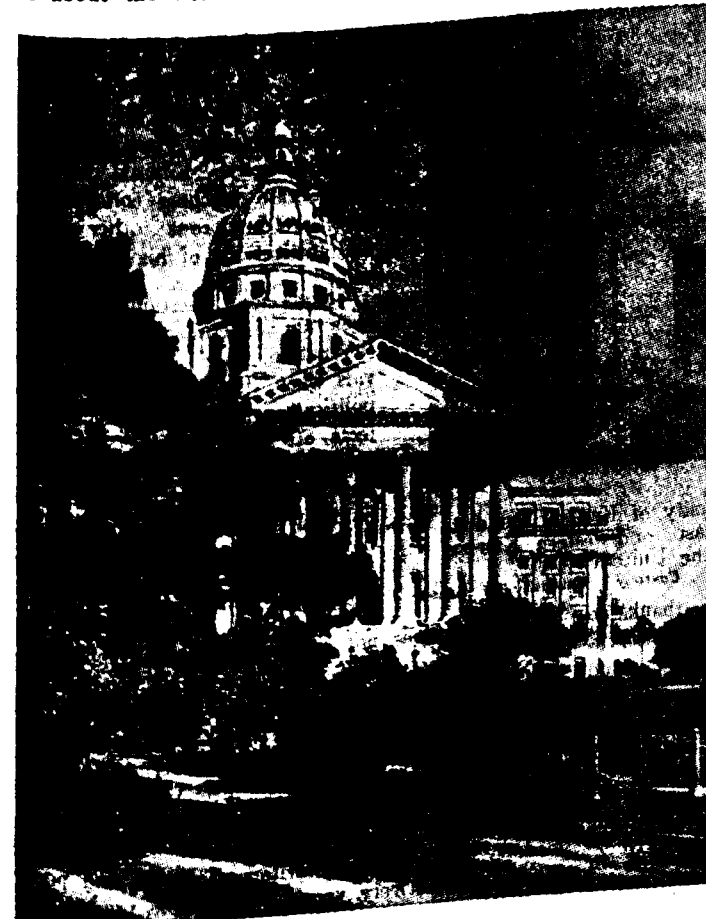
In the years 1804 to 1806 the expedition to Oregon on the Pacific Coast headed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark furnished much information about the western country. The expedition of

back and forth over the plains for many years, and the Kansas country was traversed by thousands of traders, gold seekers, and emigrants for a good many years before 1854.

The 1850's were marked by a mighty movement of people from the eastern seaboard to the newer States extending down the center of the United States from the Canadian border on the north to the Mexican border on the south.

European immigrants also made their way westward, many settling in Kansas. According to the census of 1860 the population of Kansas was 107,206. In 1861, it became a State, the thirty-fourth to be admitted to the Union. By 1870 the population was 364,399, the increase being over two and one-half times the total population in 1860.

In the years from 1870 to 1890, the population of Kansas increased by more than 1,000,000 the great rush of new settlers arriving between 1876 and 1886. In this period vast numbers of new farms were established and agricultural production was greatly augmented. At this time corn was the principal crop. Great herds of cattle were driven from southern States hundreds of miles away to railway shipping centres in Kansas. Growing towns and cities experienced a period of speculation in real estate, and building was carried on extensively. Rail-road building during this period provided Kansas with excellent shipping facilities. Main lines of railroads were built from coast to coast across the United States, giving Kansas a transportation system which accelerated the State's development and growth. To the



The State Capitol in the city of Topeka, Kansas
Courtesy: Chamber of Commerce, Topeka, Kansas

Zebulon Montgomery Pike crossed Kansas in 1806. In 1827 Daniel Morgan Boone, son of the famous American explorer and colonizer (1735-1820) Daniel Boone, was sent by the Federal Government to teach farming to Indian inhabitants in what is now Jefferson County, Kansas. He erected a home, and his son Napoleon Boone was probably the first child born to new settlers (1828) within the limits of the present State of Kansas.

Colonization did not actually begin until about 1854, but the area of Kansas was traversed by the Santa Fe Trail and the Oregon Trail—the routes followed by pioneer settlers and early traders moving westward across the nation. Wagon trains passed

9,000 miles of railways, there has been added a vast network of roads, including approximately 10,000 miles of improved highways maintained by the State.

Recurring dry years exerted a large influence upon the economic status of Kansas, especially as farming expanded westward into the higher, more arid portion of the State. When dry years come in succession for a period, they spell very real disaster in an agricultural section. The most recent dry period in Kansas history came in a series of years preceding 1939. Then everywhere people heard of dust storms and the "dust bowl." A combination of dry years and economic depression, meaning low prices and low agricultural production at the same

time, put the State to a severe test but the people survived the ordeal. However, rural districts and even many cities lost population between 1930 and 1940, though a few cities showed gains.

thing else to bring about a better economic balance between agriculture and industries in the State. Urban population has been catching up with rural, and this trend will likely continue.

The people of Kansas have been interested in education from the earliest days and have had a free public school system since before 1860. The State College of Agriculture and Applied Science opened in 1863. The University of Kansas was founded in 1865. It is a high-ranking university, with a large student body. Kansas maintains three State teachers colleges, and there are numerous other colleges and institutions of higher learning.

Kansas to a certain extent has been an experimental station for the nation. There have been intervals when the State has tried out political, economic, or social projects after its own patterns. Its experimental efforts have come mostly in times of economic or political stress but after the storms blow over the people turn to conservatism in politics and legislation.

Since 1939, the "dust bowl" of Kansas, thanks to a greater annual rainfall and to improved conservation methods, has been producing wheat again and pasture lands are being renewed. The State remains first in wheat production among the 48 States. Corn does not hold the high place it once did, but is still an enormous crop. The renewal and extension of grasslands to lessen dust storms is stimulating the cattle industry which is one of the great assets of the State. Cattle production is especially high in the Bluestem grass areas of the eastern and central sections.

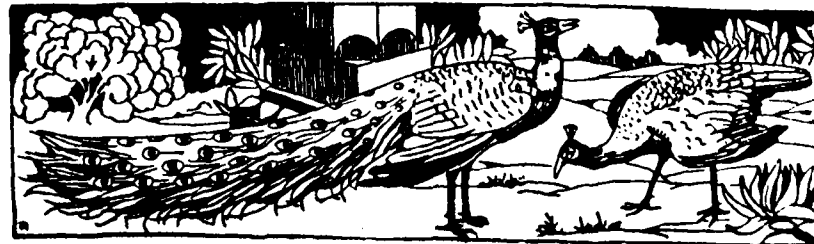
Petroleum and natural gas have become great assets of Kansas. Heavy production in these fields, plus airplane production, has done more than any-

Kansas does not have a congested population. The State has encountered hard problems, but there are some problems not common to people who live close to wide open spaces. The upheavals that have come in Kansas, in legislative experiments and in indigenous literature, have been different from those of densely populated areas. The State has produced well-known political figures, economic leaders, journalists, and writers of fiction and poetry. Kansas is still very young. Up to the present, the State has written only the first chapters of a long history, but they are proud chapters, a suitable basis on which to erect a constantly changing and higher civilization in harmony with the principles of liberty and equality.—From *Think*, a monthly magazine published in the U.S.A.



Administration building of the University of Kansas, founded in 1865, just four years after the vast mid-western Kansas territory became a State of the United States

Courtesy: University of Kansas



STUDIES ON AGE AT MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

By A. C. NAG, M.Sc.,

Department of Statistics, Calcutta University

In India, the over-all rate of growth of population has been rather high in recent decades. This high rate is made responsible for prevailing poverty. People are anxious to know whether the rate will remain at this high level in future also. But it is difficult to estimate the over-all birth-rate without obtaining a knowledge of birth-rate in different sections of the population because birth-rate is different in different communities, nay in different sections of the same community. Further, if it is desired to locate the factors responsible for this rapid growth, the over-all rate which is the resultant of many factors will not help us much. It is necessary to isolate the factors and study their influences on birth-rate. This may be done by comparing the birth-rates of different homogeneous sections of the population, each section having some special feature. I have made a few sample studies for this purpose. The present study is one of that series.

This study is based on families residing in villages. The villages have been picked out from different districts of West Bengal. The families selected are mostly (over 90 p.c.) Bengali Hindus and belong to the middle class of the society. Particulars collected include among other things (a) the ages of the head of the family, his wife and his children and (b) the duration of his married life. In case of living members the present age has been recorded and in other cases the age at death and calendar year of death have been recorded. The age that would have been attained at present by those members who are now dead has been computed by adding the number of years elapsed since death to the age at death. In cases where a man has married more than once each marriage has been considered independently for the purpose of this study and children by different wives have been treated separately.

In rural population the age at marriage among girls is very low as compared to that in urban population. A comparison of fertility obtaining in these two kinds of population is expected to reveal the influence of early marriage on birth-rate provided the families selected are more or less alike in all other respects.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

Age at marriage is an important factor in population studies because the risk of conception may be

reasonably assumed to start from the date of marriage provided the girl has then attained puberty. Table I shows that about 70 p.c. of the marriages in villages used to take place before the girl attained her fifteenth birthday. In recent years, i.e., in the last decade, this percentage has come down to 50. The reason for this shifting of the age at marriage on the high side will be discussed later in connection with "Age-difference of the Couple." In all studies hereafter on fertility, the effective age at marriage has been taken as 14 last birthday whenever a marriage took place at a younger age.

Table I
Distribution of Mother's age at Marriage
Marriages*

Age last birthday at marriage	Recent No. of cases	P.C.	Old No. of cases	P.C.
12 and below	360	14.0	721	34.8
13-14	950	37.1	718	34.6
15-16	743	29.0	427	20.6
17-18	326	12.7	148	7.1
19-20	104	4.1	36	1.7
21 and over	80	3.1	25	1.2
	2563	100.0	2075	100.0

INTERVAL BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND FIRST DELIVERY

In my earlier investigations information about the age at marriage was not collected. Direct comparison of this age (i.e., at marriage) is not therefore possible between rural and urban population. A study of the interval between effective marriage and first delivery has however made an indirect comparison feasible. As voluntary postponement of motherhood by artificial methods is totally absent in villages for want of knowledge and availability, the rural population is best suited for a study on the distribution of the above interval. Table 2 shows that this distribution remains practically the same whether the marriage takes place at a very young age or at a more advanced age. A comparison of the age at first delivery may therefore be expected to disclose the special features, if any, of the age at marriage.

* In about 7 p.c. cases duration since marriage was not recorded.

Table 2.

Interval between effective marriage and first birth							
Age last birthday at marriage	1	2	3	4	5	6 & over	Total
Below 16—							
Number of cases	170	570	823	422	219	291	2495
Percentage	6.81	22.85	32.99	16.91	8.78	11.06	100.00
16 and over—							
Number of cases	58	195	284	119	72	100	828
Percentage	7.00	23.55	34.30	14.37	8.70	12.08	100.00

AGE AT FIRST DELIVERY

The result of this investigation in regard to distribution of mother's age at first delivery is then compared with that of another investigation made by me on middle-class urban Hindu population. Only marriages of recent years have been compared. The table below shows that 61 p.c. of first deliveries took place before the mother attained her 18th birthday in villages as against 33.7 p.c. in towns. So girls get married later in towns than in villages.

In one of my previous studies it has been shown that the average age at first delivery depends also on social and financial status. In the intellectual section girls get married rather late. This is due to the spread of higher education in that section.

Table 3.

Distribution of mother's age at first delivery

Age last birthday at first delivery	Rural: Population—		Urban: Population—	
	Recorded deliveries	P.C.	Recorded deliveries	P.C.
17 & below	903	61.0	379	33.7
18—22	522	35.3	623	55.3
23 & over	54	3.7	124	11.0
	1479	100.0	1126	100.0

AGE-DIFFERENCE OF THE COUPLE

Due to economic conditions the boys now marry late. This is the main reason why the average age at marriage has gone up among girls. In my study on Insured population I have shown that age-difference of the couple varies widely from province to province but within a province there is a favourite age-difference. The age-difference was less than 4 years in half the marriages in Bombay and between 5 and 9 years in 55 p.c. marriages in Bengal. In this rural population also, 60 p.c. marriages have the age-difference, 5 to 9 years. Table 4 shows that the age-difference of 5-9 years is equally favourite with the intellectual group (i.e. Insured population) as with the general mass (i.e. rural population) but the next favourite is 0-4 years in the intellectual class and 9-14 years in the rural class.

In one of my earlier studies it was disclosed that the age-difference had narrowed down in the intellec-

tual class as from the last to this generation. Similar trend is not so prominent in the rural population; the distribution is similar in recent (where the duration is less than 10 years) and old marriages in villages. As higher education among girls has not become so popular in villages as in towns and as villagers are slow in adopting any social change, it is quite natural that age-difference has not appreciably narrowed down in villages.

Now that the age-difference has remained stationary in some cases and has narrowed down in others, it is easy to see that late marriage among boys is responsible for late marriage among girls.

Table 4.
Distribution of marriages by age-difference of the couple

Age difference: (in years)	Recent marriages		Old* marriages		Insured: marriages	
	No. of	p.c.	No. of	p.c.	No. of	p.c.
0-4	413	17.3	425	17.7	769	25.8
5-9	1559	60.8	1374	57.4	1679	56.4
10-14	491	19.2	514	21.5	447	15.0
15 & over	70	2.7	81	3.4	83	2.8
	2563	100.0	2394	100.0	2978	100.0

INTERVAL BETWEEN SUCCESSIVE BIRTHS

We have seen that in villages a very large percentage of girls get married before attainment of puberty or shortly thereafter. Procreation thus starts earlier in girls' life in villages than in towns, and the fertility curve is likely to be different in shape in Rural and Urban population. In order to have an idea of the difference in shape it is necessary to know the effect of the early and the late marriage on the spacing of successive motherhood. It appears from Table 5 below that the spacing between first and second births is not materially affected by the age at marriage. So, a rise in the age at marriage is likely to shift the peak of the fertility curve to a higher age of the mother. This is in fact noticed when a fertility table of an urban population is compared with that of a rural population.

Table 5.

Interval between First and Second Births							
Age last birthday at marriage	1	2	3	4	5	6 & over	Total
Below 16—							
Number of cases	79	785	448	214	109	123	1808
Percentage	4.4	43.4	27.6	11.8	6.0	6.8	100.0
16 and over—							
Number of cases	33	237	132	62	32	36	532
Percentage	6.2	44.5	24.8	11.7	6.0	6.8	100.0

* Those marriages where duration since marriage was not recorded have been treated as "old marriages."

FERTILITY ACCORDING TO MOTHER'S AGE

Fertility prevailing in a community is affected by mortality, i.e., by maternal death and widowhood. If the fertility in two communities is to be compared it is necessary to calculate the gross fertility rates by eliminating the effect of mortality before making the comparison, as otherwise the difference in mortality may mask, partly or wholly, the difference in fertility. The adjustment for mortality has been made by exposing a woman to the risk of conception for half a year only in the year of death or widowhood on the assumption that deaths are uniformly distributed over each year of age. The following table has been prepared after adjusting the "Exposed to Risk" figures in the manner mentioned above. Table 6 shows that fertility at first increases with the age of the mother and then diminishes, the maximum fertility occurring in the neighbourhood of age 21. In preparing this table it has been assumed that the earliest age for first delivery is 15 and that the age for menopause is 45. Figures for column (5) have been obtained by multiplying the rates of column (4) with the corresponding group-intervals. The total fertility works out at 5.079. This means that if a married woman is exposed to the risk of conception from the beginning to the end of the child-bearing period, 5.08 children would be borne by her.

Table 6.

Birth-rate according to mother's age				
Age last birthday	years exposed to risk	No. of births	rate per year	Birth rate in age-groups
17 or below	18077	2642	.1462	.4386
18—22	15173	4272	.2816	1.4080
23—27	9055	2179	.2406	1.2030
28—32	4242	789	.1860	.9300
33—37	1847	204	.1104	.5520
38 & over	601	47	.0782	.5474
		10133		5.0790

The above results agree with those of the "Weaving Survey" made by the Indian Statistical Institute. The total fertility among weavers was 4.97 and the fertility was maximum at age 20.8. It may be mentioned here that the rural and the weaving population are similar, particularly in regard to age at marriage. But in the intellectual (i.e. insured) population where the average age at marriage is higher, the fertility reached its maximum at a higher age (i.e. at age 25) and the total fertility also worked out at the higher figure, 5.75.

The above findings indicate that in those sections of the population where marriages at a very early age are prevalent, the women are less prolific than in

other sections where the girls get married a bit late to evade very early maternity, in spite of the fact that a wife in the latter section starts reproduction with a handicap due to late marriage. How this happens may be realised from a study of table 7 below. It gives the average number of children borne by a mother analysed according to her present age. In this tabulation a mother has been included in an age-group provided she bore at least one child in that age-group. The mothers of the rural sample have been compared with the patients of a Maternity Home* in Calcutta where over 85 p.c. of the cases are middle-class Bengali Hindus. The Table reveals that the average number of children borne by a mother is slightly less in urban than in rural area so long as the mother is below 22 years, say. But when the mother further advances in age this average number is substantially higher in urban than in rural area. It may be mentioned here that in only 24.5 p.c. of the first-birth cases, the mother was below 18 years of age in that maternity home. It thus appears that when procreation starts early in a girl's life it also ends early.

Table 7.

Distribution of average number of children according to the age of the mother

Mother's age last birthday	Average number of children:	
	Rural population	Urban population (Hospital)
18—22	2.093	2.007
23—27	3.337	3.380
28—32	4.558	5.270
33—37	5.334	6.652

BIRTH-RATE AND FATHER'S AGE

Father's age is equally important in population studies as mother's age. The following table (Table 8) has therefore been prepared on the lines of Table 5. As before, the birth-rate at first increases with the age of the father and then it diminishes, the maximum rate appearing at age 32 nearest birthday. Assuming that a man does not become a father before age 19 and that procreative power ceases on attainment of age 55, the number of children that may be expected of a man comes to 5.75, ignoring mortality. Thus in a hypothetical population where there is no death a man produces more children than a woman. It is however difficult to say whether this relative position is maintained in actual circumstances, because mortality within the reproduction period is likely to be higher among men than among women. It may be remembered here that the reproduction period starts and also terminates at a higher age among men than among women.

* Ramakrishna Shubumangal Pratisthan.

Table 8.

Birth-rate according to father's age				
Age last birthday	years exposed to risk	No. of births	Birth rate per year	Birth rate in age-groups
22 & below	23916	1608	.0672	.2688
23-27	18612	3432	.1844	.9220
28-32	11837	2831	.2392	1.1960
33-37	6528	1507	.2309	1.1545
38-43	3046	548	.1799	.8995
44-47	1152	154	.1337	.6685
48-54	577	53	.0919	.6433
		10133		5.7526

CONCLUSION

We now compare the results of the few studies made on fertility rates of Bengal. The Insured (i.e. intellectual) population and the Urban population exhibit higher fertility rates than the Weaving population and the rural population. The fertility curve, also, reaches its peak at a higher age in the Urban and the Insured population than in the Rural and the Weaving population. It has been shown above that this shifting of the peak is caused by the Age at Marriage; the peak appears at a low age where immature maternity prevails. The above findings thus indicate that the total fertility is low when the peak appears at a low age, i.e., where immature motherhood is prevalent. The study, made above, on the distribution of First Deliveries according to age of the mother has revealed that the proportion of first deliveries occurring before age 18 of the mother is much smaller in the urban population than

in the rural population. It is also evident that this feature will be present as between the intellectual and the Weaving Class as the girls marry late in the former class due to spread of education among them. So, the low fertility among the rural and uneducated class may be explained by prevalence of immature motherhood among them. As expected, the total fertility figure for Bengal as a whole is higher than that for rural areas but lower than that for urban areas. The modal age of the fertility curve of Bengal also lies between the modal ages of the rural and the urban areas. It has been shown above that the practice of marrying girls before the attainment of puberty or immediately thereafter is on the wane even in villages. This social change is better for the nation because immature motherhood ruins the health of the mother; but it is likely to accelerate the rate of growth of population particularly, when mortality is showing a downward trend. Unless this increasing birth-rate is checked through education on family-planning, it may not be possible to feed the population in future even by increasing the production of food.

REFERENCE

1. *International Statistical Conferences, India 1951*: "A Study on Fertility Rates in the Middle Class Population of India" by A. C. Nag.
2. *International Statistical Conferences, India 1951*: "Graduation of Birth Rates" by B. N. Sarkar.
3. *Insurance World*, September, 1951: "Construction of Fertility Table for Bengal from Insurance Data" by A. C. Nag.
4. *Calcutta Statistical Association Bulletin*, Vol. 3, No. 12: "Study of Variation in Sex-Ratio" by A. C. Nag.

LIFE

By V. V. TONPE

Tho' all day long I trample on her bosom with my feet
At night I lie in close communion with the mother earth.
The twinkling stars do send to me their message and do greet,
But I refuse to have their company ever since my birth.

The ocean sings to me the songs of aeons in her womb,
But I pretend to be absorbed in the play of endless life.
And when the fire surrounds me with its tongues of fateful doom,
I lie serene as if my heart did never know a strife.

—:O:—

"QUIT ENGLISH?"

The Place of English in Free India

By PROF. KAMAL KRISHNA GHOSH, M.A.

WITH the independence of India she is facing a new problem, viz., a linguistic problem, a problem that bears several facets. Apart from the question of a State language for Free India, there is the all-important question of the place of English in Free India, which forms the theme of the present disquisition.

English language, being the language of our erstwhile rulers, is now naturally under a cloud. It is even threatened to be placed under a permanent ban, for the demand is now more and more clamant for the total withdrawal of this last vestige of the past age of bondage, of this last symbol, though cultural, of that age. After "Quit India" the next cry naturally is "Quit English." The problem is therefore to be calmly tackled and closely analysed. On analysis we find it posing the following different questions:

- (i) Should English retain the pride of place as it used to have formerly? i.e., should English continue to be the State and Court language as before and should it also remain the medium of instruction in the higher stages of education?
- (ii) Should English continue to be the medium of communication amongst the educated classes in Free India?
- (iii) Is it possible for English to become the *Lingua franca* amongst the masses in Free India?
- (iv) Should English be retained as an optional second language only, in schools and universities?
- (v) Should English continue to be a compulsory subject of study from the lowest form up to the University stages? and lastly,
- (vi) What should be the position of English amongst communities having English as their mother-tongue?

Let me hasten to add here that the present article is concerned with the position of English amongst those with whom it is *not* the mother-tongue. And so (vi) does not come within the purview of the present study. Only this much may be added here that amongst communities having English as their mother-tongue, English should be given all the privileges inherent to a mother-tongue.

As regards the first question the verdict has already been given by the Parliament of Free India, viz., that in Free India English, a foreign tongue, cannot continue to be the State language. Naturally, it cannot flourish as the language of law courts either. So this point is already settled for good and need not be re-opened here. And then, as regards the "medium of instruction," instruction being always best conveyed of instruction, the claim of English, a foreign language, to be the medium of instruction, is automatically ruled out, at least in the earlier stages. But as regards the University stages, whether the medium of instruction is to be the mother tongue or the regional language or the State language is not quite germane to the subject of the present study.

So, if English be not the State language and the language of the law courts and if English ceases to be

the medium of instruction, the postulate that follows is that there is no chance for it to become the *lingua franca* even amongst the educated classes of Free India, let alone the masses. At least from a long-range view we can visualize a stage when the English language, gradually ousted from post to post, will cease to be the medium of communication in Free India and will have to remain confined within the scholar's study only.

The next questions that immediately and naturally arise are: Should English language in the case of such an inevitable eventuality be allowed at all to flourish in the scholar's study even? Should we allow our time and energy to be spent (wasted?) over the study of the language of our erstwhile rulers, a language which will no longer be required in our parliaments, in our law courts and offices, and in our bazaars? In other words, what on earth is the necessity of keeping this language "alive" in schools and colleges alone?

These questions are such as naturally arouse strong feelings in the present psychology of India. Sober consideration is therefore all the more necessary. Let us not be swayed by passion, let us calmly and coolly weigh these questions in the balance. We shall have then to come to the conclusion that English language may be dethroned in our parliaments, in our law courts and offices, in our bazaars, but it cannot, it must not be a taboo in our educational institutions; we must not forget that the language of our erstwhile rulers is also the language in which Shakespeare and Bernard Shaw wrote and it would therefore be no waste of our time and energy to study the language. In other words, English should continue to have a place in the curriculum of our schools, colleges and universities, with this modification only that it need not be the medium of instruction at any stage, lowest or highest, but should be cultivated simply as a language; should, in other words, be given its due recognition as a language only, *shorn of all the weightage that its former association with the rulers of the land once gave it*. Alas! this very association which once gave English language all its "weightage" has now proved to be its undoing—the "weightage" has now turned out to be a veritable "handicap." We must therefore study this problem dispassionately, apart from this association.

This conclusion naturally leads to the topic of the importance of the English language. We do not know whether there is any need to dilate on this topic, it is so patent to everybody. But sufficient it is to note here that English is no longer the language of a group of small islands in the far-off Atlantic Ocean, whence hailed our erstwhile rulers; that it is also the language of America, the language in which Abraham Lincoln spoke and Whitman sang, that it is now the medium of expression of world's greatest scientists and thinkers

in every line and that today on account of diverse causes English language has step by step come to occupy the position of almost the *lingua franca* of the modern world.

Today "English is the most widely spoken language in the world; tomorrow it will be the official international language as it now is unofficially."—*English*, Vol. III, No. 45.

Now let us ask ourselves: Should we cut off all connexion with this language thereby isolating ourselves from the world-current? Should we voluntarily throw away the little mastery that we have come to acquire of this great language, thereby causing a huge intellectual wastage? Free India cannot afford to banish the English language from her shores, it may do so only at the peril of her future welfare. Mere "richness" of literature however is not the only consideration here, although the wealth of English literature has been certainly one of the leavening factors in moulding modern India. The richness of other literatures may be on par with that of English literature—that may not be the only justification for a foreign language to be incorporated in the educational curriculum of a country. It is the peculiar position of the English language in the present world set-up, about which mention has already been made in the last paragraph, that is our chief consideration. It can safely be hazarded therefore that without a knowledge and with it the mastery also, of the English language, India will be intellectually isolated from the rest of the world, and as a result will ultimately drift back to the backwaters.

The next argument of the reactionary school will be that *translations* from foreign languages will be able to neutralize the effects of the abandonment of the English language. A life-long champion of "the cult of translation" though I am, I am quite alive to its limitations, into which subject let me now digress a little to show the futility of "translation" in the field of science specially. First, translations here can never be up-to-date, for they can never be expected to keep pace with the ever-increasing volume of scientific and technical literature. Translation bureaux therefore formed to replace the original foreign works will ultimately prove useless and will but saddle the State with costly departments, which will serve no useful purpose. Next, there is the difficult problem of coining terminologies, for the new expressions are not likely to be very happy and will more often than not turn out to be almost Greek to those for whom they are meant, and the new scientific literature mostly out-of-date of course that will be turned out by the translation bureaux will be clothed in unfelicitous terminologies, which will fail to produce any impression on the minds of the readers. Other difficulties attending all works of translation are left aside here. But the two main difficulties, just mentioned, that stand in the way of translations from scientific literature,

alone render all such attempts unfruitful. A huge experiment in this line was undertaken in the past by one University in India and naturally not much success was attained on account of these inherent limitations of "translations," although laudable pioneering work was done. This example should serve as a very good eye-opener to all supporters of the "cult of translation." Now that India is free, the demand will naturally go forth for the study of science through the medium of the native languages, and Universities in India may have to undertake translations of scientific literature on a huge scale. It will be fitting therefore to consider thoroughly the problem of "translation" and beware of its limitations. So let me add "translation" by all means, but let the translations, in the case of science, be confined to foreign "classics" only, enough unexplored field lies here, the harvest of which might profitably be purveyed to the masses by the formation of translation bureaux. But for all types of higher scientific and technical study and research we need not waste our resources and energy on "translations," for they can never be up-to-date. At the present stage it will therefore be a sort of intellectual suicide for Free India to abjure the English language, which to the majority of educated Indians *today*, is the only key to the world of higher science.

We have therefore to come back to the conclusion that a knowledge of English is almost essential even for Free India. The corollary therefore is that instead of neglecting the study of English in Free India, we should rather intensify its study on a more scientific line entailing a minimum of intellectual wastage. We need not feel shocked at this conclusion. *In the modern world multilingualism should profitably be encouraged and propagated.* First, we have our mother tongue; secondly, our regional language; thirdly, our State language; and lastly, one modern foreign language to keep us in touch with the outside world. Over and above these four languages, we have our classical language, which forms the bed-rock of our culture. To many the mother-tongue and regional language are identical, and so a study of at least four languages seems unavoidable. At first sight the burden might almost seem too much, but in reality it is not such. Introduction to several languages in the earliest stages need not be looked down upon, if only the decks are cleared by the removal of semi-medical and scientific courses, which, through the medium of present-day text-books only, certainly prove much too hard nuts for teenagers, and so lead inevitably to cramming. Initiation in the early stages into semi-medical and scientific courses should be undertaken through latest methods and appliances and not through mere text-books. However, whatever be the syllabus in the earliest forms and whatever be the methods of disseminating scientific knowledge devised by experts,

the study of English in the present set-up should find place as early as possible.

I am afraid I might disturb a hornet's nest by my proposal to introduce English in the earliest possible stage. In reply to the generally accepted proposal of introducing English at a very late stage in the school curriculum, I will only point out the great practical disadvantages that will result from this step. Under this scheme a student beginning the rudiments of English at the later stage will not have sufficient time to attain the necessary proficiency for the Matriculation or any "school-leaving" standard. The time at his disposal will be much too short for him to catch up, it will be almost impossible for the average student to make good the "time lag." The inevitable result will be the lowering of the standard in English, not only at the Matriculation or "school-leaving" stage but as a corollary, at the higher stages also. This will certainly be not a desirable state. Of course, theoretically it is all right to assert that a foreign language should be introduced at a late stage. But this presupposes a more scientific method of teaching and other pre-requisites which are conspicuous by their absence in our present educational set-up. Until and unless such requisite conditions of teaching a foreign language are made easily available to our school students, I am afraid any proposal for putting off the introduction of English to a later stage in our school will not be conducive to the future welfare of the country. Early familiarity will go a long way to make a foreign language easier, and compensate the shortcomings of the present set-up.

The main argument for putting off the introduction of English to a later stage in our schools has been that English is a foreign language. But I am afraid that in the case of English in particular the difficulties have been more imaginary than real. They have been certainly greatly exaggerated and may easily be overcome by any serious student. Admittedly there has been a gradual but very marked deterioration on the part of our students as regards their capacity to master English. This deterioration started about two decades back and has today reached almost the nadir, so to say. The situation now is grave and alarming to a degree, no doubt, on account of the huge percentage of failures in English, year in, year out; and outwardly the "biggest single factor in the large percentage of failures in all our examinations is the poor knowledge of English of the average student."* Let us therefore dispassionately make a study and find out the exact cause or causes leading to this alarming situation. It will be then found out that something deeper than mere linguistic difficulty attending a foreign language is responsible for the present situation. English language, which could be so easily mastered in the past

generation has not, of course, developed new complexities, baffling our students of the present generation. So, to repeat again, the difficulties are more imaginary than real and can be easily overcome by any serious student. It is this lack of seriousness in the modern student, to put it as mildly as possible, that has been responsible for the sorry state of affairs that stares us in the face today. A student who is not serious will not find the study of even his mother-tongue easier. This has been amply demonstrated by the University results, at least of the Calcutta University. So if students are brought into touch with the English language in the early receptive and formative period of their life, the inherent difficulties in acquiring the knowledge of a foreign tongue will be greatly minimised even though the present methods of teaching be defective. Therefore let the right methods of teaching be first determined by a body of experts and let this body of experts also determine the exact period of starting the study of English.† But so long this is not done, let early age be not considered an impediment to the acquisition of the knowledge of English, for it was never an impediment in the past generation. Moreover, there is the factor of heredity to be reckoned: what the immediate forefathers acquired so easily may be acquired with as much ease by their descendants also. Let us therefore be not so misdirected as to banish the study of English, either partially or altogether, or put hurdles on the way simply on the plea that it is a foreign language.

When national interest demands acquaintance with one modern European language, it will be prudent on our part to make our choice of the one European language that has played a vital part in our national life and that is about to become the international *lingua franca*. Whatever actual difficulties there may be in the acquisition of this language it must not deter us from approaching this language with friendly gesture. Of course, there are difficulties, but if these difficulties were easily surmounted in the past, there is no reason why they should not be in the present. We must not again forget another aspect. Acquisition of a foreign language with all its difficulties is a sort of intellectual discipline or training. Incapacity to learn a foreign language after years of study bespeaks a lack of seriousness, a lack of patience and perseverance, of tenacity and grit, that will ultimately tend to our national undoing. We should therefore view the lack of proficiency in English of the modern generation of our students not purely from a linguistic point of view. It is symptomatic of something deeper,

† By the way I have not much faith in the modern craze for teaching English through the medium of mother-tongue, as suggested by Sri Narendranath Ray in his letter in the *Statesman* of August 21, 1951. That may no doubt lead to the easier understanding of the English texts, but will hardly develop the power of expression in English.

* Sri Narendranath Ray's letter in the *Statesman* of August 21, 1951.

of a *malaise* that has got to be removed if we are to progress as an independent nation. It will not do to say that it is a sheer waste of national energy to try to master a foreign language. That will be putting a premium on our weakness. We must have to triumph over them. These difficulties are a direct challenge to our moral and intellectual capacities. Should our young students be found unable to meet this challenge? It would be ominous indeed if they are found so. We have therefore to impress this aspect of the problem on our students, and surely, there will be a good response.

Alas! alas! history has the fatal knack of repeating itself with ruthless regularity! India today is again facing almost the same educational problem which she faced and tackled about a century and a half ago!—it is the problem of the adoption of the English language in our educational curriculum. The problem today is no doubt a little modified, but nevertheless as grave and serious as the problem was in the past. Then it was the problem of the introduction of English or Western education, with the English language as the chief vehicle or medium of instruction, now it is the problem not of the introduction of English education or English language, but of the retention of the English language, not as the chief medium or vehicle of instruction, but merely as a course of study. Thus today after the lapse of a century and a half when English language has to a certain extent been acclimatised on the Indian soil, India is facing the question of the *discontinuance* of this very language as a course of study. Though no doubt we have partially modified the decision of our forefathers by deciding to make the mother-tongue the chief vehicle of our instruction at all stages of our education, we are now being asked to upset completely the decision of our forefathers by banishing English totally from our educational curriculum. Thus time-forces are threatening to take us back to the pre-English education period, and the prospect before us is again naturally a social and educational revolution. So the situation today is again very grave and serious. To add to the seriousness and gravity of the situation, the present age has not the relieving feature which the past had. English language then held forth the message of a new world, a band of ardent enthusiasts including young students, 'who spoke and wrote English, who thought in English and even dreamt in English,' came forward as champions of the English language and English education, and so the introduction of the English language as the vehicle of this new education was facilitated. Today however the picture has undergone a great change—for the youth are now on the revolt, and English to them is but the symbol of the past foreign domination and *ipso facto* a taboo! So gone for ever are the days of Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt! Today the psychology of that age is impossible to revive. And hence rises all this talk of the aban-

donment of English. On the top of this a new aspect has emerged—today English has become the greatest stumbling block on the path of the Indian student. Naturally when India has become free, the demand is going forth for the removal of this stumbling block, for the pulling down of this hurdle. Hence this additional ground for the abandonment of English is being now advanced—English, in other words, is to be made a scape-goat, it has to be sacrificed on the plea that it is proving too hard a nut for our young examinees! This aspect of the problem is therefore something new, and I hope experts will sit down and give their best consideration to this aspect of the problem! Let English be by no means converted into an engine of torture for our young examinees, the future citizens and leaders of Free India. Let English be properly taught, and then it is certain to make a fresh appeal to Free India. The 'honey-dew' and 'milk' of English literature will, I am sure, again exercise a tremendous influence and bring about a new renaissance in India. We are now again at the crossing of the roads, we must have to make our decision very carefully. Should we in a huff banish English altogether from our educational halls or should we not follow the example of many free nations, whose mother-tongue is not English, but who still assiduously cultivate the English language?

It has been said that the greatest achievement of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was to find "his mother's place in the step-mother's hall." But the whirligig of time has brought its own revenge, and the step-mother has been found out to be but an interloper in the mother's hall. Now while asking the step-mother to step down from her place of eminence in that hall, should we ask her to "quit" also? If the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's greatest achievement was to accommodate in a critical stage of our national history our mother-tongue in our step-mother's hall, the greatest achievement of the next hero will be to find a *proper* place for the dethroned step-mother, in that very hall, which has now been recognized to belong rightfully to the mother. English language, in other words, will have to be given its *proper* place in our educational curriculum. English language may not be now the language of our parliaments, it may not be now the language of our courts, it may not any longer be the only passport to administrative posts, it may not any longer be even the medium of instruction in our schools and colleges, but it must not nevertheless be ousted altogether from our educational institutions, it must be given its *proper* place in all our educational schemes. It must not be ignored or dismissed outright. To give English language its *proper* place is therefore the immediate problem facing Free India. Let Free India weigh the *pros* and *cons* carefully and arrive at a correct decision. For

"... not by eastern windows only
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright."

TECHNIQUE OF MORALE BUILDING IN A BRITISH INDUSTRY

By BEPIN BEHARI, M.A.

A high level of morale is difficult to achieve in an industrial organisation. In certain industries however, the problem is very successfully tackled. The workers in such factories are 'proud of themselves,' the labour turnover is 'negligible,' and the factory is considered 'the best in the world' of its kind. Production has exceeded the target, and industrial dispute is absent. Though these objective indicators of morale may not express the *level* of morale, yet they indicate that the firm has achieved the result which every industrialist aims at. This essay attempts to describe the technique by which the goal is achieved in one of such British factories.

The firm which we intend to describe is a precision machine-making organisation. The process of manufacture can be sub-divided under three main sections, viz., (1) Planning, (2) Tooling, (3) Production. The planning department issues operational layouts for different parts needed for the manufacture. Each operation, whether major or minor, is described in the operational layout. The processes such as 'wire,' 'unwire,' 'inspect,' and 'stock' are even described with complete accuracy, so that subsequent operations become fool-proof. The manufacture of these parts requires certain tools. These are either made in the factory's tool room or are sub-contracted outside. Once the tools are ready the Production Control regulates and controls amount of the required articles to be produced. The method of manufacturing the different parts is very repetitive. The workers have very specialised jobs to do. There are many workers whose entire job for the whole day consists of drilling a hole or rivetting a part. When the parts are completely manufactured they are passed to the assembly line, where uniform speed of work is required. Each component of the co-ordinated effort must be completed just so that the next component can come in exactly when it is required for the performance of the task. If it finishes too soon, there will be irritating and disordering gaps. If it finishes too late, there will be interference. Either way there will be clumsiness. The success of the organisation depends on removing this kind of clumsiness both in the manufacturing and in the assembly section.

The company from the very beginning dramatised its inauguration and captured the imagination of the local inhabitants. A good reputation is more valuable than an expensive sign-board. The site of the factory was chosen with such care that the industrial journals reported it as 'surely one of the finest factory sites in the country.' The local papers reported that the

company directors were 'looking for a country setting, trees, gardens, birds, and who were charmed with the scene, and the story goes that pheasants rose at the feet of the visitors and so helped to set the seal on their quest.' The company bought a great bit of the adjoining woodlands to preserve the country setting. The management paid hundreds of pounds to the local corporation so that the facing-bricks of the houses built opposite to the factory are of the same type as that of the factory itself. The factory premises itself is so impressive that H.M.S.O. publications reported that the factory as a 'modern construction and amenities and as a production unit is one of the most notable industrial achievements in this country since the war.'

It is realised that the most difficult task is to deal successfully with the human factor.

"The design of the product, the best method to adopt for its manufacture, the overcoming of technical and practical difficulties, and all other problems in connexion with making things are always easier to solve than the one problem of organizing a team of individuals to work harmoniously and efficiently together."

Even the most humble worker resents being treated with less consideration than the valuable machines which he uses. It is through 'sympathy, tact, firmness and individual treatment' that the antagonism between the machine and the man is removed. Problems arising from (1) geographical and social changes and (2) the adjustment with the new set of machinery require from the workers' viewpoint very sympathetic consideration. Those employees who come from other towns face the problem of housing and transport. The factory has maintained good relations with the local inhabitants who give priority in accommodating the person recommended by the personnel department. In certain cases if the person wants to travel daily from the home town to the factory there is the problem of adjusting the factory time and the long distance bus (or train) timing. The organisation attempts to solve even such difficulties. There is, for example, a girl whose bus passes by the place a few minutes before the closing time of the factory and the next bus is after an hour. The girl is permitted to work an hour daily as extra-time and she is paid cumulatively for the time worked. This arrangement was made to suit the girl (though she was not granted any concession of time).

I. N. F. T. Saunders: *Factory Organisation and Management*. Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, London, 1946, page 13.

The company endeavours to impress upon the workers that they are well cared for. The protective clothes are very expensive and even the laundering of these clothes cost more than a shilling. Aprons, overalls, or any other kind of protective clothes needed by the workers in the performance of the job are supplied and laundered by the firm.

Most of the workers during the period of scarcity are unable to get satisfactory meals at their homes. Either the meat is scarce or the vegetables are lacking. These difficulties are obviated by an efficient and cheap canteen. The management of the canteen is under a committee (though the canteen is run by an outside concern). The entire factory for getting into the canteen during the lunch hour is divided among various groups and each group is assigned a place in the queue. This enables the worker to stop his work at the usual time without any commotion to get a place in the canteen. The queue is a rotating one and every group in its turn gets a priority. The canteen in this way, in spite of its having only 250 seats cater for more than 400 workers per day.

The management has a very enlightened approach towards the workers' expenditure over their meals. The management claims that they incur approximately a shilling for each lunch served in the canteen. The factory subsidises meals for younger workers. Any worker less than 18 years of age gets a concession of 33½ per cent. The company provides free tea both in the forenoon and in the afternoon (in clean cups) and this has a distinct influence on the attitude to the work.

The company understands that food is the most delicate issue for every worker. Any complaint about meals must be instantaneously attended to. The unfailing presence of the personnel manager in the canteen during the lunch hour makes the workers feel that they can at any time ventilate their grievances. His presence also suggests that the company is taking active interest in the food provided for the workers. The canteen is one of the main factors which induce the workers to work for over-time.

The organisation of Sports and Social Club is one of the most important functions of the personnel department. The club is very well organised. One out of every two workers is a member of the club. It has 18 sections with a wide variety of appeal (Arts and Crafts, Athletics, Boating, Boxing, Bowling, Chess, Concert Party, Cricket, Drama, Entertainment, Football, Golf, Male Voice Choir, Publicity, Rambling, Scottish Country Dancing, Swimming and Tennis). The big playing fields adjoining the factory provide an opportunity for the workers to organise football, cricket, tennis and other games even during the lunch hours; more than hundred workers are, on a bright day seen playing football. Three or four teams are seen playing the game even when the ground is full

of snow. One of the employees informed me that during his first few days of his work when he knew nobody it was through playing together that he knew some persons and his life could be more enjoyable. It is true that whatever might be the taste of the person, there is some channel for his expression. Even a cartoonist, a story-writer, a photographer or a poet might express his talents through the Factory Post—the factory's monthly journal. By providing opportunity for such a wide choice the company provides pre-occupation for the mind lest it experiences drudgery of the repetitive machine life.

The company on one hand attempts to channelise the energy of its workers towards some creative and co-operative direction, on the other hand, it provides Works' Council to ventilate grievances. Though the Council is purely an advisory committee yet it has secured considerable advantages for the workers. Ventilation, coat hangers, inconsistency in queuing, protective clothes, industrial shoes, transport arrangements and similar items form the agenda of the meeting. The meetings are ordinarily held in the first week of each month during working hours, and the meetings are expected not to exceed one hour in duration as far as the company's time is concerned. The workers do not suggest expensive changes, the management does not accept every suggestion, but the very fact that the management genuinely endeavours to see the workers' viewpoint and try to remove their difficulties as far as possible, has aroused a spirit of co-operation and an understanding among the workers for the employers' viewpoint. It is a popular feeling among the workers that the strength of the Works' Council is declining because there is nothing to complain about. The fact that the workers' representatives and the management's representatives sit around the same table stimulates co-operation.

The recruitment in the firm is judiciously done with the aim of forming a community life. Intelligent workers are individualist by temperament, they desire prospects, security, variety and efficient organization, whereas the other group rates workmates more than long-term prospects.¹ Moreover too much intelligence may be a handicap for repetitive jobs! Therefore, it is quite understandable that the firm does not recruit critical and intelligent persons. In the whole workshop there would not be even half a dozen properly schooled workers. Even those who have technical qualifications are uncritical in their attitude. The planning engineers who have qualified themselves by serving their period of apprenticeship in a factory and by attending night classes in technical colleges undoubtedly show habits of hard work, thoroughness, and an understanding of the importance of details, but contrasted with the

2. "Incentives and Young Workers" by L. T. Wilkins (Occ. Psych., October, 1949).

Continental graduate in technology, who is "potentially an administrator" the technical experts of the factory show the greatest respect for the routinized job, and the utmost obedience to the authority.

The great bulk of the workers are recruited from (i) the demobilised army, (ii) other industries with inferior working conditions, (iii) grocers' and hair dressers' shops, (iv) domestic services, and (v) some 'migratory birds'—as they are popularly called. The last category includes the apprentices serving their time or a very limited number of temporary employees. The firm as a rule avoids temporary employments. The social strata from which the workers come from, the nature of education and the level of intelligence considerably determine the behaviour and the attitude of the worker. In the firm persons showing spirit of co-operation and obedience to authority are preferred. The homogeneous group of working population is preferred both for efficiency and co-operation.

Persuasion, encouragement, and threat are employed for "the conquest of the masses." Through hints, soft, insinuating, subtle, disguised and indirect suggestions the workers are led to believe that the firm is doing the best for them, and they are realising the sense of 'self-fulfilment' by working with the firm. The repeated appreciations stating that 'they have risen, most magnificently by crowding themselves into the space, and by working overtime continuously' satisfy the craving for recognition. It is suggested that the worker can reach the highest ladder of industrial hierarchy provided he has 'energy, interest, and initiative, no matter where he started.' Hard work, obedience to authority and *esprit de corps* are basic requirements for any promotion. The firm emphasises that the individual has a very bright future if he whole-heartedly co-operates with the management. If the worker decides to leave the firm, it is expressed that the worker has lost the vital source or strength—the contact with the mighty organization through which money, power, and satisfaction flowed to him is lost. It is very much emphasised that the organization is much more important than the individual.²

The general code of behaviour, the relationship among the workers, the human touch between the managers and the employees have inculcated a spirit of co-operation. It is not unusual for the assistant manager of the firm to give lifts in his car to

workers of his factory. It is quite common to find that when a worker gets married, his seat is decorated and the friends and the company present gifts as a token of comradeship. It is also noticeable that about one-third of the working population consists of women, and a worker cracking jokes with a woman worker also helps her in difficulties. The habit of calling everybody by his first name—an intimate greeting and a smile on the face—greatly reduces the impersonal relations which characterises the industrial civilisation.

The firm has a very effective method of censorship to achieve its aim. Though the firm encourages critical attitude to the performance of the job yet it does not in the least support critical scrutiny about the policy of the management. If the worker's attitude is critical and if it clashes with the interest of the management, the person is ignored, demoted and sometimes threatened to be dismissed. It is however a policy of the firm not to dismiss such persons ordinarily, because a dismissed person is generally a source of bad propaganda. In certain cases undue pressure on such individuals is indirectly exerted forcing them to resign. The satisfaction in work is widely publicised, but ventilation of grievances if the company cannot redress it is throttled at the very beginning. There is no appeal against the decision of any manager. Individuals have either to accept the decision or to give the firm up. The outside world can contact the firm and know about its operations only through the sieve of the personnel department. Persuasion, encouragement and threat bring solidarity among the rank and file of the workers, whereas the outside world understands that the inner life is full of attractions in spite of its being shown around the factory, the outside world fails to understand the life and conflict of the people within.

SUMMARY

The creation of a team spirit has enabled the management of the firm to set up a high level of morale in the factory. Better working conditions and uncritical working population have established solidarity among the rank and file. A judicious censorship of informations to the outside world presents a colourful picture and maintains attractiveness of the firm.*

21, Westfield Place, Dundee, Scotland.

* This article is an attempt to describe the various methods used by the firm under investigation in order to boost morale in the firm. Recently the recession in British firms is changing the relationship between the labour and the management, but this MS. was prepared under the guidance of Mr. H. H. Ferguson a few months ago. The enquiry was made for more than six months before preparing the paper. Mr. H. H. Ferguson is the Professor of Psychology in the University of St. Andrews.

3. "Industrial Technologists and the Social Sciences" by Professor R. S. Edwards. (*Economica*, November, 1951).
4. F. C. Bartlett: *Political Propaganda*, Chapters III and IV.
5. A. J. Mackenzie: *Propaganda Boom*, Chapter II: Frontiers of Education, and Chapter III: The Seven Secrets of Propaganda.

BATTLE TACTICS ON THE INVISIBLE FRONT

By Miss GITA MITRA, B.A., and CAPTAIN R. D. MITRA

There is now an increasing knowledge on subjects like the culinary art, the nutritive value of food and the relation of nutrition to disease. The literature on nutrition and planning of satisfactory diet is replete with much valuable suggestions regarding preparation of food without losing nutritive amino acids, protective vitamins and essential minerals, but guidance is inadequate on subjects like hygiene of food, cleanliness of the place, personal hygiene of employees who serve it, cleanliness of utensils through which it is served and its effect on public health.

There has been, recently, a considerable advance in the development of Public Health conditions in our country but a high incidence of excremental disease still prevails (Public Health Commissioner, India, 1948); endemic centres of cholera exist in the lower Bengal Delta (Hutt, 1927) and the Gangetic valley (Ghost, 1945). A simple reason for this state of affairs is a general ignorance of the hygiene of food. Some guidance is available from the Sanitary Rules for the Cook House (Indian Army Order 1972 of 1945) but as those are not elaborate instructions they fall short of the requirements of anyone faced with a specific problem, demanding quick and correct decision. Besides, those rules are beyond the reach of an average citizen.

Outside the services specific guidance on this subject hardly exists. During the last war best hotels in large cities were placed out of bounds to the forces; hostels catering for the services by civilians were often noted for sub-standard hygiene.

It became vividly clear then that in the absence of simple uniform and detailed instructions on kitchen hygiene it is futile to expect a desirable standard of kitchen hygiene in establishments without technical supervision.

While drafting the rules it was kept in view that only simple, self-evident and practical instructions are voluntarily complied with. Cook-house rules in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Civil Hospitals were perused; opportunities were taken to visit establishments professing to practise a high standard of kitchen hygiene in Poona, Calcutta and Delhi. In these modest practical suggestions room could not be found for seemingly impressive but impracticable ideas e.g., use of novel gadgets and articles or Hexachlorophene (American Medical Association, 1950). Also in some places there is, perhaps, room for orthodox hygiene to hold up hands in holy horror.

THE RULES

A. Cook House and its surroundings :

1. Surroundings of the cook-house will be kept clean and swept daily. Kitchen and dining halls will

be swept every morning before work starts. Door mats will be shaken. Inside the kitchen and dining hall wet instead of dry sweeping and dusting will be done after every meal. Cook-house floor, if cement concrete, will be scrubbed with hot water and soda every night.

2. Smoking, spitting out and nose blowing in or around the cook-house is forbidden.

3. Swill bins will be kept clean.

If the swill bins are not carefully cleaned without spilling the contents, fly breeding might ensue.

B. Cook House employees :

4. No one will be employed in the cook-house before medical examination. The medical officer will scrutinise carefully medical history of new employees.

A rough medical history covering approximately a period of two years prior to employment will be obtained by interrogation. An individual with active venereal disease or diarrhoea, or previous history of typhoid, para-typhoid and dysentery will not be employed.

5. There will be a nominal roll of cook-house employees containing columns for name of the employee, date of employment, date of last medical inspection, the date when medical inspection is due, the dates when vaccination and inoculation are given and are due next; and signature of the medical officer. The dates on which these are due will be written in pencil, to be inked over after actually performed.

This nominal roll will be hung up on the cook-house wall near the entrance. Inoculation and vaccination dates will be arranged so that half the employees are inoculated on a day and the rest a week later. Periodically this nominal roll will be checked and names tallied with those actually working.

6. Duties will be clearly allotted by name, e.g., for cooking preparation of vegetables, boiling or washing of cook-house clothes.

7. Each cook-house employee will be provided with the following garments with suitable laundering arrangements: a set of three caps, aprons, half sleeve shirts and shorts.

The suit will be of white material. It will be worn only in the cook-house.

8. Personnel clothing or belongings of the employees will not be brought in the cook-house. Toilet, wash, washing and drying of personal clothes will not be done there. Personal clothes after changing in the cook-house uniform will be kept in a dressing room or a special place provided for the purpose. Overalls will be put on.

9. All cook-house employees will take bath daily, keep their hairs short and nails trimmed and wear clean under-garment.

A record will be kept as to which employee has taken bath and at what time of the day. Hot water and a comfortable place for bath will be provided in winter. Toilet paper, 2 ozs. of toilet soap per week, a cake of bath soap per month, two towels and a comb every nine months, will be issued free to each employee. Employees will be taught the use of toilet paper in addition to ablution by water, and washing of hands with toilet soap thoroughly in running water. Shocking unclean habits unfit for print exist amongst some employees, tidy dress and hair do not guarantee clean toilet habits. Hands will be inspected daily before cooking of meals when nail brush will be used. Employees with a boil or ulcer in exposed parts of the body, especially the hands, will not handle food. This will prevent a common source of streptococcal food poisoning.

10. A leave roster of cook-house employees will be maintained. Every employee will have a day and a half day off in a week. This roster will be displayed on the wall. A record of this will be kept.

This is not meant merely to provide relaxation from cook-house work which usually begins very early in the morning but to guard against complaints of overtime work without pay.

C. Equipment and Provision.

11. Foodstuff likely to be used for cooking during the day will be kept in the cook-house. Food, not for immediate use, will be kept protected in food safes or improvised netted frames.

12. Menu of the week will be hung up for inspection.

No alteration unless ordered in writing sufficiently in advance, will be allowed in the menu. Sudden alterations made by the cooks is the starting point of disorder and undesirable practices.

13. Vegetable and fruit meant for eating raw will be washed in the following manner:

(a) Wash thoroughly in running water.

(b) Immerse for five minutes in clean water to which a scoopful* of water-sterilising powder† per gallon has been added.

(c) Rinse in clean running water.

This is usually not done, sometimes, due to a misconception that vitamins and minerals are lost in the process. To avoid the possibility of intestinal disease, cholera and typhoid it must be done as a routine daily and not when Cholera or Typhoid is known to exist in the vicinity. For making a habit of washing in the prescribed

* This scoop holds 2 grammes of powder when filled level with the brim.

† A mixture of four-fifths bleaching powder and one-fifth quick lime; it contains at least 25 per cent of available chlorine; under good storage conditions available chlorine should not fall below 22.5 per cent in a year.

manner, very little improvisation is required: On a table near a water tap, a four gallons galvanised drum fitted with a tap at the bottom, a measured scoop and an improvised measure for a gallon of water.

14. All chopping, cutting of meat and pastry will be done on the chopping block, cutting up board or slab provided for the purpose. Cutting and chopping board and slab will be scrubbed with hot water containing washing soda and brush, wiped dry and dusted with finely powdered common salt.

15. Aprons and caps will be boiled in water daily.

Cutters' and cooks' napkins, cloth covers for food will be boiled separately in water containing soda. Rags coming into use will be washed in tap water every day and boiled with washing soda once a week on a fixed day. Washed clothes will be hung up to dry over-night. A spare set of napkins will be available for washing and drying dishes and cooking utensils. Rags used for handling sooty vessels will be separate and distinct.

16. All pots and pans will be cleaned (see rule 18) and wiped with dry pieces of cloth; after the last meal these will be stored upside down on shelves in a well-ventilated room or cupboard set aside for the purpose.

Utensils and food-containers will be inspected twice daily, once before use in the morning and again after cleaning in the evening.

17. Cook-house sinks, mincing machine, tables, knives, forks, spoons and utensils will be clean when in use and will be thoroughly cleaned after the last meal.

Mincing machine will be very sparingly used. Sinks and mincing machine will be cleaned with hot water and soda and wiped dry. The rest of the aforementioned articles will be cleaned with soap and hot water. Equipment and utensils not in use will be kept in the allocated place and will be available for inspection.

18. Utensils will be rinsed in hot water, cleaned with soda, ash or burned earth and washed in running water.

Water will be heated preferably, in a large drum, if possible, with a simple device to skim periodically the floating grease. For rinsing small articles an improvised wire mesh provided with a handle will be used to avoid scalding of hands. Then ash will be used for cleaning utensils. Ash will be carefully collected and kept in a marked tin. If oil-cookers are used, clean earth will be charred, powdered and mixed with washing soda in the proportion of nine parts of earth to one part of soda. For chinaware soda will be used. The articles will then be washed in running water.* A simple device to sterilise articles of crockery, cutlery and food containers may be used.†

* Most Indian cook-house employees do not feel clean unless clay instead of soap is used for cleaning hands after ablution.

D. Preventive measures against animal pest and mechanical carriers of disease:

19. Rats, cockroaches, and flies will be kept out of the cook-house.

The cook-house employees, no matter how illiterate, will be educated to recognise the role played by these pests in spreading disease. The following points will be stressed in respect of each pest:

Rats: The rats are not only the principal source of bubonic plague and cause food wastage (one rat consumes 21.7 lbs. of rations in a year), it is a reservoir of typhus and relapsing fever. Rat droppings contain eggs of tape worms (*Hymenolepis nana*). Rat fleas, if drowned in liquid food and infested, release another tape worm. The droppings of rodents contain bacteria (*salmonella*) which cause food poisoning (Parkinson, 1947).

Cockroaches: Cockroaches spoil food. They can act as the intermediate hosts of certain helminths that sometimes occur in man (Smart 1943). It is least known that on account of their habits, cockroaches act as one of the principal mechanical carriers of excremental disease, it is specially so in Bengal (Mitra, 1944). Barber (1914) has indicated that cockroaches may harbour cholera vibrio in the intestine which appear in enormous number in the insect faeces after feeding on infective material. They can pass viable hook-worm eggs after feeding on faeces of an infected person (Roy, 1946). While flies and rats are left behind, cockroaches are carried along during a shift.

Flies: The house fly is the source of typhoid fever, cholera, dysentery and diarrhoea; it brings viable eggs of hook-worm, thread-worm, tape and round worm. Frequent and liberal spraying of DDT around the cook-house is not a sure protection against flies as this practice produces DDT resistant strains of house fly (Chatterjee and Mitra, 1951).

E. Disposal of waste material:

20. Food scrapes, vegetable peelings, etc., will be collected in receptacles and deposited in covered refuse bins. This will not be dropped on floor. Separate bins will be provided for wet and dry refuse. The bins will be placed at a suitable spot on a 28

Similarly they do not consider utensils to be clean unless rubbed with ash, clay or even road-dust.

† A lidless tin container with perforated bottom is provided with two holes at the sides near the top for tying a wire handle to lift it. The size of this container should be such as to fit tightly inside a ghee tin, it should be 10 ins. high. It should be filled with articles meant to be sterilized. A ghee tin without top is provided with a tight fitting removable lid and water about 8 ins. high poured in it; a wooden tripod 4 ins. high is placed inside it. The aforementioned container holding articles for sterilization is placed on this tripod. The tin is then placed on fire after closing it, steam is allowed to generate for 15 minutes to sterilise the articles.

A second container should be kept filled with articles for sterilization and inserted immediately after the first one is taken out. This would save wastage of time and steam.

inches high white-washed plinth 20 feet away from the cook-house.

F. Discipline:

21. The cook-house will be inspected from time to time and not at regular intervals.

The inspecting officer will inspect minutely a few specific points on any one occasion and rest of the cook-house generally.

22. The cook-house rules will be explained to the employees at the time of appointment and on every weekly inspection parade.

Drastic measure against even minor infringement of cook-house rules, results in salutary cook-house discipline.

In these notes, emphasis is laid on simple ideas, e.g., the manner of washing fruits and vegetables meant to be eaten raw, sweeping of cook-house, cleaning of equipment, personal hygiene or leave of employees and vigilance against streptococcal, or pest-borne diseases. The authors wish to point out that in the absence of detailed instructions on these vitally important subjects one is left to learn merely by "trial and error," often paying dearly for an error.

The president of the third World Health Assembly, Dr. K. Evang, has said in his presidential address that the problem of today is not first and foremost lack of knowledge but lack of practical application of this knowledge in the field of health; if one-tenth of the present scientific knowledge of medicine and preventive medicine had been properly imparted to the world at large, the picture of the whole world would have been very different indeed from that which meets the eye to-day.

REFERENCES

1. Barber, M. A. (1914): "Cockroaches and Ants as Carriers of the Vibrios of Asiatic Cholera," *Philippine J. Sci.*, 9, 1.
2. Chatterjee, A. K. and Mitra, R. D. (1951): "Studies on the Development of Resistance in house-flies to DDT," Part I. *Army Medical Corps Journal*, 1951.
3. Ghost, B. N. (1945): *A Treatise on Hygiene and Public Health*, 11th Ed. Scientific Publishing Co., Calcutta.
4. Hutt, C. W. (1927): *International Hygiene*, Methuen, London.
5. Indian Army Order 1972 (1945): Sanitary rules for all unit and officers' mess cook-houses.
6. Mitra, R. D. (1914): Notes on the Bionomics of the house-frequenting cockroaches—*Periplaneta americana* and *Blattella orientalis*: A paper read in the 2nd Annual Hygiene Sub-committee meeting, 372 Lane of Communitation Sub-Area, 1944.
7. Parkinson, G. S. (1947): *A Synopsis of Hygiene*, 9th Ed., Churchill, London.
8. Public Health Commissioner (1918) Annual Report for 1946, Govt. of India Press, Calcutta.
9. Smart, J. (1943): *Insects of Medical Importance*, 2nd imp., British Museum, London.



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

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION (4th Edition): By Jadunath Sarkar. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Pp. viii + 256. Price Rs. 5.

This useful book, which had been out of print for some years, has now come out in a new and enlarged edition. The additions are two new chapters on the Administration of Cities and the Army and Navy, besides expansions of the Law and Justice chapter. We here learn on the highest Muslim authority that "Music before Mosques" is not an insult to Islam. An index has made reference easy.

N. B. R.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1670-77, New Series, Vol. I (Bombay), Vol. II (East Coast and Bengal): Edited by Sir C. Fawcett. Published by Oxford Clarendon Press, 1952. Vol. II. Pp. xxxii + 474 and 5 illustrations. Price 42s.

The Oxford University has laid us in India under a deep debt by continuing Sir W. Foster's series with the same degree of scholarly accuracy and excellent get-up as the earlier volumes. What this means in these days of paper scarcity and high costs may be easily imagined. Foster covered the years 1618-1669 in 13 volumes. When the year 1670 was reached a new series on a new plan was begun on account of the vastly increased mass of records to be handled; printing in extenso was abandoned, and henceforth only summaries and extracts are to be given and East and West Coast factories treated in separate volumes for any given period.

It is a matter of deep regret—and anxious doubt about the future—to us that Sir Charles Fawcett, a retired I.C.S., Judge of the Bombay High Court, and in scholarship and devotion to research no unworthy successor to Foster, should have died as soon as Vol. II was printed. Where can we have again the same combination of learning with personal knowledge of India? The next volumes will have to cover the English naval war with Shivaji for Henry-Kennery and Keigwin's rebellion on the West Coast, and Shaista Khan's second and most eventful vice-royalty of Bengal, and we eagerly look forward to getting the original fresh materials on these highly important and interesting subjects. Will they come?

JADUNATH SARKAR

SOME HISTORICAL JAINA KINGS AND HEROES: By Kamta Prasad Jain. Published by the Jain Mitra Mandal, Delhi, 1941. Pp. 109. Price Re. 1.

In this short popular monograph the author presents us with biographical sketches of a number of religious teachers as well as kings, ministers and

other folk belonging to the centuries of Ancient Indian history, whom he brackets together under the somewhat unsatisfactory title of *Some Historical Jaina Kings and Heroes*. The moral of these biographies is expressed by the author in his Preface as well as his concluding chapter. "Jain literature," he says (Preface), "is full of historical instances of Jain heroism. Jainism, in fact, is a religion of strength and spiritual good and makes a man a true hero." Again he observes (p. 106), "Jainas of every shade of opinion and class and belonging to different periods were a living model of the Jaina heroism of *ahimsa* and *ritigata*." The above ideas are expressed still more emphatically, if not aggressively, in the appreciative *Foreword* as well as the "Last Word" written by an English lady, Miss Elisabeth Fraser. "Ahimsa as taught by the great Jaina teachers," she says (Foreword), "is thoroughly practical. They taught that ahimsa varied from stage to stage. Thus for the saint is enjoined complete *ahimsa* On him who lives in the world lies the duty of defending it against wanton attack." And again she observes (p. 108), "We see exploded once and for all the legend that the downfall and final slavery of India are due to the Jaina creed of *ahimsa* When through centuries of persecution of the Jainas, the Hindus rose to power, it was only then that the invaders were able to set foot in the land and to remain. It was the strangle-hold of the Hindu caste system that was India's ruination." Such statements would have gained greatly in weight if they had been supported by authoritative citations from the Jaina canonical works regarding the duties of the layman and the equality of all castes, as well as by historical references to the centuries-old persecutions of Jainas by Hindu kings. As it is, it is difficult to withstand the conclusion that the work has been written mainly with a view to religious propaganda. This explains why the author repeatedly claims royal patrons of the faith to have been "followers of Jainism" on no surer evidence than that of late traditions and legends. Even the great Asoka, according to the author, was influenced in his moral teachings "much more" by Jainism than by any other faith. Of the author's historical inaccuracies it will be sufficient to give a few examples. On pp. 9-10, he says that "some five hundred Indo-Greeks" accepted Mahavira's teaching and that "a Persian prince" received ordination as a monk from the same sage (pp. 9-10). Of a piece with the above is the statement (p. 21) that Samprati, "the immediate successor of Asoka," "expanded the Maurya empire beyond the borders of India and established centres of Jaina culture in the countries of Arabia and Persia." On

p. 83 we read that "the Rajput chiefs came into prominence" during the 7th century A.D. It remains to add that the author's list of errata at the beginning of his work is far from being exhaustive, while his transliteration of Sanskrit proper names follows the vernacular system of pronunciation.

U. N. GHOSHAL

NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA: By Prof. B. N. Banerjee, M.A. Published by A. Musherjee and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 205. Price Rs. 4.

This monograph purports to be a treatise on the new Constitution of India, but there is very little of exposition of the constitutional provisions in it. Only two chapters—one (chapter II) headed "Federation in the Indian Constitution" (which title by the way is virtually a misnomer) and the other (chapter III) headed "Features of the Constitution" covering altogether seventy-eight pages are devoted to the Constitution proper, the biggest Constitution in the world. Of these again the major part consists of long quotations extending over twenty pages and the reproduction of a number of articles of the Constitution—with very little discussion or comment. The Chapter on "Features of the Constitution" falls into the following sections—(a) The Union and its territory, (b) Citizenship, (c) Fundamental Rights, (d) the Union Executive, (e) the Union Legislature, (f) the Supreme Court, (g) Government in the States, (h) Services and Service Commissions, (i) Emergency Provisions and (j) Dr. Ambedkar's concluding address. It appears that the author means by the term "features of the Constitution" not its salient characteristics as is usually understood and which are nowhere treated, but the main elements in the Constitution. The virtual omission of the "Directive Principles of State Policy" as one of the outstanding features (in either sense of the term) of the new Constitution except for a passing reference under "Fundamental Rights" and that, also in a quotation from an article by a jurist, is a very glaring one, and it passes one's understanding also how Dr. Ambedkar's concluding address which takes up more than ten pages can be treated as one of the features of the Constitution. Very little is said of the judiciary except a short reference to the Supreme Court. The treatment of the features covered is also extremely scrappy, and at the same time includes many things which are not quite germane. In dealing with the "Union and its Territory" the account of the process of integration of the Indian States (with a long quotation from Sardar Patel's speech in the Constituent Assembly) as also the articles of the Constitution defining the position of Rajpramukhs and a reference to the Reforms in Part C States might very well be omitted. There are some inaccuracies in the list of States of different categories given in p. 87. Travancore and Cochin are shown as separate States whereas they form a single Unit under Part B States. Cooch Behar should have been omitted from the list of Part C States, as it was merged in West Bengal on January 1, 1950, i.e., long before the publication of this book; moreover the merger is referred to only a few pages after in the book itself (Vide para 4, p. 91). The total number of Part C States should thus be ten and not eleven as shown in the list here and also as stated in p. 69 (last line), but again in the Appendix giving the allocation of seats among the various States, the list of Part C States correctly gives ten names omitting Cooch Behar (Vide p. 171 last para). The reader will

naturally get confused. Only three pages are devoted to "Union Executive" consisting of simple reproduction (except for only six or seven lines) of 6 articles of the Constitution without discussion. There is no reference even to the procedure for election of the President or the Vice-President or their powers, terms of office, qualifications, etc. There is no discussion either on the very important subjects of the relation between the President and Council of Ministers, the Constitutional position of the latter, etc. "Government in the States" in all spheres, executive, legislative and judicial is finished in four pages only.

The arrangement of matter in the book is also very faulty. There is some amount of overlapping as between Chapters II and III. In Chapter II headed "Federation in the New Constitution" a very sketchy account of "an outline of the Constitution" is given, which does not quite fit in with the subject of the chapter and should have been relegated to the next chapter in appropriate places. Chapters IV and V giving the recent amendments to the Constitution (actual reproduction of the relevant articles with the amendments) except for first three pages and the electoral arrangements respectively should properly have formed appendices rather than part of the book. The title of the Chapter IV is also misleading. Consisting of only six pages (of which more than two are given to quotation and compilation) it describes very briefly the machinery and procedure employed for holding the elections into which is shoved in the Fourth Schedule of the Constitution giving the allocation of seats in the Council of States. There is again overlapping as between the account of the Cabinet Mission Plan and the Constituent Assembly given under the head "British Period: Transfer of Power" in Chapter I and what is narrated under the head "Background" in Chapter II. This part and also the reference to the "Preamble" of the new Constitution in Chapter I (pp. 61-63) should have more appropriately formed introduction to the discussion of the new Constitution in Chapter III.

Chapter I giving the Historical Background of the new Constitution might be compressed into at least one-fourth the size and confined only to the British period since the transfer of administration to the Crown and even in this period the developments up to 1919 might be just skipped over. The space thus released might be more profitably used for discussion of the provisions of the Constitution. The first thirteen pages cover three sections dealing with (A) Ancient India, (B) Mediaeval India and (C) British Period—The East India Company. What justice can be done to this long period within the short span and whether it has any value or relevance to the subject-matter of the book may be left to the judgment of the readers.

The author's attention may also be drawn to some errors and omissions. The most significant feature of the Viceroy's Declaration of August 8, 1940, was the recognition of the claim of Indians to frame their own Constitution, but that is not mentioned as one of its features described in the book (p. 49). In page 50 it is stated that "the British Government took the initiative in resolving the Constitutional deadlock a few months after the cessation of hostilities when they announced that a Mission consisting of 3 members of the Cabinet . . . would come to India, etc." It is common knowledge, however, and only recent history that the initiative in resolving the deadlock prevailing since 1942 and even before was taken,

though without success, by Lord Wavell with the approval of H. M. Government in June 1945 by offering what has come to be known as the Wavell Plan. On page 67, the author makes the astounding statement that the "British Cabinet Mission's Plan of 1946 is the basis of the creation of 2 States . . . of India and Pakistan, the Constituent Assembly which framed India's Constitution and the Indian Independence Act . . ." Each part of this statement is far from being strictly accurate. In the first place it is common knowledge that the Cabinet Mission decided against the partition of India and the basic principle of their proposals of May 16, 1946 was the Constitution of a Union of India though of a very loose type for placating the Muslim League. After considering the pros and cons of partition or Union of India in paras 4 to 10 of their Statement of May 16, 1946, the Cabinet Delegation concluded as follows in para 11: "We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate Sovereign States." Next about second part of the Statement. It is true that the Constituent Assembly was set up originally in pursuance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, but it was not that Assembly but one remodelled on the basis of the Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947 that framed India's Constitution. Coming to the last part it is not the Cabinet Mission Plan but the Mountbatten Plan that is the basis of the Indian Independence Act 1947.

It is difficult to understand for what class of readers the book is meant. The treatment of the subject is too scrappy to be of much use either to serious

students of the Indian Constitution or to students preparing for University examinations. Nor is the book likely to be very helpful either to the general public within the country or to foreigners whom, as he states in his prefatory note, the author has specially in view. The author will do well to recast the book thoroughly.

G.

INDIA'S EMERGING FOREIGN POLICIES: By Shantilal Kothari. Published by Vora and Co., Publishers, Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay—2. Price 2 dollars (12 shillings).

Opinions on India's foreign policy are sharply divided. According to some, it is weak and unrealistic, while in the opinion of others it is just the reverse. Some say that she clings tenaciously to the Right. Many again hold that she has gone dangerously near the Left.

The book under review deals briefly with the Principles of India's Foreign Policy, Republican India's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, Indians Abroad, Partition of India, Communist China and various other topics.

The author believes that a Federated Republic of the United States of India and that alone can solve the post-Partition problems. But will the bleeding and gaping wounds of the Partition be ever healed? He contends further that an Asian Federation free from external influence and from outside interference will be a great factor in the promotion of Asian Security and world peace and we fully agree with him. If we remember aright, it was the

TALKS WITH

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Being pages from the diary of some Disciples. It is in heart-to-heart conversation that you know a man really. Here, in these "Talks", we see the life Swami Vivekananda lived when untrammelled by the formalities of public life. People in almost all walks of life will find guidance from these pages.

Here speaks a religious stalwart . . . who is at the same time a man of common sense and possessed of indomitable energy.—*The Aryan Path*

Pages 400

Price Rs. 4

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

ON

INDIA AND HER PROBLEMS

Contains extracts from the Swami's writings and speeches bearing on various Indian problems. Will give an idea that his message is not meant for titbits of social or religious reform but for a complete rejuvenation of her national life in all its phases. In the present edition, which is thoroughly re-edited, much new matter has been added and the extracts have been so arranged as to make continuous articles.

Pages 120

Price Re. 1-8

For a complete list of our publications please write to—

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE

CALCUTTA-13.

great Deshabandhu who first spoke of an Asian Federation.

Many, we are afraid, will not accept Mr. Kothari's comments on India's connection with the Commonwealth of Nations, his estimate of the parts played by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League in the political evolution of India, of the Gandhian leadership and the like. Opinions on controversial topics should always be well-reasoned. We have more or less dogmatic assertions instead. But even then Mr. Kothari's work is quite a useful introduction to a serious and systematic study of our foreign policy.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

FALL OF MEWAR (An English rendering of D. L. Roy's Bengali drama *Mevar Falan*): By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya and Dilip Kumar Roy. Published by Nalanda Publications, Bombay. Pp. 99. Price Rs. 5-12.

The first translator Harindranath being somewhat ignorant of the niceties of the Bengali idiom, missed the original author's meaning in many places and the subsequent labour of Dilip Kumar has not always been successful in mending them. It would have been better, had the son done the rendering all by himself. Harindranath has, however, given us good poetic English, though not the spirit of the original.

B.

THE EAST BENGAL TRAGEDY: DELHI AND THEREAFTER: Author's name not mentioned. Published by the General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha. Pp. 38. Price 8 annas.

The undesired partition of India has created a vigorous and ever-growing literature made up of reason, of sentiment and sentimentalism, of emotion and emotionalism, of truths, half-truths, of falsehoods. This booklet is generally free from the defects, and it reprints pre-partition pledges and assertions that have hardly any validity today. The dice has been cast, and we must cultivate patience to play the game in a world that is ridden by fear. The value of the book could have been enhanced if figures of the value of Hindu property in Pakistan, East and West, had been collected and published.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

ACTS AND ORDERS OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (Relating to Scheduled Castes and other backward classes and Anglo-Indians): Published by Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangha, Kingsway, Delhi 9. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 2.

This is a very useful collection of almost all Acts and Orders, etc., relating to the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes, and Anglo-Indians. The compilation will be of great use to those who want to deal with these classes in public life.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

BHARATMEN GAYEN: (Translated from English *The Cow in India* by Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta): By Sri Rambhadracharya Chaturvedi, Khadi Pratishthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 1408 + index 52 pages, and a few pages of errata. In two volumes. Price Rs. 13 for the two volumes.

Sri Das Gupta of Khadi Pratishthan never does anything by halves, and when he has set forth a comprehensive treatise on the cows in India, we may rest assured it would combine ancient and modern

knowledge, historical and scientific information, with practical bearings.

The first volume, containing 30 chapters, is split up into four parts dealing with the main varieties of the Indian breed, bovine eugenics, improvement of cow-breeding in different Indian States, ways and means of conserving cattle wealth, the fairs and festivals and the position of the cow there, nourishment for the cow, etc. The second volume, split up into three parts and consisting of 28 chapters, discusses the common ailments and their treatment and cure.

In these days of economic unsettlement and food crisis, this belated notice of the book, reviewed in its (English) original version long ago, will be justified if it arrests the reader's attention even to the Foreword contributed by Gandhiji who had noted with approval that the author had satisfactorily proved the superiority of the Indian cattle (as a means to transport) to the steam engine and in ploughing the earth, and had shown the intimate connection between the various forms of life in Indian environment. We feel sure that this Hindi version will have an India-wide circulation.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

1. **SHIKSHAN ANE SANSKRITI:** By Ravishankar S. Vyas. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 127. Price Re. 1-4.

2. **SHRIMAD BHAGWAT:** By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 423. Price Rs. 3-8.

Both published by the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad.

The first book is a collection of a number of addresses delivered to students of the Vallabh Vidyalaya, the Bochasan Talim Varga, etc., and comprises every phase of our life and culture: education, economics, labour, industry, co-operation, Ravishankar Maharaj, a keen follower of Mahatma Gandhi, is well-known all over Gujarat as a selfless worker for the uplift of village life, and these thoughtful and suggestive addresses fulfil their purpose: they are couched in such simple language. The second book by Mr. Gopaldas Patel is a translation into Gujarati not literal but such as conveys the sense and substance of the original *chhayanuvad* of Shreemad Bhagwat, one of the holiest books of the Hindus. This is its second edition. The long Introduction of nearly thirty pages has viewed this sacred book, from every point of view and is both informative and scholarly. The devotion and deep study of Mr. Patel are praiseworthy. To say the least.

K. M. J.

A CORRECTION

In the last issue of *The Modern Review*, while reviewing Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's work on *Rajadharma*, I wrote (p. 407), "For the division of Smritis under the heading of *drishtartha* and *adrishtartha* (p. 37) it would be more correct to speak of Smriti-texts of the above two types." In a text of *Bhavishtapurana*, however, which is quoted by Apararka in his commentary on *Yajnavalkya-Smriti* (Anandasrama ed., p. 626) these two types of Smritis are distinguished from each other, and some examples are given of their component parts. In the light of this evidence the remark made above should be deleted.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Message of Swami Vivekananda

A solution for the pressing problems of our country can be successfully achieved if we live and act up to the Message of Swami Vivekananda. Jayaprakash Narayan writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

Swami Vivekananda belongs to the class of great seers of Truth. His intellect was great, but greater still was his heart. He once told his disciples at the Belur Math that if a conflict were to arise between the intellect and the heart they should reject the intellect and follow the heart. Many a Mahatma has appeared in this land, and some of them understood that to meditate on the soul in the caves of the Himalayas was the correct path to follow. Swami Vivekananda's mind also was influenced by this tradition and there arose a conflict in him early in his career; his intellect advocating the traditional absorption in Self-realization and his heart bleeding for the miseries of the people around him. In the end he came to the conclusion that leaving the solitude he would enter into the soul of every being and worship his God by serving them. And what attracts the poor and lowly to him is his compassionate heart which ever bled for them and exhausted itself in their incessant service in thirty-nine brief years. It was in the anguish of that heart that he cried out, in his memorable message at Madras, in 1897:

"Feel, therefore, my would-be reformers, my would-be patriots! Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? Has it made you almost mad?"

It was this measureless feeling for the spiritual and material poverty and misery of his fellow men, particularly of his fellow countrymen, that drove him round the world like a tornado of moral energy and gave him no rest till the end. His life's campaigns in the East and the West, including the founding of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, were in response to this feeling. His life was all purity and love, his coming to and going from this world was quick, sudden. But in the short period of thirty-nine years he accomplished so much by way of stirring up and infusing new life and new hope into the people that in the history of our great country we do not find a second to stand equal to him in this except perhaps the great Shankaracharya.

Today we are building a new India, in our own way. It is now that we need Swamiji's power and presence. Of course Swamiji is not physically with us; but his words are there; his teachings are there. They are before us. In our country there is

ignorance, there is poverty. Swamiji gave us a *mantra* in keeping with the cultural and spiritual heritage of our nation. He cut a new path, a new *dharma*, a religion of tolerance, universal brotherhood, and equality of mankind. We have experienced various revolutions in our country; but we have always preserved the soul of our culture in the midst of those cataclysmic changes. We cannot go forward, we cannot be a progressive nation by forsaking that soul of our civilization and culture. It may be that a gifted few can walk in the right path all alone, but for the rest it is necessary that they draw their inspiration from our ancient culture. Swamiji tried to do this. There were many weakening influences in our country during Swamiji's time. He wanted these to be removed and replaced by the national dynamic culture.

Swami Vivekananda's message was therefore to make ourselves nurtured and nourished by this culture which would lead the nation to power and strength.

We want to build the nation. How shall we do it is the problem. It is my conviction that we cannot progress unless and until there comes about a Dharmic regeneration in our country; we need the ministrations of a *dharma* which accepts every other *dharma*, and this Vivekananda gave us in the great Vedanta. No doubt, Vedanta is not new to our country. But we had no means to find access to it; we could not make use of it; we could not practise it. We need the love and practicality of Buddha and the philosophy of Vedanta. In one of his Madras lectures, Swamiji said that he would give a message which would be useful not only to his own nation but also to the nations outside. To make his teachings effective and to make them spread among the people, just as Buddha started his organization of monks, so also Swamiji brought into existence the

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

50 TABLETS Rs. 3 100 Rs. 5-8

At All leading Chemists.

DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM

Himco Laboratories

231, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

great Ramakrishna Mission. It is a matter of pride, it is a matter of joy, that his aims and objects are being realized and his vision is being fulfilled through the work of the centres of the Mission through all of which the Vedanta reaches to the people in various forms to help the poor, to educate the ignorant, and to lift up the depressed.

The greatest problem in our country is its divergent sects, its divergent castes and creeds. Can we compose these differences? Can we go forward and gather strength? Vivekananda strongly criticized caste distinctions. He said this was the cause for much of our social weakness. Social unity was broken long ago, causing a tragedy of a thousand years! Swamiji spoke scathingly about the prevailing conceptions of religion—of religion entering the kitchen and the cooking-pots, of the religion of 'don't-touchism.' He declared unequivocally that so long as we are caught in this 'dharma' we shall remain far from the *real dharma* which preaches human unity. People should unite; but there is everything to keep us disunited. A Brahmin is engaged in Brahmanidya. And if his son takes to business or any other activity, he is still reckoned as a Brahmin just because he is born of a Brahmin.

If we want to progress, we should understand the truth of *dharma* and follow it up. Quality should be the criterion of greatness or Brahminhood and not mere birth. The aim of our *dharma* is that even a *mleccha* can be led up to the highest. Based on this fundamental idea of Vedanta, Swamiji discouraged the 'kitchen religion' and proclaimed that there is no difference between man and man. The difference seen is only in manifestation and not in the potential divinity. All could be brought up to the highest, all could become the greatest. Our weakness, our ignorance, can be driven away with this tonic.

Can we build a society, a civilization on this great ideal of Vedanta?

I believe that we shall succeed if we try earnestly. If this ideal is broadcast in our country, which Hindu will refuse to accept it? Which foreigner will fail to respond to this call to his own innate divinity? We should realize that our differences, cultural, social, and political, resulting from this caste and other distinctions, can be composed only by this Vedantic teaching of Swami Vivekananda. By the same teaching we can solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. The question of poverty

can be dealt with on the same footing. When our dream is to build happy society, there should not be a few rich and many poor. Swamiji sought a solution for this economic inequality also fifty years ago. In one of his epistles he writes: 'I am a socialist.' The unity and equality he found in Brahmanidya he wanted to establish in the field of national economy and in the field of society. Today the Rajas, Zamindars, and the rich look down upon the labouring class. This is the opposite of what Swamiji taught. He said, 'They are one with you. The same divinity shines through them and you.' What unity of existence he saw in Advaita Vedanta, what equality he experienced in the human personality, the same he wanted to bring into the fields of economics and society too. He saw the hungry and the naked about him; and he felt that until they were fed and clothed no *dharma* could be preached to them; without the welfare of the masses no *dharma* could be firmly established. So today our hearts bow to Swamiji. I am a student of Swamiji. I am not worthy to talk about him. But this is what I see in him, what I learn from him. He went beyond and wanted to take us also beyond. He sees our weakness not with the eye of contempt, but with that of compassion, with a passion to serve, with a feeling of agony at our fallen condition. In that same epistle he writes about his advocacy of socialism not as a perfect foolproof system but that 'half a loaf is better than none.'

I consider Swami Vivekananda a leader in every respect—in religion, culture, economics, sociology,—all of which ought to be established on the bedrock of Vedanta, our ancient rational philosophy. If we fail to remember this and to build our nation on the foundations of our historic legacy, then India will not remain India. We shall, through the help of the Ramakrishna Mission and by our own efforts, inspired by the Message of the great Swamiji, have to try earnestly to realize a fuller and a richer life for ourselves individually and for the vast mass of our countrymen. Our progress does not stop with our own realization, but must flow into a struggle to bring the fullness of freedom to others. All of us should understand this aspect of Swami Vivekananda's teachings, and should not exclude from the purview of religion the consideration and solution of the pressing problems of our village, of our country, and of our brothers and sisters.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Animal Nutrition

Any agricultural policy to be sound and beneficial should also concentrate on the supply of foods, which directly originate in animals. The problem of improving and maintaining the nutritional status of animals is thus of prime importance to man. Dr. Jivraj Mehta writes in *The Indian Review* :

Most of the fundamental researches in human nutrition have largely been the direct results of animal experimentation. For example, avian beri beri has given us a clue in the aetiology of human beri beri. The effects of polished rice on the birds and the curative effect of vitamin B1 have been amply demonstrated by the pioneer workers in this field. Similarly, most of you are familiar with the classical experiments of McCarrison on white rats to demonstrate the nutritive value of the diets consumed in the different parts of the country. Similarly, the production of eye lesions in experimental animals fed on diets deficient in vitamin A or carotene, provided experimental evidence in assigning similar changes in the human beings, to vitamin A deficiency.

While the animals, especially in the laboratory, have been the silent sufferers in the progress of nutrition research, let us now examine what we have done to animal nutrition itself, in general. Time does not permit me to go into the details of all the species of the animals. I shall confine my remarks only to cattle and poultry, which are intimately connected in the production of foods of animal origin.

In the present set-up of Indian Agriculture, animal labour is the sole motive power and animal manure is perhaps the main source to sustain it by maintaining the fertility of the land. The feeding of livestock in this country has been decided by the nature of crop production practised. In the present period of food shortage, the hitherto unknown competition between human beings and animals for certain foods edible for both, appears to be steadily growing. The result has been the deprivation of the animals of their share of the food-stuffs. For example, barley, maize, bran, and gram are consumed to a greater extent by man. Besides, oil cakes—like groundnut cake, and leaves of certain roots and tubers have now been consumed by man also, diminishing their supply to the animals, particularly cattle. Unfortunately, recent tendency appears to be to consider the needs of the human population only without bestowing much attention on the nutritional requirements of the animals. The cattle population have a justifiable demand on a part of our arable acreage. Any plan, therefore, intended for the final solution of the food problem in our country should take into consideration the needs of both the human and animal population, in relation to the capacity of agricultural production. The opening of Animal Nutrition section in an Agricultural Institute, such as the present one is, therefore, very opportune and a move in the right direction.

It is also in the fitness of things that this Institute, which has already successfully tackled certain problems concerning animal nutrition, such as the proper place of cottonseed feeding of animals on the yield of milk and fat content of milk, and the substitution thereof by a mixture of cereals and guvans, the importance of lucerne and other green fodder in the pro-

per nutrition of milch cattle, the analysis of articles of food commonly consumed in this part of the country and their digestibility, the loss of vitamin C in the preparation of pickles, jams and jellies of fruit which in its fresh state is abundant in its supply,—to mention some only—should be selected as one of the three or four centres in India for undertaking applied work on animal nutrition. It is absolutely essential that such nutrition centres should be located in different parts of India, when we realise how conditions differ from region to region. The main obstacles in the way of developing our vast potential resources in cattle are shortage of food. Our country is notoriously deficient in cattle feed. It is estimated that the available feeds cannot maintain even half of the existing cattle population. The role of the science of nutrition lies in finding out the best food for producing the desired result, the most economic utilisation of the available feeds, the discovery of new feeds or new sources of foods and the scientific processing of poor foods to improve their feeding quality.

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

What then are the steps which we should take in this direction to improve the present state of animal nutrition?

In all progressive countries, adequate attention has been paid to the feeding of livestock, such as the cow, the pig and the poultry from the economic point of view, so that the best use of the animals can be made concurrent with high standard of health in them.

The Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research has recommended a balanced diet for the Indian population, taking into

DHOLE & CO.
RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT
GUTA-TONE for CUTS - PAINS - BURNS Etc.
NEEM OINTMENT for ITCHES & SORES
BARNAPORE - CALCUTTA

DIAPEPSIN
Helps
COMPLETE
DIGESTION
OF FOOD -
STARCH &
PROTEIN
UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

consideration the current dietary practices. The recommended diet has aimed at maintaining the optimum health of the population and thus it has provided targets for agricultural production in this country. The question was further examined by a Committee of experts of the Indian Council of Medical Research and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research. Based on the proper understanding of the problems of human nutrition and animal nutrition, attempts should now be made to integrate our efforts towards meeting the nutrition of both.

Taking cattle for example, we have to provide feeding-stuffs for work producers, milk producers and meat producers.

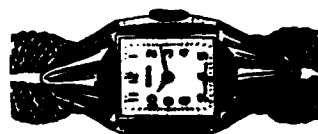
About 56 million working animals have to be fed from food residues and other foods that will have to be specially grown. This is our first concern, as animal labour will perhaps for many years to come, continue to be the main motive power for agricultural operation. The lactational yield of our milch cattle is very poor compared to the yield of milch cattle in other countries. It is of utmost importance to us to increase the productive capacity of our milch cattle, in order to provide, at least the minimum requirements of milk for the Indian population. A good quality roughage like pasture grass or properly selected cultivated fodder is essential for an economical increase in milk production. The choice of the green fodder will have to be decided by the regional character of the land and the climatic environment. This is an aspect which the new animal nutrition section could usefully develop in the immediate future.

The importance of oil cake, as a major item among the concentrate feeds, for practically all classes of stock, needs no emphasis. Unfortunately a good portion of these oil cakes is used as manure in the cultivation of cash crops, thus adversely affecting the maximum potentiality for animal production. There is a big gap between the supply and demand of oil cakes from non-edible seeds and it should be fully exploited.

A word about poultry. Based on a modest estimate, the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research had recommended one egg, per head, per day. In the Indian Union there are hardly about 50 million egg-laying birds and to attain the above target, their number requires to be increased 20 times. Apart from this, the nutritional requirements of the egg-laying birds need also improvement to improve their egg-laying capacity.

WRIST WATCH

FOR Rs. 3/- ONLY



Get Ja Wrist Watch for Rs. 3/- only, beauty and strength of which is guaranteed 10 years. Write today.

JAI HIND WATCH COY.
P. B. 7 (D-179/12) AMRITSAR.

A Glance at Nepal

Keshab Chandra Gupta writes in *The Maha Bodhi*:

Nepal lends enchantment to the view, not through its distance, counted in miles, but computed in the scale of obstacles and inaccessibility. The valley coily snuggles in the lap of the Himalayas. The saddles and tops of hills need hard climbing. The negotiation of the rough passes and ill-kept roadways for descent into Katmandu is not less strenuous. I believed in pictures of the romantic country till aeroplanes were mentioned in connection with the visit of the Holy Relics. I welcomed the chance of joining the company of visitors.

Oriental pomp and grandeur were associated with my concept of oriental royalty. The reception at the airfield at Nepal pleasantly disillusioned me. I confess, that like a simpleton, I inquired about His Majesty The King, while actually shaking hands with him. His benign smile saved the situation and me from misdemeanour and high treason. He was very simply dressed and his open-hearted cordiality breathed charm.

There were further surprises in store for us in the homeland of the fighting Gurkha. Anyone on whom I showered my bad Gurkha for information or guidance, glowered and extended to me the courtesies of a kind host. Schoolmasters, lawyers, officials and shepherds vied with one another to make us feel at home during our stay in the valley. Its seclusion had not robbed the classes and the masses of the human touch which makes life smooth and easy in a foreign land.

No one has the right to bring in a verdict on the behaviour of a people after residence of a week. But one must not forget that the people of Nepal are a part of the composite pattern that is called Indian. They have their own politics and trials and tribulations. I was forced to talk about them to the friends of the press when they interviewed me after my return from Nepal. I am glad my reading of the situation was right. No one can be sure of the channel, the flow of politics will take. But I shall fail in my duty of gratitude to my brethren of Nepal if I do not mention that at a time of political excitement, no party failed to overwhelm us with kindness. We had several meetings in the Durbar Hall of the Palace where I was allowed free expression of opinion, and neither the then Home Minister nor His Majesty pooh-poohed anything I said, as the gratuitous nonsense of a busy-body. It was an experiment on royal patience and it was extraordinary how I had to scrap my ideas about oriental despotism. English literature is good; but it has to revise its chapters dealing with the people of the East and specially the myths about kings and potentates.

Nepal is the land of beauty. Nature is more lavish in her bounties on Kashmir undoubtedly; but that is a big place and there is ample room for a variety show of her charms. But Nepal with her two rivers, the barrier of mountains and cliffs and the variety of fauna, enchants the dweller of the city. Nature's partiality to Bengal is wellknown. But the last war and its aftermath have destroyed trees and changed some aspects of her loveliness. Taking Eastern Nepal as the top of the picture of a landscape that rolls down to the Bay, the artistic execution of nature is superb.

ancient. In the first part there are metalled and macadamised roads with modern buildings and squares. The Maidan is extensive and well-kept and reflects the military temperament of the Gurkha who needs an extensive plot of land for parades and military exercises.

It is the old town that captivates the idle rover from the plains. I strolled round the different roads and alleyways and was struck by the artistic decorations of the verandas and house-tops. The synthesis of the Indian and the Mongolian style of architecture does credit to the Newar whose preference for art is a matter of pride for the dweller of the northern kingdom. The gabled roof and tiers of sloping tops on verandas, the detailed carvings of posts and architraves of houses as well as their general effect on the streets afford delight. The modern world with its preoccupations might lament the energy wasted on the decorations of balconies and doorsills but even today it is admitted that a thing of beauty is a joy for ever.

How could a people whose homeland is a museum of art treasures gain such renown in the killing art, of course in the field of battle? Fright enters into the connotation of the word Gurkha. For a solution of this enigmatic problem, for once the mind praises the out-of-date and much-maligned caste system. The Gurkha calls himself the Chatri, the member of the warrior caste and claims descent from the valorous Rajput of the middle ages. The Newar is the artisan. He is an emigrant from the fringes of the land of the Mongols. The two different sects of the people of Nepal held on to two professions, the art of fighting and that of making life sweet through decorations. The pattern of life is composite but each section has done its work marvellously well.

When I speak about the claim of origin of the two sections of the people, I do not mean that the original types have been preserved. A very large section of the Newars possess handsome Aryan features just as a large section of those who claim descent from the Aryan, display mixture of blood proclaimed by flat noses and high cheek bones. That is a feature which is abundantly reflected in all the departments of individual and collective lives of Nepal's citizens. The mixture, the compromise, the synthesis and amity are characteristics of the people of the valley as one day they characterised their southern neighbours—the Bengalees. Well, for the matter of that the poet has beautifully said about India as to how the Aryan, the non-Aryan—the Dravida, the Chin as well as the Saka, the Hun, the Pathan and the Mogol got mingled in one body.

As in her people and her art, Nepal shows this genius for absorption and mingling in her religious also. The temples are the pride of this part of Asia.

But the architecture is Indo-Mongolian as the prevailing belief and rituals of the common man is Brahmo-Buddhism. I am constrained to make these sweeping remarks with regard to the ordinary citizen and his religious rites. There is more devotion in Nepal than in the lower provinces. Almost every one goes to a temple before starting the day's work. The Buddha is held in as much veneration by the Hindu as Shiva or Srikrishna. It is a part of his cult all over the continent. But the orthodox Buddhist, in other parts of the world, will not be flattered when he sees *Sajwa* or *Tantrik* rites entering into the life of his co-religionists. The welcome to the relics was as enthusiastic on the part of the Hindu as of the Buddhist, both in Calcutta and in Nepal. But when one looks at the census figures, the votaries of the two sister creeds are not bracketed together.

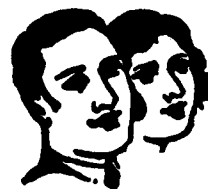
There is hardly any space here to deal in details with the structure of the temples of Nepal. Swayambhunath, Pashupatinath, Avalokiteswar and other shrines and temples display a wealth of details of decorations, the description of which needs chapters. The Tantric cult is also very much in vogue; and although in some places puritanic hands have scraped figures which seemed indelicate to those who were not initiated to the mysteries of the Tantras, much remains which a father and his daughter, for instance, should not behold in company. The same may be said about a part of the Puri temple. We need not be rash in our opinions, but at the same time, it is useless to gaze and to guess.

On the whole the visit to Nepal leaves the impression that one has run through a land of romance. Considering her present troubles, one would pray and pray fervently, that peace may be restored in the land, the home of our kiths and kins of whom much is expected in important spheres of life. I have the premonition that peace will soon be restored in Nepal.

FREE

KASHMIRI SHASTRA.

Here is the book which you needed. It contains 284 coloured photos of men and women. Write for Free copy. As. 8 to cover advertisements expenses, make haste lest you miss the chance.



PARIS ART HOUSE

HALQA. 5. (D-191) AMRITSAR



AMRUTANJAN

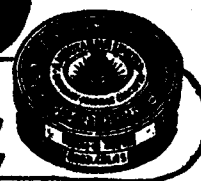
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHHARMA, M.B.A.S. (London) of International fame. President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness. Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.
Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman:—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity in life, honour and fame. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha:—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with life-long effects Rs. 184-4. **Mohini Kavacha:**—Enables one to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with extraordinary life-long & speedy effects Rs. 387-14. **Nrisingha Kavacha:**—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9. **Saraswati Kavacha:**—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9.
 Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English
"MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"
 by Jyotish Shamrat:—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

H. O.:—105 (M.), Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta. 5. Consultation Hours 8-30—10-30 A.M. Phone: B. B. 3055
 Branch Office:—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4055.
 LONDON OFFICE:—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

M. B. SARKAR & SONS

Our new show room
 and work shop at
 167/C, 167/C/1, BOWBAZAR ST.
 CALCUTTA.

AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR
 ST. JUNCN
 (Opposite Our Old Show Room)

**M. B. SARKAR
 & SONS**

Jewellers & Diamond Merchants
 Phone: Gram:
 B. B. 1761 BRILLIANTS
 Branch—HINDUSTHAN MART
 159/1/B, Rashbehari Avenue, Cal.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Modern Developments in Soil Science

We reproduce below the Fernhurst Lecture by Sir William Ogg, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Director, Rothamsted Experimental Station, delivered by him in the Royal Society of Arts on 20th February, 1952, as published in its Journal, April 4, 1952:

Mankind has been interested in soils from the beginning of civilization but the knowledge was purely empirical and the application of science to soil problems began little more than a century ago.

The subject may conveniently be considered in two broad divisions. The first deals with rock weathering, soil formation, soil classification and mapping, and the term pedology, (the term pedology is also sometimes applied to soil science in general) from a Greek term, ground or earth, is often applied to this branch of work; the second is concerned with soil fertility and deals with drainage, cultivation, manuring and other factors and processes which have a bearing on the use of soils for agriculture, horticulture and forestry. In recent years attention has been given to the soil problems of civil engineering in connection with housing, roads and reservoirs, and this aspect is usually referred to as soil mechanics.

Most things connected with agriculture cannot be hurried and from its very nature soil science is not a subject in which spectacular and rapid advances can be expected, for the problems are complex and varied; but steady progress has been made in most branches of the subject. I do not propose to attempt to catalogue all the new discoveries but rather to give an outline of some of the more important trends.

SOIL CLASSIFICATION AND SOIL SURVEYS
 From very early times farmers have described their soils in terms of texture and colour but the first attempts at a scientific classification were based on geological origin. Soil maps were made, however, long before geology became a science. The geological system has a definite value over limited areas or for particular purposes but it fails to bring out wider soil relationships. The same rock can give rise to quite dissimilar soils in different parts of the world and different rocks under certain circumstances can produce similar soils.

The first attempt at a genetic classification was made by Russian scientists. They recognised the following soil-forming factors: the nature of the parent material, climate, vegetation, topography, living and dead organisms and the length of time the various processes have been at work. The essence of their teaching was that soil is not merely a mass of rock particles mixed with organic matter or humus but a highly organised body that evolves and changes in the course of time and yet retains its individuality. Perhaps the most important part of the Russian contribution was the discovery of the close association

between soil, climate and vegetation and the recognition of soil zones corresponding in a general way to the zones of climate and vegetation. Where local influences of geology and topography predominate there are, however, types which do not conform to the zonal pattern and which are termed intra-zonal.

These new concepts have provided the key to the interrelationships of soils in different parts of the world and have led to changes in the methods of studying soils in the field. The operation of the soil-forming processes is reflected not only in the surface soil but in the whole soil profile, the vertical section from the parent material to the surface layer, and soil classification and mapping are now done on the profile basis. Soil profiles have been described and investigated in most parts of the world and many attempts made to improve the Russian system of classification.

One of the difficulties in devising a universal system is due to the fact that the dominant soil-forming factor is not everywhere the same. In some regions it is climate that is dominant and in others geological origin; the influence of vegetation is recognised in the use of such names as "forest soils" and "prairie soils," and in some areas topography exerts a profound influence because of its effect on water movement and drainage. Whilst the biological aspects of soil formation have long been recognized increasing attention is now being given to them, and W. Kubiena in Austria has developed a technique for the microscopic examination of soil sections which is of particular value in the study of soil biology and structure.

Although complete agreement about a world system of classification has not yet been reached that does not prevent the carrying out of soil surveys. Soil profiles can be accurately described and their distribution mapped; systems of classification to meet regional needs can be applied and at some future date it will be possible to bring these together in a comprehensive world system.

Soil surveys are now in progress in many parts of the world. In Russia, where the idea of a genetic classification originated and there is a wide range of climatic conditions, particular attention has been given to the mapping of the broad climatic groups, but the Russians have also done a certain amount of detailed mapping. In the United States, the soil survey was at first on the basis of geology, texture and colour, but about 1918 the genetic system of classification was adopted and mapping since then has been done on the soil profile. The greater part of the United States has now been surveyed on the scale of one inch to a mile.

One of the earliest surveys in this country was done in Kent, Surrey and Sussex by A. D. Hall and E. J. Russell, in 1911, on the basis of geology and texture, and work along similar lines was carried out by G. W. Robinson, chiefly in Wales. The writer, after spending a year with the United States Soil

Survey, commenced mapping in Scotland on the profile basis in 1924 and this system was generally adopted in Britain a few years later. When the Macaulay Institute for Soil Research was established in 1930 the soil survey work for Scotland was centred at that institution; in 1939 the work which had been in progress in various parts of England and Wales was brought under the directorship of G. W. Robinson, and in 1946 the headquarters was transferred to Rothamsted under the direction of A. Muir. At the present time there are eight surveyors in Scotland and fifteen in England and Wales, and the work for the whole country is coordinated by a Soil Survey Research Board under the Agricultural Research Council. The survey in Britain is on a more detailed scale than in the United States and up to the present about one and a quarter million acres have been surveyed on the scale of 6 inches to the mile and one and three quarter million acres on the scale of 2½ inches to the mile. Most of the soils of Britain fall within three of the world climatic groups, podzols, grey-brown podzolic soils and brown earths. There are also intrazonal soils called rendzinas which occur over many of the calcareous rocks, a group named gleys associated with poor drainage, and various types of peat. Within these broad groups further subdivisions are made chiefly on the basis of geology and drainage.

Soil surveys along similar lines are in progress in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and various other countries, and the results are now finding many practical applications. In agriculture they are particularly useful to the agricultural advisory services in connection with field experiments. They are also of great value in horticultural work, for instance in the selection of suitable sites for orchards, and they will doubtless be increasingly used in forestry. They provide an inventory of our limited and diminishing land resources and are necessary for the intelligent planning of the best use that can be made of them. The progress made in classification and mapping in recent years, as well as being of immediate practical value, has led to advances in many other branches of our knowledge of soils.

THE STUDY OF SOIL CLAY AND HUMUS

The inorganic portion of the soil consists of material ranging in size from stones and gravel down to clay. The clay is the result of intense weathering and it is not only the most chemically reactive fraction of the soil but also confers on it such properties as plasticity and cohesiveness. Consequently, the study of soil clays is particularly important in relation to soil formation, cultivation and crop nutrition.

Various new techniques have been applied recently to the study of clay minerals and probably X-ray diffraction methods are the most useful, but much assistance can also be obtained from differential thermal analysis, electron microscopy, and electron diffraction.

The clay fraction used to be regarded as an amorphous gel consisting essentially of kaolinite. Recent work, however, has shown that soil clays are generally complex substances varying widely in composition. An outstanding advance was the recognition of the crystalline character of clay minerals and much attention has been given to the study of their structure. The principal minerals recognized are those belonging to the kaolin and montmorillonite groups, illites, vermiculites and chlorites. It is an interesting fact

that all these minerals have layer structures related to that of mica. These structures, especially in vermiculite and montmorillonite, provide a large internal surface between the individual sheets. Two of the most important properties of clay minerals depend on the extent and nature of their surfaces both external and internal. Thus, clays have a high capacity for absorbing cations, such as calcium and potassium, in an exchangeable form. This phenomenon, first discovered by Thompson and Way in 1850, probably plays a considerable part in the transfer of mineral nutrients from soils to plants. The second important property is the absorption of water molecules, and this affects the mechanical properties of clays and soils such as plasticity.

The surface properties of clay minerals also play a part in the formation of crumb structure in soils. In nature, soil crumbs are in contact with the soil solution, a dilute solution of salts, and the behaviour of soils depends both on the concentration of the soil solution and the types of cations present. A certain minimum concentration of salts must be present to prevent deflocculation—the separation of the clay particles from one another—which destroys structure, hinders infiltration of water into the soil and may cause erosion.

These difficulties are apt to arise in the reclamation of soils which have been flooded by sea water. In washing out the sodium chloride the soil may become deflocculated unless there is sufficient calcium present. After the last war the Dutch were able to hasten the process of reclamation of their flooded land by adding gypsum. The same precautions must be taken in the "warplands" in this country. The mud deposited by the rivers may at first contain sodium chloride and, unless sufficient calcium is either present naturally or added, deflocculation and consequent loss of soil structure may occur. Somewhat similar problems often arise in irrigation projects, particularly in dealing with alkali soils of arid regions. In this connection mention should be made of the improved methods for determining optimum concentration of salts in irrigation water developed by R. K. Schofield at Rothamsted. Instead of estimating the exchangeable sodium in the soil chemically—from which the salt concentration which will cause deflocculation can be calculated only very approximately—the critical concentration is found by means of a simple visual observation. This critical concentration serves both to characterize the soil and to give directly the minimum conductivity for "safe" irrigation water, thus simplifying routine testing.

In addition to the aluminosilicates we have just been considering, the clay fractions of soils also contain crystalline and amorphous sesquioxides, silica, various unstable complexes and humus. The sesquioxide constituents are probably positively charged and in tropical soils, which are high in both constituents, the positively charged sesquioxides may react with the negatively charged aluminosilicates to form aggregates which do not readily break down. This throws light on the fact that the soil group known as Tropical Red Loams is easily cultivated in spite of having a high clay content, whereas the Red Earths which, though red, have less free oxides, generally do not cultivate so easily though they may contain less clay. The difficulties that may arise with the Red Earths were clearly brought out in the Kongwa area of the Tanganyika Groundnut Scheme. In that area,

under somewhat unfavourable climatic conditions, these soils compacted and gave rise to cultivation difficulties and poor crop growth. In the southern province of Tanganyika, however, where there is a better rainfall distribution, the same soil type did not give this trouble.

Compared with the advances made in the study of the inorganic portion of the soil, progress in our knowledge of the organic matter has been disappointingly slow. This is not due to any lack of interest or effort: the subject has an enormous literature. Rather has it been due to the complexity of the problem and the difficulty of separating the humus from unhumified plant remains. Large numbers of organic compounds have been isolated from soils but many of these are present in extremely small amounts and some are degradation products formed during the process of extraction and not present as such in the original soil.

Apart from the difficulty of separating the organic from the inorganic material of the soil, research has been hindered by the lack of suitable methods of investigating the high-molecular colloidal complexes that appear to be characteristic of soil humus. However, in recent years more refined methods of investigating naturally occurring macromolecules have been introduced and some of these will prove extremely useful in research on soil organic matter. For example, much detailed information regarding the protein and carbohydrate materials in soils has already been obtained by application of modern paper-chromatographic methods of analysis.

Much useful information can be obtained by indirect methods of approach. It is now recognized that excreta and dead bodies of micro-organisms are important secondary sources of humic substances and valuable information is being obtained by studying the chemical composition of fungi and bacteria, and of the products elaborated by these organisms. It is obvious, however, that conclusions drawn from such investigations must ultimately be confirmed by work on soil itself.

There have been some interesting attempts recently to reproduce the effects of organic materials in maintaining soil structure. J. H. Quastel and D. M. Webby, working on a Rothamsted soil, found that the addition of the sodium salt of alginic acid, a long-chain compound, improved aeration, waterholding power and crumb stability. The other week a firm of chemical manufacturers announced that they were producing a synthetic water-soluble poly-electrolyte with somewhat similar properties. The mechanism by which such materials stabilize soil crumbs is still obscure and extensive testing in the field is necessary to establish the conditions under which they might be used. They would require to be very resistant to attack by soil micro-organisms, otherwise their effect would be transient. Such materials will probably find their first application in glasshouse and garden soils or in other special circumstances where cost of treatment is not so important. Assuming that 200 lbs. or more per acre is required they would have to be produced very cheaply if they were to be used in general agriculture.

(To be continued)



For it has the following specialities:—

- (1) It contains all the antiseptic, germicidal and astringent properties of Neem Twigs, which cannot be repeated by any other chemical.
- (2) In addition, it has all the very useful and important ingredients used in ancient and modern dental hygiene for the neutralisation of acid, prevention of pyorrhoea, caries, removing bad odour of the mouth and strengthening gums, etc.
- (3) Its use makes breath sweet and pleasant.
- (4) It does not contain any gritty substance or any injurious chemical or bleaching agents that harm the gum and enamel of the teeth.
- (5) To avoid any chance of lead contamination, it is filled in pure tin tubes.

Neem Tooth Paste is a class by itself and cannot be compared with ordinary tooth pastes available in the market.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL

The Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement

An Agreement was signed on January 5, 1952, in New Delhi between India and the United States of America under which American financial assistance will be available for speeding up development projects in India, special attention being paid to the encouragement of co-operative endeavour by the people themselves and to community development schemes.

The Agreement was signed on behalf of India by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs. The U. S. Ambassador in India, Mr. Chester Bowles, signed on behalf of the Government of U.S.A.

Under the Agreement, the Government of the United States of America have agreed to make a contribution of an amount of 50 million dollars which will be allocated by June 30, 1952 and deposited in a Fund, called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund. The Government of India have also agreed to contribute in rupees for the projects to be financed out of this Fund. Thus, it is estimated that the total amount available for the programme will be in excess of 100 million dollars or about Rs. 50 crores.

The projects financed by the Fund will be co-ordinated with the Five-Year Plan of the Government of India and will be administered in close co-operation with the Central and State Governments. Use of the Fund will be largely concentrated on projects which are aimed, primarily, at raising the efficiency of agriculture and increasing the food production in the country. India's present dependence on imported food would be reduced in this manner. Food imports of India which amount, on an average, to five million tons annually cost the country about Rs. 250 crores (or about 500 million dollars) in foreign exchange which, otherwise, could have been used to develop much-needed new industries.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Of the projects to be financed out of this Fund, one of major importance which has been tentatively agreed between the two Governments is a community development programme. This programme contemplates setting up of about 50 rural-urban development areas in different parts of the country, each area consisting of about 200,000 people in about 300 villages. Many of these areas may be selected around the new river valley projects, while the location of some others will be around the new tubewell development projects financed by the Fund and also by the Central and the State Governments in India.

The proposed rural-urban development programme is expected to draw upon the combined experience of the Uttar Pradesh Government at the Etawah Development Scheme and the newly-built townships for displaced persons at Nilokheri and Faridabad. In Etawah, it may be recalled, in three years' time, 79,000 people from 102 villages, covering an area of 100 square miles, have demonstrated how with co-operative and planned endeavour food production can be substantially increased. They have also been successful in eliminating, to a large extent, malaria, rinderpest and other diseases. Considerable improvement in literacy has also been recorded. In Nilokheri and Faridabad again, in less than three years, good

planning and willing help of the people have enabled modern townships, based on the co-operative principle, to be built with up-to-date housing, good schools, improved public health facilities and a wide variety of opportunities for industrial activity.

Many of the development projects will be financed by means of loans made by the Government of India out of grants from the Fund and as repayments are made, the money will be used for new projects. It is also hoped that in future years new funds will be forthcoming, in an increasing measure to expand the work of the Fund.

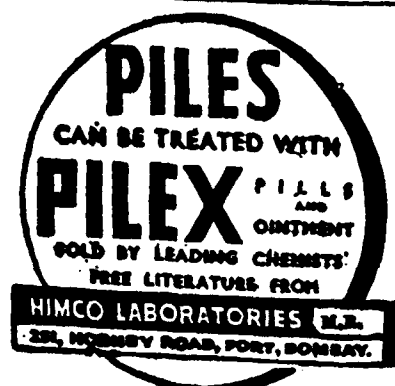
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Agreement provides for the creation of an Indian Central Committee which will determine the policies and provide general supervision of the projects undertaken. Members of the Committee will be appointed by the Government of India. Mr. Clifford Willson, Director of the U.S. Technical Co-operation Administration in India, will be available as Consultant to this Committee. The Committee will be responsible for developing, in consultation with the appropriate authorities in the various States in India, the programmes of economic development and technical co-operation covered by the Agreement.

The Indo-American Fund in which the American contribution will be deposited will be administered jointly. An officer of the Central Ministry of Finance will be the Government of India's nominee for this purpose, while Mr. Clifford Willson, working under the general supervision of the U.S. Ambassador in India, will be nominee of the U.S. Government. As each project of economic development is approved by the Central Committee, finance will be provided out of this Fund as agreed by the joint administrators.

Quarterly and project reports on the programme will be made by the Central Committee. The quarterly report will be an account of the progress made by the various projects while the project report will be a "Completion Memorandum" containing a record of the work done, the objectives, financial contributions and other related data.

An annual report will be prepared by the Government of India covering the progress of each project, its expected contribution to India's economic well-being and the accruals to and disbursements from the Indo-American Fund.—USIS.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

New "Equality" in South Africa

C. Yehudah writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, January, 1952:

From South Africa it is reported that the Nationalist Party in Transvaal has removed its ban on Jews and will henceforth welcome them into its ranks. The Jewish press in the South African exile (pardon, dispersion) has responded to this gesture with unqualified approval. Indeed, why shouldn't Jews cheer? Isn't it glad news that their former fears of the anti-Semitic tendencies of the Nationalist Party have proven unfounded? Isn't it a cause for jubilation that they have been officially recognized as equals of the other white citizens of the Union?

Nevertheless there are grounds for questioning the justification of this glee, for the "humanitarian" decision of the Nationalist Party in Transvaal implies that from now on the Jews of that region will be free to join a party that is dedicated to a policy of discrimination against all non-whites. As a matter of fact, the Jews of Transvaal should have been glad that they had so far escaped being caught between the hammer and the anvil of White-Negro relations. But unfortunately there are some Jews who love their masters and are misguided by their own fears. They welcome the lesser evil and their consciences remain untroubled by the company they have to keep in order to win a measure of "equality."

One South African newspaper recently published a letter from a Nationalist informing the public that he would no longer visit the Zoo because, (1) he could not bear to see the suffering of the caged animals, and (2) because Negroes were also permitted to visit the Zoo. South Africa is in fact a country overflowing with hatreds of various degrees. The South African nationalist hates the native Negroes above all. Next in degree of intensity is his hatred for the Indian who have been invited by the white colonists to work in industrial enterprises but have rapidly become competitors of the whites in trade. Then comes the hatred for the mulattos. These should have served as a bridge between the two races, especially since most of them speak the language of the masters of the country (Afrikaans). But they were recently disenfranchised. Next in the line of hatred come the English because of their culture, which is different from that of the white majority, and their liberal tendencies. Somewhere along this ladder of hatreds a special rung is reserved for Jews.

But the main hatred is reserved for the Negroes who for many years have been restricted to special reservations in the countryside and ghettos in the cities as well as being discriminated against economically, socially and culturally. Not content with the heritage of discrimination of the past, the Nationalist Party instituted a planned policy of *Apartheid* (separation) which is as irrational in its application as the racialism on which it is founded. In theory the Nationalist wish to keep the Negroes completely apart from the white population. In practice they cannot operate the mines and factories without the Negroes. Annually, agents of the mining companies go into the interior districts to mobilize hundreds of thousands of Negroes to replace the miners no longer capable of working after 2-3 years. The country needs skilled workers for the development of its industry, yet Negroes are forbidden to practise skilled trades. The whites complain about the ignorance of the Negroes, yet deprive them of opportunities to study.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for M and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vital at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 complete course of 12 weeks.
OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-3 for 3 weeks; Rs. 100 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguring blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc). Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.
SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL: A delightful ideal hair-dress and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective "nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressant or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 7 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4.

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "periodic regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **OIVITA:** MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION**. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX** and **FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.O.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
261/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 24297

The consequences of such an irrational policy are bound to be detrimental to the whites. This policy provides a sense of solidarity to the numerous Negro tribes, who are now joined in a common feeling by the Indians and the mulattos who are being forced back into conditions that prevailed a century ago before they enjoyed any civil rights. In the past certain rights were granted to some of the national minorities in an effort to cause a rift between them and their less fortunate countrymen. Today they are all being forced into the framework of a single class of dispossessed.

The Malan government of South Africa disregards also the discontent of liberal and labor circles with the policy of Apartheid. Never noted for consistency in their own colonial policies, liberal and labor elements point out that the Malan government is endangering the British Commonwealth of Nations which now includes 75 million whites against 500 million colored people. Spokesmen of India, Ceylon and other areas already ask of what value it is to belong to a Commonwealth in which colored peoples are mistreated.

But the Nationalist Apartheid policies are primarily dangerous to the white population of South Africa itself. It is a policy based on fear, and fear leads to a recurring cycle of acts of violence and vengeance. The Negroes are subjected to injustices every day. Their acts of violent retaliation are punished severely whereas similar acts by whites are passed unnoticed. It is therefore reasonable to expect that when the day comes and the Negroes seek to solve their social and political problems, they will not use silk gloves in the process. The socialist and liberal press throughout the world has been warning against this danger, but those who enjoy special privileges are deaf to reason.

The privilege which the Nationalist Party has now granted the Jews of South Africa to become partners in the oppression of the colored peoples is therefore not an occasion for celebration. We may "note with satisfaction" that Malan has now concluded that anti-Semitism is unnecessary, though we can only speculate on what brought about this change of mind. Is it that the Malan government now take a different view of the war against Nazi Germany? (The Nationalist Party was notoriously neutral during the war). Or is it a token of its admiration for the Jewish struggle against Britain prior to the rise of Israel? Or perhaps the Nationalists have a more practical consideration in mind, namely, the desire to assure themselves a more stable majority in the next election?

We are not in a position to advise the government of South Africa about its general policies. But it is our right and moral duty to speak our minds to the Jews of South Africa, one of the few Jewish

communities in the world to have come out of war unharmed. To them we want to say that the history of the white population in South Africa is brief whereas Jewish history is old and laden with sorrow. More than once we have learned on our own skins that a policy of discrimination is indivisible. Sometimes the Jews are the first to suffer, and other peoples are victimized later. On other occasions discrimination begins with the oppressed of other nations and ends with violence against Jews. All Jewish attempts to come to an understanding with dominant nationalist parties in the hope of winning security in the latter's prosperity have proved failures. Even generous contributions by some Jews lacking in self-respect to the coffers of reactionary anti-Semitic parties have failed to avert from the donors themselves the disaster which descended on the Jewish people.

Were Jews to join the South African Nationalist Party, they would bring upon themselves the wrath of the Negroes who outnumber the whites five to one. As it is, South African Negroes bear no great love for the Jews because they never meet them as workers but only as middlemen to whom they hand over their pitiful earnings. They see Jews living in beautiful houses and that their attitude toward the Negroes is in no wise different from that of the other whites. And it is an historical fact that an oppressed group directs its greatest anger against other victimized groups who join the oppressors.

Jewish history leaves little room for doubt on this score. Should trouble break out in South Africa the Jews will be its first sufferers. The rioting in Durban one year ago is particularly instructive; the Negroes wrecked the stores of Indians and caused casualties among them, whereas not a single white person was hurt. But in the meantime the Indian minority has also been relegated to the ranks of the oppressed in South Africa and a bond of solidarity between them and the Negroes will no doubt arise. Were the Jews to become partners to discrimination by joining the Nationalist Party, would not the danger of their position be enhanced? Have we not learned from the tragic experiences of the past (1648-9 in the Ukraine) when Jews, voluntarily or under compulsion, became partners with the rulers against another nation?

The scores of thousands of Jews in South Africa who have not lost their self-respect and human dignity should firmly say to the Nationalist Party: Thanks for this new equality, but we want none of it. We will not become a party to a policy of racial discrimination, nor do we want to be ground between the millstones of the racial and social conflicts.

Will they say so without delay? The mills of the Gods keep grinding, but not slowly.

Modern Review

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

FOUNDER

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

VOL. LXXXII. NUMBERS 1 TO 6

JULY TO DECEMBER

1952

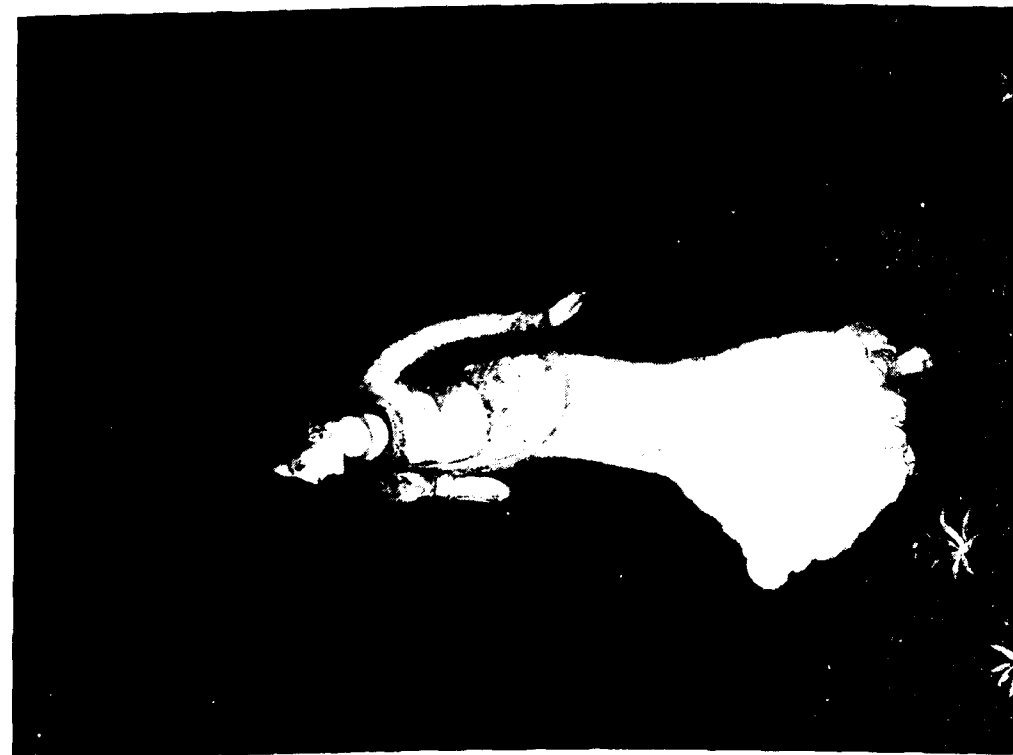
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE

120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD

CALCUTTA



Age Joergensen—The Danish Scholar and Pacifist	Page	Page	Page
Mr. Age Joergensen	483	Jawaharlal Nehru presents a garland to a Tribal child at Ziro	421
Abanindranath Tagore: His Early Works		Jawaharlal Nehru signs the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement	36
Siddhas of the Upper Air	58	(Dr.) Maria Montessori	145-47
Abhisara		(8 illustrations)	146
Abanindra N. Tagore	1	Maria Montessori	146
Andres M. Sada of Mexico with S. T. Shah and Pares Bhattacharya, members of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology students	213	Members of a unique goodwill delegation at Santa Cruz airport welcomed by G. N. Desai, Mayor of Bombay	213
Archaeological Explorations at Tamluk, Recent	392-97	Members of the Indian Cultural Delegation to China, headed by Sm. Vijayalakshmi Pandit	36
(14 illustrations)		Members of the Turkish Press Delegation visited the Jamia Milia Islamia in Delhi	37
Art of Amina Lodhie, The	389-91	Members of Uday Shankar's ballet troupe in U.S.A.	37
(3 illustrations)		Monsoon Green, The (in colours)	1
Art of Sreemati Devi	312-14	Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	1
(4 illustrations)		Mother and Child (in colours)	421
(2 half-plates)		Sukhamoy Mitra	421
Bala-Krishna	296	Panorama of History in an American Museum	60-61
Two Sisters	296	(3 illustrations)	
Asian Club of the Air—C. Mackenzie, well-known author and broadcaster	337	Paramhansa Yogananda passes away	308
Assam, History of	143	Paramahansa Yogananda in eternal life	308
An Ahom Temple	139	Passive resistance movement against unjust racial laws of the South African Government	456
Door-frame found near Tejpur	141	Pennsylvania State College in the United States, The	253
Sixteen-sided ornamental pillar found near Tejpur	337	President Dr. Rajendra Prasad visited recently an exhibition of Orissa Arts and Crafts held in Puri	85
At the Well (in colours)	253	Press Commission holding their first meeting in New Delhi on October 11	337
Ramendranath Chakravorty	479	Prime Minister at Imphal, The	421
Brahmakunda, Rajgir (in colours)	253	Prince Hussain recording a talk to be broadcast in the B.B.C. Eastern Service	297
Bimal Roy	479	Robert Lee Frost	51
Brajendranath Banerji	1	Robert Lee Frost	51
Buddha and Sujata	1	Role of New Pusa to Solve Our Food Problem	473-76
Abanindra N. Tagore	478	(8 illustrations)	
Chicago: Second City in the United States	478	Romain Rolland, Reminiscence of	316
(4 illustrations)		M. Romain Rolland and Gandhiji	317
Chinese school-children are fascinated by the exhibits of the Indian Art Exhibition at the Labour Palace, Peking	169	Two letters of Romain Rolland	317
Citizens of Nairobi: Their interest in photographs and paintings on Indian architecture	372	Salt Lake City: Capital of Utah	226-27
Community Project officers going round	372	(3 illustrations)	
Nilokheri	53-56	(A) Scene of the recent primary election in Ohio	129
Damodar Valley Scheme. Progress of the	53-56	Sculptural Art of India, The	402-04
(10 illustrations)		(3 illustrations)	
Dark-eyed Girl, The (in colours)	169	(A) Special demonstration garden is maintained by the B.B.C. for British Television viewers	297
Niharrajan Sen Gupta	373	Stammering—Its Cause and Cure	481
(Miss) Derika Deiz of Bombay in World Trade Fair	373	(2 illustrations)	
Dolls of the American Pueblo Indians	400-102	Storm (in colours)	85
(3 illustrations)		Santosh Sen Gupta	85
Eleventh batch of passive resisters is led by Mr. Cassim Amra	457	Sweden	228-30
Eleventh batch of passive resisters of Durban is about to break the Apartheid regulations	457	(7 illustrations)	
(An) Exhibition of Indian Books in Finland	148-50	(Dr.) Taraknath Das	479
(8 illustrations)		This voting machine is used for elections in many parts of the United States	129
Field Songs of the Western Ranchi District	47-50	U. S. Pasture Research Laboratory and Green House of the Pennsylvania State College	253
(6 illustrations)		Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian Cultural Delegation to China, visited with other members the Summer Palace in Peking	169
Gaddis, In the land of the	221-25	Vinova Bhawe	231
(6 illustrations)		Sri Vinova Bhawe	231
Giant Cosmotron at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, New York, The	212	W. A. Harriman is seen with Mrs. H. A. Suja and her son at the recent World Trade Week Exhibition in Washington	373
Hatfield: The Home of the Cecils	306-11	White House, official residence of the U. S. President in Washington, as it nears completion of its renovation, The	212
(14 illustrations)			
Helsinki, A general view of	128		
Helsinki stadium where the 1952 Olympic Games are being played, The	128		
India's wealth of timber, Forest Research Institute, Dehra-Dun	85		
Jawaharlal Nehru welcomed by the Girl-volunteers at Imphal	456		



Abhisara



Buddha and Sujata



THE MONSOON GREEN
By Design of Rev. Chowdhury

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY



1952

VOL. LXXXII, No. 1

WHOLE No. 547

NOTES

The Cross-Roads

The Congress is at the cross-roads, that is the Congress in power. On one direction lies Truth, Renunciation, Toil and Tears. On the other, Power, Ease and Damnation. The second path, the way to the loaves and fishes, has been indicated in the elections. Now comes a lone call, from Vinobaji :

"If the leaders of different political parties have some political sense, they would dissolve their parties and form one party of all the *sevak*s of society. There can be not only more than one point of view but 35 crore points of view. But all that I want is the acceptance of a common programme for the betterment of the people. I admire churning of thoughts (*vichar manthan*), but not conflict in action (*achar gharshan*). The latter creates fire which destroys society. Nature has made India great and we have only to strive for unity to retain it.

"Had I placed this *Bhoadan-Yajna* before a conference of intellectuals and leaders a year ago, I am sure all would have ridiculed me by saying that it is impracticable and impossible, for such a thing had never happened before in the whole of human history. I say that God has created us,—you and me, to achieve something new and unprecedented. History of the past is just clay in our hands and it is for us to give any shape to it. So I started my work and now I appeal to all to take up this revolutionary programme of mine. The programme is like an ocean where all rivers meet. If you just help in creating an atmosphere, the rest will be done by that atmosphere itself. Even wingless dry leaves rise high like birds when a powerful storm comes. Thus this programme

will give life to the soulless and power to the powerless. People are but a manifestation of God, we will get this faith if we go to them."

Pandit Nehru has belatedly also realized that his party is in the morass of inertia :

The news-item given *infra* is from the *People* of June 28th :

"Unless we can produce that temper in our people which laughs at difficulties and get things done, sometimes in spite of facts, we cannot achieve anything really big," observed Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, in a foreword to the pamphlet entitled *Bharat Sevak Samaj* issued by the Planning Commission last week.

The Prime Minister says : "We have talked about planning for a long time and we have produced a draft Five-Year Plan. That Plan will presumably be finished in the course of some weeks. Everyone recognises now the necessity for planning and tries to utilise our resources to the best advantage.

"We can, to some extent, measure our resources, or most of them. But it is very difficult to measure the biggest of these resources that we have, that is, man-power, and that psychology which makes people work for great ends. Unless we utilise this man-power and unless we can produce that temper in our people which laughs at difficulties and get things done, sometimes in spite of facts, we cannot achieve anything really big.

"Therefore we have to look to our people, go to them, talk and discuss with them and work with them. We must function as comrades in a common task, as partners in a joint undertaking. We may have to

teach them something but we have much to learn from them also. So we should go to them not with the pride of knowledge but in humility of spirit and with the intense desire to bring about, with our common labour that joint effort which can shake and break up a mountain of inertia."

But what Pandit Nehru does not realise is that his words no longer carry the old magic.

If he can redeem his pledges and follow his own precepts, then and then only would his words carry far into the minds of the people who were once his own. Today he has no people, no friends and partners, he has only a "Party."

Indo-Kashmir Relationships

The following news-item appeared in the *People* of June 28:

"Sheikh Abdullah at Srinagar told a Muslim prayer gathering that Indo-Kashmir relationship had reached a 'critical phase.'

The statement shows that the Delhi negotiations have not reached a successful conclusion. He had top-level discussions with his colleagues soon after their return to Srinagar from Delhi. Political circles attach great importance to these consultations as, according to them, these discussions would prepare the ground for the next step that the State Government would take regarding the solution of outstanding issues between it and the Government of India including the future of monarchy in the State.

Meanwhile, Yuvraj Karan Singh, whose political future is still uncertain, is preparing for his proposed visit to Ladakh.

Kashmir negotiations with the Indian Government regarding implementation of the State Consensus proposal to terminate monarchy and have an elected constitutional head, are to be resumed. In this connection the Kashmir Delegation headed by Mirza Afzal Beg, Revenue Minister, is again leaving for Delhi. Sheikh Abdullah may participate in talks at a later stage if need be."

We have had very curious reports about the utterances of Sheikh Abdullah and his satellites as published in the Kashmiri press. The attitude of this autocrat is curious and reprehensible. He seems to be following the same path as the Moslem Leaguers of the British days.

The New Food Scheme for Bengal

The Government of India has decided to take upon itself the responsibility of feeding the Calcutta industrial area. This was announced by Mr. Kidwai, the Central Food Minister, at a Press Conference in Calcutta during his recent visit in West Bengal.

For the current year, said Mr. Kidwai, the Government of India would release 100,000 tons of rice

which, he thought, would be sufficient for rationing purposes. An additional quantity of 100,000 tons of imported rice would be released for sale at economic prices through special shops to enable citizens to supplement their ration.

The scheme will come into effect as soon as necessary arrangements are completed. While supplies will be given by the Centre, distribution arrangements will be in the hands of the West Bengal Government. We learn, however, that the full operation of the scheme may be delayed till January, 1953.

Mr. Kidwai further announced that besides distributing 5,000 mds. of rice and 5,000 mds. of wheat as doles in distressed areas in the State, the West Bengal Government had decided to release 10,000 tons of rice and an equal amount of wheat for sale in these places.

The West Bengal Government felt that the high purchasing power of the people of Calcutta was responsible for smuggling into the city of over 6,000 mds. of rice every day and that unless this was stopped prices in rural areas would continue to rise. To check this it had been decided to open some shops in Calcutta where rice could be purchased at economic prices to supplement the ration.

This price, he thought, would be much cheaper than the present black-market prices which he understood, varied between Rs. 45 and Rs. 60 per md.

Mr. Kidwai was sure that as a result of these new measures Calcutta's requirements would be met and the prices in rural areas would go down.

From next year the Government would not procure from anyone who cultivated less than 15 acres of land. Instead it would impose a levy on cultivators possessing 15 acres or more. Under this levy system the Government expected to procure 450,000 tons of rice. The entire quantity would be kept in rural areas and utilised to allay distress wherever prices went up. When this levy system was introduced, the ban on the inter-district movement of food-grains would be removed. The only ban would be on movement across the borders of the State and into cordoned Calcutta.

A main factor in food administration in West Bengal has been the purchasing power of Calcutta and other industrial areas. These would under decontrol react like a magnet on rural food-grains and even under control would draw from the country-side by illicit means. It is now intended to divide the State into two zones. One will be the Calcutta industrial area to be supplied, through the State Government's ration shops and the new economic price shops, by the Government of India. In the rest of the State, it hoped that with the flow to Calcutta lessened, the seven surplus districts will be able to meet the need of the six deficit at reasonable prices.

The information about the food requirements of the rationed area disclosed by Mr. P. C. Sen in the conference of the non-Congress members of the Assembly was that there was a difference between the estimated consumption of the people in statutory rationed area, at 12 ounces per day and in the modified rationed areas at 8 ounces per day, and the actual drawings. The figures are as follows:

	(In lakh tons)			
	1948	1949	1950	1951
Estimated	8.45	8.6	9.8	10.3
Actuals	6.96	7.86	8.69	8.99

In the year 1952, the Government of India would have to contribute 5 lakh and 52 thousand tons normally. Taking the responsibility of feeding Calcutta industrial area, it would have to supply 8,99,000 tons in all, that is, 3,47,000 tons in excess over the normal commitment.

The statistical information furnished by Mr. P. C. Sen gives a different picture of the food problems of West Bengal than what is usually put forward.

The number of rationed people:

	(in lakhs)			
	1949	1950	1951	1952
(1) Statutory	58	61	63	71
(2) Modified	8	12	20	29
	66	73	83	100

Under statutory rationing we have 71 lakhs of people. By deducting this from the total population of 2 crores and 48 lakhs, we have 1 crore and 77 lakhs outside the rationed area. For this number, 30 lakhs and 67 thousand tons of food is required annually if we calculate on the basis of half a seer per capita consumption per day without discriminating between children and adult. On the other hand, the net total amount of food crops available in 1952 has been estimated to be 32 lakhs and 25 thousand tons.

The estimate of food production for the last three years, as has been presented by Mr. P. C. Sen before the conference of the non-Congress members of the Legislative Assembly is as follows:

	(in thousand tons)			
	1949	1950	1951	1952
Aman	2882.8	3269.5	3559.0	3103.3
Aus	376	335.9	359.7	359.7
Boro	16.3	16.1	15.5	15.5
Total Rice	3275.1	3621.5	3934.2	3478.5
Other crops	74.9	74.5	104.8	104.5
Total food-stuffs	3350	3396	4039	3583
10 per cent deduction on account of seed and wastage.				
Net food	3015	3326	3635	3225

Mr. P. C. Sen says, as he was told by the Indian Statistical Institution, that in pre-war days people used to consume 15.3 ounces per day, that is, 4.25

mds. yearly. Accordingly the quantity of rice required, Mr. Sen thinks, is as follows:

	('000 tons)			
	1949	1950	1951	1952
Rice required	3622	3841	3872	3903
Availability of rice	3015	3326	3635	3225
Deficit	607	515	237	678

The deficit is reached by calculating on the basis of 15.3 ounces for all the population irrespective of children and adults. But the international standard of measurement of requisite food supply is to multiply the total population by decimal 8 and to multiply the number thus obtained by the amount of food consumed by a full-grown adult. Neither the Government of India nor Mr. P. C. Sen would accept this standard of measurement and would thus prove deficiency and consequently scarcity.

Mr. Sen conceives that in 1951 the population strength was 2 crores and 48 lakhs and the net amount of food available for consumption amounted to 36 lakh and 35 thousand tons or 9 crores and 81 lakh mds. Instead of 2 crores and 48 lakhs let us take it as 2½ crores of people. Measuring this figure by the international standard as stated, we require food for 2 crores. Excluding wastage and the receipt of wheat from the Centre, we have 9 crores and 81 lakh mds. of rice net at hand. Therefore the per capita share appears to be 4 mds. and 32 seers annually.

U. S. Aid for India

The announcements about the programme of aid to India under the U.S.A. Point Four programme and its subsequent development have raised a storm of protest from the Communist groups and their fellow-travellers. This we can well understand, because under the ideology of the C.P.I. any aid from any member of the Western bloc, or for that from any nation excepting the Soviets, means slavery, war-mongering, cultural degradation, and so on, to the entire gamut. The Soviets have not offered any aid, either because they are unable to give any or because it is against their doctrines to offer aid to any outside those who are completely within the orbit of Soviet domination. Even China, which is within the penumbra of the Soviets is only receiving partial aid. And further, if India can manage to develop its resources and establish its economy on a firm and stable basis, then she becomes a major factor in the matter of War or Peace in Asia, which might become a calamity for any nation desirous of world-domination. And therefore India's economy must be kept in a state of unstable equilibrium, either through disruption or by a thorough-going programme of obstructionism.

But, curiously enough, opposition has come from another quarter, which cannot by the widest stretch

of imagination be accused of ulterior motives or of extra-territorial loyalty. The view-point of these critics, whose sincerity or loyalty we do not question, has been fully exposed in the *Harijan* in its issues of May 3 and May 10 last. Therein Shri Suresh Ramabhai, writing under the caption of "Agreement or Slavery Bond," argues as follows. We are quoting *in extenso* as the matter is of vital importance :

"The well-known British journal, *New Statesman and Nation*, has described 1951 as the year which 'may well be remembered in history as the first year of the American Empire.' In the opening week of 1952 were laid the foundations of American penetration in India too. On 5th January, 1952, an 'Agreement' was signed at New Delhi by Prime Minister Nehru on behalf of the Government of India and by the U.S. Ambassador in India on behalf of the Government of the United States of America. In his recent address to the Parliament, the President of India has given high praise to this Agreement. Quite a large and influential section of the Indian press has hailed it as a landmark in the history of Indo-US. relationship. No apology is, therefore, needed for a critical study of this historical document.

At the outset, it must be stated that this new Pact is in pursuance of the 'Point Four Aid' agreement for technical co-operation signed on behalf of the Governments of India and U.S.A. on December 28, 1950, in which an Aid of 1.2 million dollars has been provided for technical training, etc. The present Pact goes far ahead both in its objectives and contents.

OBJECTIVES

1. Promoting and accelerating the economic development of India;
2. Promoting international understanding and goodwill, maintaining world peace and undertaking such action as the two Governments may mutually agree upon to eliminate causes for international tension.

Thus it can be said without any fear of contradiction that it is a politico-economic Pact and not a purely Technical Aid Agreement.

TERMS

How the said objectives are sought to be achieved can be gathered from the terms of the Pact. The Pact consists of 10 Articles which may be summarized as follows:

1. The obligations assumed in this Agreement will be performed on behalf of the Government of India by a duly designated Ministry and on that of the U.S. Government by a Technical Co-operation Administration. The latter will be represented in India by a Director. He and his staff shall be regarded as a part of the diplomatic mission of the Government of the U.S.A. in India and shall share

fully in the privileges and immunities enjoyed by that mission and its personnel.

2. The Administration shall furnish a field party of specialists to collaborate in carrying out the Technical Co-operation Programme. The party shall be under the direction of the Director. All of them shall be selected and appointed by the U.S. Government. All facilities shall be provided to the Technical Co-operation Directorate or the Administration. It will share fully in all the privileges and immunities, including immunity from suit in the courts of India which are enjoyed by the Government of the U.S.A.

3. (a) As regards finance, the U.S. Government will provide, by depositing in U.S.A. until 30th June 1952, a sum of 50 million dollars (about Rs. 24 crores) to be credited to a Special Fund, called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund (Fund A), while the Government of India will constitute a Special Development Fund (Fund B) exceeding Rs. 25 crores for making available supplementary finance. Besides, the U.S. Government will further bear a sum of about four million dollars in meeting in U.S.A. the expenses of its experts, the tuition and other charges of Indian nationals sent abroad for training in this connection, and the costs of technical assistance provided by the U.S. Government through private agencies.

- (b) The Fund B shall be strengthened by the sale proceeds of saleable goods imported under this Pact as also by repayment of the sums (belonging to the Fund A) disbursed as loans to private agencies or State Governments.

4. (a) The Fund A shall be jointly administered by an Indian Government officer and the American Director. It will be utilized only for the execution of agreed projects of technical co-operation.

- (b) Fund B and its proceeds are, like the Fund A, to be utilized only for the projects approved by both the Governments.

5. Allocations will be made whereby agreed amounts shall be transferred from the Fund A to the consolidated funds of the Government of India or shall otherwise be authorized to be expended. Such transfers and/or authorizations to expend shall be in the forms of grants-in-aid and loans. But nowhere in the Pact has it been indicated how the loan portion is to be repaid.

6. No funds or parts thereof, allocated to or derived from any programme of assistance undertaken by the Government shall be subject to any garnishment, attachment, seizure, or other legal process by any person, firm, agency, corporation, organization or government.

7. Agreed projects of technical co-operation shall be executed by a Central Committee (of not more than seven members) to be constituted by the

Government of India. But no recommendation of this committee involving the allocation of expenditure of funds made available by the U.S. Government can be given effect to without the concurrence of the Director.

FUNCTIONS

The Pact gives no idea how the American assistance is to be exactly utilized. Obviously its purpose is to attain the objectives mentioned above. Though reports in the Press point out that this is to be done by growing more food and establishing certain types of townships, yet as the text of the Agreement in question makes no mention of them, comments on the same would be beside the mark here.

Next, we shall examine the economic and political implications of the Pact as evident from the aforesaid terms."

Then follow Shri Suresh Ramabhai's criticisms of the Pact, under the sub-heading :

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

- "1. Such a vast network of American experts and knowhow's is going to be established in India as has never been known in her long and chequered history.

2. No official or non-official body or authority in India can interfere with the activities and the programmes the Americans choose to enact.

3. Not a cent out of the American 50 million dollar fund can be spent against the wishes and tastes of the U. S. Government. It is a strange kind of generosity or *dan* in which the *dani* (donor) exercises such control over the use of his *dan* (gift) as a mortgagee in possession of a shop or factory might exercise over the mortgagor-debtor's business.

4. For the duration of the Agreement, India shall have no independent control over her own Fund B.

5. The U.S. Government is free to impose any condition or conditions it may like in connection with the repayment of the loan portion of the Fund. What repercussions they may have one cannot say.

6. The U.S. Government hereafter acquires the undisputed right to start and develop such enterprise or concerns in India as may help it to secure for itself a permanent market for its finished goods or build up a *pucca bandobast* (a solid base) to obtain the requisite raw materials for home consumption. It thus obtains a free hand to build the American economy on firm foundations and for all time. In other words, under the Agreement the agriculture of India, our handicrafts and industries, our trade and commerce, our markets and homes may be recklessly thrown at the mercy of the U.S. Government and capitalist.

7. No more shall we be allowed to remain the architects of our own destiny. Not a blade of grass will move but by the will of the American Director

or his company. They will have full rights to veto down the opinion or suggestions of the Indian people or their representatives who would have to accept American dictation.

8. The American aid is in the nature of an investment on behalf of the U. S. Government to secure a firm foothold in the Indian sub-continent. It is an initial investment by which U.S.A. can make India bleed white for the American's pleasure and his way of life. It is in fact an essential advertisement in order to earn multifold profits in the not very distant future when American goods will stalk the country."

"History affords several instances of investments of this type. A conspicuous one is that of free distribution of opium by the British in China. It is virtually a common practice of every intelligent businessman."

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

"Next, we turn to the political implications of the Pact.

1. The second objective given above makes it clear beyond doubt that the Government of India has agreed and begun to view the world political scene through the U.S. glasses. What is peace to America is peace to India and so also tension. Ostensibly neither America nor India may adopt a line of action which the other does not approve. But since India will have been placed under an obligation which may not be lightly disowned or discontinued after operations have advanced to a certain extent, it is obvious that in an extreme situation, India will have to approve what America directs her to approve.

2. The U. S. Government hopes to kill two birds with a single stone. Who does not know that on account of the continued researches in science, new models of machinery are springing up day after day rendering the old models useless and cumbersome? But where should the hoary stock of old models go to? Machine is like that monster which demands incessant work otherwise it would eat up the very master. America has developed the art of solving this riddle by doling out aids or loans (as Marshal Aid, Point-Four Aid, etc.) to one country after another. She is, therefore, able to dispose of her unusable stuff with a clean conscience and put the aided country in eternal obligation! Besides, it gives her a unique opportunity to seize the same by the neck."

"Hardly anybody is unaware of America's intentions in Asia or Europe. That she has a passion for meeting the so-called 'menace' of communism is common knowledge. It is why she is doing her best to help General Franco in Spain, the British in the Middle East, Emperor Bao-Dai and the French in Indo-China, and General Chiang Kai-shek in the

Far East. There is no reason why she should not contribute her mite for the same in India.

In the light of the above conclusions one cannot but feel suspicious about the motives of the U.S. Government in offering this Aid. May not the so-called 'Agreement' become a slavery bond to India? Will it not enable America to overwhelm India completely?

These misgivings are confirmed on going through the reports of the speeches delivered to the American Congress at Washington on March 13 last by some of the leading officials of the U.S.A. The Secretary of State for America, Mr. Acheson is reported to have said that the '1953 Mutual Security Programme' called for the expenditure of \$227,000,000 in technical assistance to Asia, Africa and Latin America, the figure for India being not yet made public. He stressed the need for Aid to India in very strong terms. But why? To quote his own words:

'The advice of all our observers on the ground is that unless the newly independent Government under Prime Minister Nehru can show substantial progress in economic development over the next five years there is the likelihood that in the next elections democratic forces will be endangered either by extremists or by communists.'

Further, Mr. Acheson went on to compliment us on the 'tremendous effort' India was putting up in 'its fight against communism.' Really, are we putting up this fight?

Again, Mr. W. Averell Harriman, supporting the Mutual Security Programme, warned the American Congress that any resolve to cut this programme would mean a reduction in the 'strength being built in the free world for our common defence against the threat of the Kremlin.' By this programme Mr. Harriman wants to secure 'well-equipped allies' in India and elsewhere for the youngmen of United States 'fighting for freedom.'

Any doubts in this regard are thoroughly cleared by the speech of the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Robert Lovett. Without mincing words he is reported to have said that the 'first criterion' in granting United State military assistance will be 'performance of the nations in raising effective forces.' He assured the American Congress that 'performance would be the test.'

It can, therefore, be safely concluded that the American Aid (and the Aids to follow) is but a means to achieve the end of drawing India into the 'cold war,' a war that has already enveloped Europe and America in its painful grip. How far will our Government succeed in its remaining 'neutral' despite the Aid only the future can say. But it is high time that the authorities in New Delhi and the Parliament ponder over where they are leading the country to."

We have been obliged to quote in full as otherwise we might be accused of distorting the context of arguments. We shall say here and now that we are not enamoured of any aid from any outside source, U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. Aid does always mean moral obligation, which, in the long-term pessimistic view, as taken by Shri Ramabhai and others of that ilk, might mean serious and untoward complications. But what are we to do then, wait for the millennium? Or wait until another Bapu comes to infuse new spirit, new ability, and a new vision into his unworthy followers who have not been able to carry forward his schemes by one-thousandth of an inch?

We should apologise here, for an exception should have been made for Vinobaji who is bearing a lone flaming torch, without verbose denunciations, illogical accusations or fanatical outbursts. All honor to him.

Have the Point Four programme objectives and terms been examined in the Gandhian Spirit? We have heard Gandhiji say more than once that he was willing to believe anyone for the first time, we have heard him say repeatedly that he was willing to credit anyone with altruistic motives until otherwise proved. Is that the spirit in which the U.S.A. has been accused of ulterior motives?

Turning to Shri Ramabhai's criticisms we would say that logic is not his strong point, else how could he have jumped to conclusions like in items (2), (5), (6), (7) and (8). The last three are real examples of fanatical extremism. If they have not been written in a spirit of frustrated *himsa*, then the word *himsa* does not exist. We repeat that we are not enamoured of outside aid, but placed as we are, thanks to five years of maladministration, muddle and corruption under the hands of a band of inefficient mediocrities whose sole sock-in-trade was Gandhiji's name, can we afford to look a gift horse in the mouth, specially when we have already been going the round of all nations begging for food, medicine, and implements?

Let us examine the offer then with an open mind. If there be any *lacunae*, let us suggest adequate measures to fill them, and to safeguard our freedom. The offer by U.S.A. is primarily to make us strong and to establish our economy on a sound basis. *The secondary objectives, if there be any, cannot come before that. And a strong and economically well-established nation cannot be made to follow any path willy-nilly, or else all history is false.* Where would the U.S.S.R. itself be today but for the tremendous aid it received, in every form, from the U.S.A.?

Let us also realize that the alternative, if the present economic chaos continues, is foreign domination, from another quarter, whose fifth column is active and organised.

NOTES

The Other Side

Let us now turn to the other aspect, that is, the view of the enthusiasts. We need not go further into the matter of Point Four programme, but the following extract from the *People* of May 3, is important, since it was published in the official organ of the Congress Government:

"Consultations between India and U.S. Government authorities for the implementation of the biggest aid programme hitherto extended by the United States to any country in Asia barring China, are making satisfactory headway, according to reliable information available in New Delhi. The programme, which is independent of other commitments already entered into by the United States, proposes a grant of 1,000 million dollars to India in the next four years.

The present programme which is based on a recommendation made by the U.S. Ambassador in Delhi Mr. Chester Bowles, *springs from the fact that India has been able to put to the best use the 55 million dollar aid received in January this year.* It would appear that U.S. diplomats and experts who have been anxiously watching the manner in which India developed its plans for the utilisation of the 55 million dollars, have now reported to Washington that any help provided by the U. S. Government to India would not be 'lost in the ocean.'

U.S. observers appear to accept the move from Washington for aid to India as a part of its global strategy of preparing an effective front against communism in Asia. One U.S. observer declares that 'unless the mass of voters is appreciably better off under the Nehru Government before the next elections roll around 1957 than they are now, there is every likelihood that the Congress Party will be turned out and the Reds will come in.'

But, as has been repeatedly emphasised by Indian spokesmen, the Government of India have not approached the development programmes as a 'Party Plan.' Foreign aid received for such development are accepted, therefore, without commitments or 'strings.' It has been emphasised that India subscribes to the objective behind the aid programme only to the extent that it enables the enhancement of the standard of living of the Indian citizen and the general improvement of his economic well-being. India is not fighting the Communist Party and has no anti-Communist programme 'as such.'

In so far as there is agreement, however, on the practical objective of the aid programme, namely, the economic rehabilitation of the Indian people, it has become an accepted fact on both sides.

Shrewd political observers in the capital believe that the 1,000-million dollar aid need not be regarded as 'the limit.' If the aid programmes continue to

produce the desired effect as hitherto, U.S. aid to India will be measured by India's needs rather than India's willingness to accept U.S. 'dictation.' On the contrary, India cannot make a 'deal' with the United States for extended aid, if she is not able to put the aid received to good use in building up the nation to overcome poverty and squalor which breed communism. The 1,000-million dollar aid now proposed is to be extended to India in annual instalments of 250 million dollars. The first instalment is expected to be received in the next few months when plans, now being worked out, are finalised for its utilisation.

American experts calculate the new programme, which is being considered, will aim at the 'permanent improvement of the condition of 120 million peasants' and increase the country's agricultural production by 50 per cent."

Here is the other side of the medal with a vengeance. Programme announced in January and by May 3rd, "India has been able to put to the best use the 55 million dollar aid received in January this year." And that without the public even knowing the names of the Indians engaged in the task!

Much of the corruption and muddle in the Indian Union's administration is due to the secrecy with which appointments and awards are made. Nepotism and favouritism being rife nothing else could be expected. If our information is correct then some of the appointments in the Point Four programme are questionable to the extreme limit. And we have no reason to doubt our sources of information. We refer, of course, to the Indian personnel.

"Point, Counter-point"

The true picture of the Soviet Republics is difficult of visualisation by those who are on the wrong side of the curtain. Here, for example, is the picture as given in the *News and Views From the Soviet Union* of June 26:

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of 16 Union Soviet Republics. Each one of them is a sovereign state with its own Constitution, supreme organs of state power, organs of administration and its own budget.

"The sovereign rights of the Union Republics are embodied in special articles of the Constitution and in the entire state system of the USSR. Articles 13 of the Constitution of the USSR lays down that the USSR is a federal state, formed on the basis of a voluntary Union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics. The voluntary nature of the Union is expressed in article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR which reserves for every Union Republic the right freely to secede from the Union. The sovereignty of the Union Republics is also confirmed by other articles of the USSR Constitution granting the Union Republics the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states

to conclude with them agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives: the right to have their own Republican military formations. According to the USSR Constitution, the territories of the Union Republics cannot be altered without their consent.

"The great principle of the equal and voluntary Union of the sovereign peoples was proclaimed by Lenin and Stalin, the founders of genius of the Soviet multi-national state, the authors of its Constitution. The sovereignty of the Soviet Union and the sovereignty of the Union Republics are harmoniously combined on the basis of the ideology of equality and friendship of the peoples. The sovereignty of the USSR and the sovereignty of the Union Republics are complementary and mutually reinforce one another. On entering the Soviet Union, the national Union Republics voluntarily renounced certain of their rights in favour of the Union. This, however, by no means detracted their state sovereignty. On the contrary, this resulted in the strengthening of their national independence and sovereignty, because the USSR assumed the protection and defence of the sovereign rights of the Union Republics. The Union of the Soviet Republics into one federal state, the principle of mutual assistance and fraternal co-operation among the peoples of the Soviet State have ensured the rapid political, economic and cultural development of the formerly downtrodden and backward peoples."

"A striking example of what inexhaustible strength the Union Republics acquire as a result of their Union into one federal state is afforded by the magnificent construction works of Communism which have been launched in the USSR. The building of the Main Turkmen Canal opens up colossal opportunities for the development of agriculture in Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and other Central Asian Republics. Building of the gigantic Kuibyshev and Stalingrad Hydro-Electric Stations, the Main Turkmen Canal, the Kakhovka hydro-power project, the South-Ukrainian, North-Crimean and the Volga-Don canals entails construction on a scale unprecedented in the world. The completion of these projects will make it possible to irrigate and bring water to 25.5 million hectares. The great construction works of Communism became possible only because the Soviet system exists in the country and all the peoples of the Soviet Union take part in their building."

The following extract is from the *New York Times* of June 12. It shows the reverse of the medal:

"It is a tribute to the effectiveness of Soviet propaganda that so well-informed and learned a man as Prime Minister Nehru of India has apparently swallowed the Kremlin-inspired stereo-types about Soviet minority policy. In a recent speech he praised the Soviet Union as the 'only country' that had adopted a 'wise and successful

policy in winning over the people living in outlying areas.' With respect to language policy among India's aboriginal hill people, he urged Indian experts to study and emulate Soviet policy."

The essence of the Soviet-inspired stereotype is the notion that in the Soviet Union minority peoples have been allowed to develop their cultures freely, are not discriminated against, and have equal rights with the single largest group, the Great Russians. Any study of recent trends in Soviet minority policy shows this stereotype to be quite false. What has actually been going on in the Soviet Union in recent years has been a policy of forced Russification, with the Russian language made an obligatory study in all schools and with Russian culture constantly exalted as the most 'advanced,' the one which all minorities must revere and seek to imitate. Since 1935 many minority peoples have been compelled to revamp their written languages so as to drop the Latin or Arabic scripts formerly employed and to substitute the Cyrillic alphabet of the Russian language, as well as to employ Russian words for many political, technical, scientific and economic concepts.

During the past year this Russification policy has been at its peak. Communist party leaders and leading intellectuals in the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Baltic States and Central Asia have frequently been purged for 'bourgeois nationalism.' The history of many minority peoples is being rewritten so as to make it seem that Russian conquest of those peoples was a blessing and so as to make villains out of those historic leaders of the minority peoples who fought Russian conquest. The facts on recent Soviet cultural and political Russification of its minorities have been available for years. Surely Prime Minister Nehru would have been well advised to study those facts before bestowing his blessings upon a policy which is the antithesis of the democratic tolerance which Nehru himself has championed so effectively in so many fields."

And here is another picture, taken from the *New Leader* of May 19, which shows another aspect of the Soviets' policy regarding the conquered peoples.

"On the eve of his recent visit to America, Chancellor Leopold Figl declared that the U.S.S.R. could prove the sincerity of its concern for a German and European peace settlement by concluding the long-delayed Austrian peace treaty. Thus far, however, thanks to Moscow's sabotage, the 258 meetings of the 'Big Four' deputies have resulted in complete futility. What is the explanation of the tenacity of Russia's delaying tactics?"

"Prominent among the reasons why Austria remains under occupation is the existence of USIA. These four letters are the initials of the Russian words meaning 'Administration of Soviet Property in Austria.' Ask an Austrian what USIA is, and you will get a variety of uncomplimentary descriptions. It will be called a cancer destroying the economic life of the country, a conspiratorial state

within a state—operating by means of bribery, sabotage and terror. All this is true. But the quality which makes it the greatest of all obstacles to the conclusion of a treaty is that USIA has proved to be an inexhaustible gold mine to the Soviet Union.

"Imagine a foreign consortium in control, let us say, of an area of the Port of London, within which Britain is deprived of the power to levy duty on goods from abroad for sale in the home market. Imagine, further, that the laws of the land, including those of taxation, are unenforceable within this area. Assume that some 300 British concerns of note are administered by this consortium, and that wages, bills and other overhead expenses are met out of the enormous profits secured by disregarding all state charges and excise duties. Then envisage a situation where this consortium, without a shadow of legal justification, sets up a chain of retail stores, dealing in 'outlaw goods'—shops ignoring trading-license and closing-hour regulations, taxes, social insurance and other obligations. Then picture the arrest and kidnaping of any who oppose these developments, or appear to know too much. Even this effort of the imagination will not give a complete picture of the wealth that Stalin is drawing from the USIA gold mine, or of the consequent impoverishment of the Austrian economy. In addition, there are the staggering profits taken from Austria's rich oilfields, which are exploited on USIA lines by a separate Russian concern, the Soviet Mineral Oil Administration. There are the profitable operations of such Soviet auxiliaries as *Vuzhnefttrans*, which transports USIA's plunder, and the Danube Shipping Company, whose seizure by the Russians has, for the past seven years, closed down the use of one of the great international waterways.

"USIA was one of the bridal gifts so rashly bestowed on the glamour-shrouded Soviet Union by Western statesmen during the Potsdam honeymoon. During those rapturous days, nobody seems to have soberly worked out the extent to which the loosely-worded Potsdam Declaration could be distorted by an unscrupulous beneficiary. On the face of things, it then appeared to be only fair to allow the Russians to appropriate any German property in Austria as part compensation for the over-running of their country by Hitler's barbarians. Today, one can only wonder at the naivete of the Western failure to stipulate participation in the decision of what was genuinely German property, as well as in its administration and final disposal. As a result, any property on which the Nazis ever laid hands, however briefly, was classified by the Russians as 'German' property. Although they were forced to disgorge some of what they seized, most of this property remained in Russian hands. The Potsdam clauses were cynically used as a justification for plunder.

"Russian abuse of her economic acquisitions for political purposes has gone on ever since. The Red Army immediately set in motion all the forces at its disposal with the aim of establishing USIA concerns in the political as well as the economic field. The Trattnerhof, an imposing block of offices just off the Graben in the heart of Vienna, is the requisitioned headquarters of USIA. It is easily recognisable by the imposing parade outside of USIA-owned high-powered American cars with Russian registration numbers, bought in Switzerland with dollars acquired on the Vienna black market from the schilling yield of products smuggled in by USIA without paying Austrian dues. Inside are housed the ten main departments of USIA—the controls of its heavy and light industry, electrical, metallurgical, coal-mining, food-producing and chemical industries, agriculture, forests and so forth. Although, in prewar days, one could walk through its corridors freely, today sentries wearing the Soviet star challenge everyone at the entrance to the building. Facts and figures, which comparable trusts elsewhere actually spend money on publicising, are put on a security level enjoyed only by the latest atomic-warfare developments. To get an insight into these unnecessarily secret statistics puts quite a subsidiary burden on the Western taxpayer. Many of what USIA pretends are top secrets are concentrated in its so-called 'Commercial Bureau,' which is chiefly concerned with providing a flow of imported raw materials and disposing of USIA products abroad. Take, for instance, the notorious piratical 'scrap deal' of a couple of years ago. Methodically, USIA's Trattnerhof secret service registered, and the Red Army secured, the vast quantities of war scrap in Vienna and Eastern Austria. Operating through Austrians, some of whom, after making gigantic paper profits, suddenly vanished eastwards when the deal was concluded, the Russians sold 200,000 tons of plundered scrap alone to Czechoslovakia's war industries. Switzerland took 85,000 tons, paying with American cars, chocolate, cigarettes and other goods subsequently sold by USIA at enormous profits on the black market. A few thousand tons went to Britain, smelted down, as duraluminum bars."

Soviet Scientists Re-making Their Earth

Professor Victor Kovda, Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Assistance to the Construction Works of Hydro-Electric Stations, Canals and Irrigation Systems under the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, writes the following article that appeared in the *Soviet and Views*, dated May 7, 1952:

"Huge stretches of world deserts and arid steppes lie on the territories of the Soviet Union, China, India, Afghanistan, Persia and Iraq. The great mountain ranges Hindukush, the Himalaya, and the Caucasus give rise to the mighty rivers Amu-Darya, Sir-Darya, Indus, Ganges,

Brahmaputra, Kura and Kuban. The boundless Russian plains feed the Volga, Don, and Dnieper rivers. These rivers flow through the steppes and deserts, and men have been struggling for centuries to utilize their waters for irrigation. India, China and the Soviet Union possess huge areas of irrigated land and occupy the first place in the world as regards irrigated farming.

Exceptionally great work to transform the nature of the arid steppes and deserts has been undertaken in the Soviet Union. Shelter-belts are being planted and the waters of the Volga, Kura, Ural, Dnieper, Don, Kuban, Amu-Darya and Sir-Darya rivers as well as the subsoil waters are being used for this purpose. Within the next 5-7 years the total area of irrigated lands in the USSR will be increased from 6.5 million hectares to 13-14 million hectares; besides, 22 million hectares of pastures will be supplied with water to advance the development of animal breeding.

The Soviet Government and the people are rapidly building the hydro-technical systems in the South and the South-East of the European part of the USSR, in the Transcaucasus, and particularly in Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR together with the Academies of Sciences of the Tajik and Uzbek Union Republics have organized a big combined scientific expedition which is conducting its work on the area of the Main Turkmenian Canal.

Another combined expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR headed by Academician V. N. Sukachev is conducting extensive researches in the zone of the Volga-Don canal and the Stalingrad hydro-technical system, and in the districts of the State shelter-belt afforestation. This expedition is studying the geological conditions, the soil and the geobotany of the districts where the new irrigation systems are being created, but it is particularly concerned with the elaboration of scientific methods of growing forests in the steppes and combatting soil erosion.

The dense wind-breaks that are being created in the USSR around the fields, at the water-sheds, and on the ravine slopes will help retain the snow, in the winter, decrease the out-flow of water and the washing down of the soil in the spring, and protect the fields against dry winds and excessive evaporation in the summer.

The Committee of Assistance, headed by the President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, A. N. Neameyanov, has been organized under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR to direct all the scientific research conducted to help the great construction works.

The age-old dreams of progressive science about gaining control over the elemental forces of nature to lighten man's labour and create an abundance of material goods are being realized in the great works undertaken in the USSR."

We would like to hear of similar co-operation between the Scientists of India and the men who are planning,

supervising and constructing the great river valley projects of our own country. Perhaps that will come when the present generation of bureaucrats have passed from the scene.

An Open Letter to Joliot-Curie

The following open letter appeared in the *New Leader* of U.S.A. in its May 12 issue:

"Dear M. Joliot-Curie,—We are gravely concerned over a message which was recently released under your signature from Prague. In this message you appear to give credence to reports from Communist China accusing the UN forces in Korea of waging germ war-fare.

We, too, have seen such reports in the daily press. These reports, all of them from Communist sources, embody charges of the gravest and most disturbing character: grave, because such charges cannot and must not be made lightly; and disturbing, because, if untrue, they mark another attempt by the Communists to infuse fear and hatred into a world that so desperately needs brotherhood and peace.

Thus, we must ask ourselves—how true are these reports? As a scientist and Nobel Prize-winner yourself, you will agree that it is our duty—not only as scientists but as moral men—to ask this question. As scientists, we share the tradition of perpetual and uncompromising search for truth. We are trained to doubt what is unproven and to submit every claim—factual or theoretical—to the most rigorous of tests. Finally, as moral men—as human beings—it is our duty to confront the results of such tests—whatever they may be—with courage and honour, and to give the truths that result from such tests the widest possible currency.

But, as you well know, it has been most difficult so far, if indeed not impossible, to obtain information regarding the germ warfare charges which would permit a careful weighing of the evidence. Such evidence, we submit, is of crucial importance in reaching a conclusion on a matter that cannot but affect the deepest emotions of peoples throughout the world. And because of this, we are unable to understand why the Chinese Communist authorities, if they really believed in the truth of their charges, did not immediately respond to an offer of the International Red Cross to carry out a careful investigation on the scene of the reported epidemics.

Our misgivings were further increased by the fact that official Communist radio stations have alternated between reports of serious epidemics and denials that such epidemics exist. Equally suspicious was the allegation of the Soviet Union's spokesman at the United Nations, Mr. Joseph Malik, that the International Red Cross is not qualified to investigate the truth of the germ warfare charges. And, as if to compound our suspicions, Mr. Malik then asked us to believe that an

obscure and highly partisan body of jurists is capable of conducting scientific investigations, and of reporting objectively on matters of fact. This—either as scientists or as moral men—we are unable to accept.

In the light of this, we believe it imperative that the Peiping authorities permit the entry of International Red Cross inspection teams into China and adjacent Korea—and also that they permit the entry of epidemic-control teams offered by the World Health Organization—if such epidemics do in fact exist. This special agency of the United Nations has established a notable record of successful emergency operations in distress areas. By first refusing to permit entry to the International Red Cross, and then by rejecting the aid offered by the World Health Organization, the Communist authorities, in Peiping and Moscow, have only confirmed existing skepticism of the germ warfare charges. Many of us have inevitably asked: What are the real motives for this seemingly well-coordinated propaganda campaign?

You, Joliot-Curie, have now given the use of your name—or permitted it to be used—in support of these unverified charges. In so doing, you have incurred a grave responsibility, a responsibility to your fellow scientists throughout the world; and beyond that—to science itself and the truth which science must serve.

And so we ask you to accept your responsibilities. We ask you to withdraw your signature from the message recently issued at Prague. We ask you to raise your voice with ours in demanding that the germ warfare charges be put to the acid test by investigation teams of the International Red Cross or any other recognized impartial body.

In all good faith, we say: Associate yourself with us in this vitally important task, so that, together, we may establish the truth and make it known to all men.

Carl F. Cori, Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology, 1947; Gerty T. Cori, Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology, 1947; C. J. Davison, Nobel Prize in Physics, 1937; Joseph Erlanger, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1944; Philip S. Hench, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1950; H. J. Muller, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1946; William P. Murphy, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1934; Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize in Chemistry, 1934; George H. Whipple, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1934; Edward C. Kendall, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1950."

The Chinese declaration that the U.S.A. was conducting germ-warfare behind the fighting lines in Korea and China has caused a world-wide sensation. American denial has been equally vehement. Here in India, most people are puzzled by this propaganda and counter-propaganda. A good few well-meaning gentlemen, without even a rudimentary knowledge of what the term "Germ-Warfare" implies have waxed eloquent—and sometimes exceedingly wroth—over this inhuman affair. The name of Joliot-Curie, the Nobel

Prizeman, has been used a lot by the Communist and fellow-travellers' press, here and abroad, the common idea being that Nobel laureates—like kings—can do no wrong, nor utter untruths. Here is the counter-challenge from Nobel laureates of another denomination.

Tibet or "Bod"

The *New York World Interpreter* had the following in its November 10 issue on Tibet:

"To you it's Tibet, but the natives call it Bod. Estimates of its population vary all the way from one to four million, though the smaller figure is more nearly correct. In size it is over three times as large as California, but precise statistics or boundary delimitations are wanting.

"*Whose Is It?* By origin, the people are not Chinese; They are closer to the Indians, the earliest known settlers having gone northward, apparently, from Nepal, the independent kingdom on India's northern frontier. Yet for generations, the Chinese have called it theirs, and gazetteers back them up. Except under duress, the Tibetans have never agreed to Chinese rule. In 1907, however, a treaty between Britain and Russia recognized Chinese control. In 1910, Chinese armed forces marched in and took over, while the Tibetan government fled to India. Next year came the Chinese Revolution and dissension among the Chinese troops, which made withdrawal necessary. Again in 1917, the Chinese attacked, but were beaten off by Tibetan soldiers supplied by the British.

"From the view-point of Chinese Communism, an invasion of Tibet is logical. Communist regimes cling to the privileges claimed by their royal and capitalist predecessors. No one can deny the need of reform and modernization for the Tibetans, who are kept in ignorance under a predatory system of rigid social classes: the priesthood, the nobles, the tradesmen, the peasants, the herders. On paper, the Chinese Communists have promised moderation. Last August, General Liu Po-cheng, head of the South-west Military and Administrative Committee, pledged regional self-government, freedom of worship, respect for monasteries and the people's traditions.

"*World Politics Involved:* Primary reason for the invasion just now is the need of face-saving; having failed to rescue the North Koreans, Mao Tse-tung's Communist Government must try to bolster up its renown. The Kremlin, likewise, requires something to advertise after its Korean debacle. It is standard procedure for Totalitarian regimes, when they are blocked in more important directions, to conquer weak neighbors in order to feed the legend of undiminished power.

"*Economic Factors:* Economic considerations played a part in the decision of the Chinese Communists. After Mao Tse-tung achieved power, Tibet tightened its frontiers. Trade, always mainly with India but to some extent carried on also with China, was cut down with the Red regime at Peiping. There is for China the lure of gold; not only has one mine in West Tibet been worked for 75 years; gold particles are found in the river beds, indicat-

ing rich deposits in the mountains. Western-educated young Chinese in Mao's government have been urging geologic exploration on a scale surpassing that by the British, who have done more than anyone so far although the land has never been fully searched."

Six months after, the position remains as obscure as ever.

Communists Kill and Plunder

The Madras Tamil daily *Bharat Devi* writes:

"It is funny that a Bombay contemporary, a critic of the Congress Party and Prime Minister Nehru in season and out of season should claim to know the mind of the Congress High Command."

"In the Madras Assembly recently, Rajaji told Communists that they should consider him their Enemy No. 1. The paper says that this attitude of Rajaji does not appeal to top-ranking leaders like Pandit Nehru!"

"None will look into Opposition papers to know the views of Congress leaders. Our Readers will note carefully the speech of the Hyderabad Congress leader, Swami Ramanand Tirth, in the House of the People, during the debate on the President's Address."

"The Communists had set fire to the house of a person who had offered him food, he said."

"In many of the villages, innocent villagers were massacred, not Zamindars. Thousands of cattle were made to roam from one place to another simply to dislocate the economic life of the people. More than 250 Congress workers and sympathisers have been 'liquidated' by the Communists in Telangana."

"If that is the picture when the Communists are not in office, what will be the fate of the people if they are in office? Members of the House of the People and the public well know that fate."

"As the Hyderabad leader has stressed, the armed struggle waged by the Communist Party in Telangana was not an agrarian struggle. The Communist aim was to terrorise the people and overthrow the Nehru Government by violent means. So, the villagers who had, even in the remotest degree, anything to do with his visit, were harassed by the Communists."

"The Swami has further revealed in his speech that even now the Communists in Telangana were armed. During the elections armed Communist squads wandered about the villages terrorising the people. Women were threatened that their 'kunkum' would be removed and their 'mangalyasatram,' says the Swami."

"These are the tactics of Communists all over India. Wherever the situation is favourable to them there they carry out their policy of destruction. The people very well know the atrocities of Communists in Andhra Desa. Inspired with the philosophy of Rakshasas they adopt the tactics of Rakshasas."

"In the House of the People, Swami Ramanand Tirth has also exposed the triple role the Communists wear. The first is the United Democratic Fronts in Legislatures

with non-Congress parties, the bait being the Communists' minimum programme."

"But this is their second role—they exploit the poor workers and attempt to spread confusion and disaffection in the country. Then it is the armed guerrilla squads of Communists who enter helpless villages; loot and plunder and destroy rural societies—their third role."

"Communism and Democracy are poles asunder. The policy of Indian Communists is to destroy Indian democracy and instal in its place a dictatorship."

"Hence it is our first duty to preserve our hard-won freedom and save our people from the Communist tentacles."

"By their violent tactics the Indian Communists have become the enemies of the country. Knowing this only too well, Rajaji told them that he is their Enemy No. 1. For our part, we do not find anything wrong in Rajaji's attitude."

Since then, Shree Satyanarain Sinha has joined issue, in the Central Assembly, with the Communists.

Dr. Satyanarain Sinha (Congress-Bihar) repeating his allegations against the Communist Party said that the general line of Shrimati Renu Chakravarty's speech yesterday was from an article written by one Levin.

Shrimati Chakravarty challenged the member to produce the article and demanded a parliamentary commission to enquire into the matter.

The Speaker said Parliament's main business was not to enquire which member was right and which member wrong. "It has to deliberate very seriously on the problems before it ignoring all passion, parties and personalities."

He also told Dr. Sinha that it was not for him to say that a member repeated another person's argument. Then the issue before the House was entirely clouded. He asked him to take care that he did not make any personal allegation.

Dr. Sinha continuing said that Shrimati Chakravarty's argument that "our defence policy is a part of the Anglo-American imperialist policy is not the voice of the party sitting before us but the voice of somebody on the other side of the hills."

He said he himself was a cadet in an army school in Europe where Indians were taught how to weaken "our defence and criticise our Government."

Dr. Sinha, who was repeatedly challenged during his speech, accused the Communists of trying to distract the attention of the people "through a mock fire" on one side while they silently penetrated from the other into the Indian defence system.

He also alleged that at a meeting in Berlin in July-August 1950 certain Indian Communist leaders had promised that "the interests of the Communist fatherland will be the first and the interests of India will come next."

Shri Harin Chattopadhyaya—I challenge him to prove that, it is absolutely wrong.

Dr. Sinha quoted from a document a resolution which he said, had been adopted in Berlin on August 5

1950 at 11.30 at night. The resolution said: "The members of the Communist Party must convince the general public that in case of a general war the duty of the people is to help the Communist army in establishing peace."

Describing the Berlin meeting as "the origin of the Communist peace movement," Dr. Sinha asked the House not to be "carried away by Communist manoeuvres and deficit but face realities."

Dr. Sinha said the Cominform was sending the trained Indians back to India for the purpose of helping it "liberate" India from the Anglo-American imperialists. Accordingly, they had prepared a plan and in that plan he alleged Kashmir was shown as British territory.

Prof. Hirendra Mookerjee: Can the member repeatedly refer to certain documents of mysterious character which he has not got the guts to submit before the House?

The Deputy Speaker ruled that any member, if he referred to any document, must place it before the House.

After the passage-at-arms in the Parliament the whole matter has been referred to a Committee of Privileges.

There is nothing original in Communist activities. Every independent State has to maintain its secret service for uses against internal and external enemies. What is original, perhaps, was invented by Franco when he talked loudly of the "Fifth Column". Stalin has borrowed it and bettered in the borrowing.

We for ourselves have a queer feeling that perhaps the tactics now employed by that fifth column in India, are the same as was employed—time and environments considered—by Umichand and his fellow-travellers a hundred and fifty years ago, when John Company was disrupting the Moghul Empire for its own, absolutely own, benefit. The British came into India for the "liberation" of Indians and they kept up that mockery to the end. And we Indians got 150 years of abject slavery, destitution and degradation as a result. Now we have the Neo-Umichands advocating "liberation of the people" under a foreign banner!

South Africa's Apartheid

It has been reported that a Civil Disobedience campaign on a country-wide scale is on the move in South Africa. Meagre details have come out in the daily press as yet. At this juncture it is of great importance as to how the press abroad views it. We append below a comprehensive extract from the *New Leader* of U.S.A. It appeared in an article entitled "Behind the Crisis in South Africa" in its May issue:

"It is ironical that at the very time when white South Africa has proclaimed a political truce in order to unite in celebration of the 300th anniversary of its birth, a more profound disunity has rent it than any experienced since the Boer War ended fifty years ago. The first week in April saw the climax of the ter-

centenary celebration of the landing of Jan van Riebeeck on the shores of Table Bay—an event which marked the establishment of the first white man's settlement in the southern half of the great African continent. At the beginning of the year, Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan had issued an appeal for a truce on all differences during the period of the celebration, and it was generally agreed among all white political factions that this was a time to observe unity. The truce was, in fact, observed, but with the very thinnest veneer of sincerity.

On the actual day of the commemoration of Van Riebeeck's landing, the "Unity of the Nation," which was its theme, was so little apparent that the castle which Van Riebeeck had built a few hundred yards from the foreshore was filled with armored cars standing by to take action against expected disturbances. That is perhaps characteristic of South African life, for the disturbances were expected from the non-Europeans. What was much less characteristic was that, when the actor impersonating Van Riebeeck landed from the model ship, he presented a casket theoretically containing the law to the Chief Justice, who had to hand it to the Prime Minister for preservation. It was this same Chief Justice, Centlivres, who a fortnight previously had declared the unanimous verdict of his Supreme Court that one of Dr. Malan's most cherished Acts was unconstitutional, eliciting from Dr. Malan the retort that the courts were meddling in politics and that he would pass another act to prevent such verdicts in the future. If South Africans have the least sense of humor, they must surely have burst into ripe laughter on seeing the Prime Minister being entrusted with the law by the Chief Justice whom he had publicly abused.

The constitutional issue which has provoked the present crisis is certainly complex, and distinguished lawyers have expressed contrary opinions on it. The issue originated from the manner in which the South African Parliament itself was first constituted. After the Boer War, the British Liberal Government considered that it was implementing Liberal principles in its international policy, first, by returning responsible self-government to the two defeated Boer republics and then by offering self-government to the whole country. To draw up a constitution, representatives of the four South African provinces were called together in a National Convention where they discussed the form which the government should take. On two issues they were deeply divided. The first was the equality of the English and Afrikaners languages, the second, was the preservation of the liberal franchise laws of the Cape Province—which at that time did not discriminate in politics on grounds of color. It was finally decided that, to safeguard these two most significant rights, each would be "entrenched" in the South Africa Act in such a way that they could only be

altered by a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament at a joint sitting. The South Africa Act passed by the British Houses of Parliament in 1909, and brought into effect in 1910, thus contained these two "entrenched" clauses.

The liberal elements in South Africa believed that they had thus safeguarded for all time the right of the non-European to vote in the Cape Province and hoped that the recognition of this right would subsequently spread to the other provinces. They were utterly wrong. The Afrikaners, who had lost the military Boer War, had won the war of ideology, and by the 1920s the agitation to remove all Africans from the common electoral register had secured widespread adherence. Even the grant of the vote to white women and then the abolition of all franchise qualifications for white people, which drastically curtailed the power of the non-European vote, failed to satisfy those who had become frightened that the European voters would eventually be swamped.

Meanwhile, the Statute of Westminster had been passed in 1931 and this established the complete sovereignty and independence of each of the Dominions and abolished all forms of control by Britain. It was argued that the passing of the Statute of Westminster would abrogate the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act, which was an act of the British Parliament. To avoid this danger, the South African Parliament, which included many members of today's Nationalist Government, unanimously passed an amendment declaring that the entrenched clauses were in no way affected.

So when Parliament came in 1936 to remove the African voters from the common electoral roll and to offer them, as compensation, three white members elected separately, Parliament without protest used the method laid down in the entrenched clauses.

In 1948, however, the year Dr. Malan came to power, his Nationalist party had demanded in its election manifesto the removal from the common electoral roll of the last of the non-Europeans—the Cape Coloreds (South Africans of mixed descent). But the new government had only a bare majority—it had, in fact, been elected by a minority vote—and knew that, if only because the Cape Coloreds always voted against the Nationalists, it could never expect the support of the Opposition. The Nationalists therefore set out immediately to prove that the entrenched clauses were no longer valid. They quoted a comment of the Supreme Court in 1937 in support of their claims, and asserted that if Parliament was sovereign it had the right to enact what legislation it thought fit and could not be bound by an act of the parliament of another country. The Government therefore introduced, debated and passed in 1951, by a simple majority, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, which removed the 50,000 Colored voters from the

common roll and offered them four separately elected European members in compensation. The Act was fought by the Opposition and stimulated particularly the ex-servicemen, who had seen the Nationalists' Fascist sympathies during the war, to set up the Torch Commando and inaugurate mass demonstrations of protest. Four Colored voters took the case to the courts, and on March 20 of this year the Supreme Court unanimously declared that the Act was invalid as Parliament had contravened the South Africa Act.

The constitutional issue presents a number of interesting points. In a unitary constitution on the British model, parliament is almost, if not completely, unchecked in its power. A British government could, for instance, extend its term of office indefinitely; but the voluntary checks and balances of a mature and homogeneous political society prevent this danger from becoming real. South Africa, however, is not politically mature or homogeneous, so that the danger of absolutism and arbitrary action by one section is always present. Then again, it may be asked if the Government does not recognize the validity of the South Africa Act, from which the South African Parliament itself derives its authority. This is a very relevant question in a country in which the white community, one quarter of the total population, maintains a monopoly of political power.

But if there are complexities in the constitutional issue, the moral and political issues are straightforward. The same Nationalists who today are, for expediency's sake, claiming that the Constitution is invalid and that the Cape Colored voters endanger white civilization, were themselves during the 1930s publicly declaring that the entrenched clauses would never be touched and assuring the Colored voters that they need never fear any alteration of their franchise rights. Moreover, in their desire to whip up emotionalism in support of their attack upon the courts, members of the Government are now appealing to anti-British and anti-imperialist feelings which are quite irrelevant to the issue. They are claiming, for instance, that South Africa cannot consider itself to be a sovereign state if its Parliament is bound by the provisions of a British Act of Parliament. This is a completely irrelevant polemic. As Americans will immediately recognize, national sovereignty and parliamentary sovereignty are not necessarily synonymous. But, in any case, the South Africa Act was drafted by the South African National Convention and passed by the British Parliament without amendment, in accordance with the wishes of the South Africans themselves. Again, the courts have not challenged the sovereign authority of Parliament but have declared, rather, that no individual government is entitled to break the parliamentary rules.

This constitutional crisis is very seriously affecting the political situation in the Union. Among the

Nationalists, it is producing increased support for the Republican extremists led by J. G. Strydom. They would break the connection with the Commonwealth, set up an Afrikaner Republic on a basis of authoritarianism, puritanical rigidity and fanatical color consciousness and destroy all vestiges of Western democratic forms. On the Opposition side, there is a rapidly growing realization that theirs may well be a last-ditch stand to prevent the establishment of a totalitarian regime. This has led to an alliance of the United party, Labour party and Torch Commando.

The days are long since past when the rest of the world can simply sit back with indifference and watch such a struggle develop. Americans, in particular, have a personal interest in the affairs of South Africa. To start at the lowest level, they have a stake in the mining of minerals and the development of industry, and if the Point Four program means anything this will progressively develop. Strategically, too, the importance of the South African ports is increasingly significant as the Mediterranean becomes indefensible, while the ideological invitation to Communism in that unhappy country is obvious. Then again, the relations between whites and non-whites in South Africa have a tremendous emotional influence upon race relations throughout the world and cannot but have an important impact upon the American racial scene. Finally, in the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter and the Charter of Human Rights, fundamental rights have been guaranteed to all human beings, no matter what the color of their skins or racial origin. America has taken a leading role in the march toward the establishment of the essential unity of the human race, and it is this principle of life which is directly challenged by South African society."

"How Europe Curbs Inflation?"

Under the above caption the *News Week* of New York gives a review, in its June 9 issue, of an address by Per Jacobson, the economic advisor of the Bank for International Settlements at Basle:

"At the end of the first World War most countries were eager to return quickly to stable currencies and to the gold standard. But after the second World War, under the influence of Lord Keynes, they preferred cheap money and deficit spending. This, they supposed, was the secret of perpetual 'full employment.'"

"Keynes' influence, however, was never as great on the continent of Europe as in England and America. As such they have been faced more immediately with the evils of inflation. They have learned to dislike controls. For the imposition of controls has been very closely connected with the Nazi, and Fascist regimes. Europe, therefore, has shown itself to be more liberal in this respect indicating adherence to a free economy."

It is interesting to note how different countries of the Continent curbed inflation in their country through the monetary and fiscal policies.

"Switzerland led the departure from cheap money and the free market quotation of the Swiss franc was for several years above the corresponding quotation of the dollar. Belgium followed sound policy and soon achieved monetary stability. It was criticised in England for permitting unemployment; but Belgian workers supported the policy as holding down prices and helping them to achieve higher real wages.

"In Italy, by 1949, prices has risen to 55 times the pre-war level. But the Central Bank of the country then raised interest rates, imposed severe credit restrictions, and cut off all food subsidies. These seemed harsh measures but they stopped the price rise

"Following a crisis in Germany in October, 1950, the discount rate of the Bank Deutscher Lander was increased from 4 per cent to 6 per cent. Ordinary bank accommodation could be obtained only at rates between 8 and 12 per cent. It was soon found that the programme adopted in Germany was working wonders. It has shown that a country as burdened with difficulties as Western Germany can, through a resolute credit policy, suddenly reverse its position.

"Similar changes were made in Holland and Austria. Policies in the same direction have been adopted in France and Britain. On March 11, for example, the Bank of England increased its discount rate from 2½ to 4 per cent."

We in India have adopted certain restrictive measures in credit and trade transactions following the announcement in England. But England herself was the last one to follow suit to other continental countries of Europe. Since 1949 most of the countries of the West, as we see, faced with the problem of inflation and high price level, and higher cost of living, adopted various restrictive measures to arrest the upward movement of the prices. After they had definitely proved successful then only did Great Britain adopted their policy. The Government of India copied what was considered by the Britisher as best.

But one thing in this connection is worth mentioning that for an Asiatic undeveloped country like India with unorganised banking system, how far the credit policy will be successful remains to be seen. For, here the bank rate can hardly influence the money market which is substantially controlled by the indigenous bankers.

Business or Blackmail?—Tea Industry

"A Common Man" wrote the following in the *Madras Weekly* of June 1 last. Our readers' attention is drawn to what he said about the Tea Industry, with its elaborate paraphernalia of a Tea Control Board with representatives generally of the Tea Garden; those of Labour and the Consumers are in a perpetual minority.

"If big business in India is to be believed, it is ever in the throes of crisis after crisis."

"Its leading spokesman, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, has now invited the government's attention, we are told, to the serious position of the tea industry."

"Before I consider the justice or otherwise of this demand, let me point out the vicious circle in which the Federation finds itself."

"It was reported recently that a deputation consisting of leading industrialists, who met the Planning Commission on behalf of the Federation, had impressed on the Government that while the need for increasing production and raising the standard of living was realised, difficulties had risen on account of fall in consumption by the community."

"To what cause should we attribute the fall in demand for consumer goods in India?"

"Plainly to the lack of purchasing power of the people, and not to the saturation of production. Even the industrialists admit that it is not a case of satisfied needs but of absence of purchasing power."

"Has it ever occurred to our industrialists that the non-consumption is due to the excessive cost of the goods?"

"Again, has it ever occurred to them that the real solution of the problem lies in the reduction of production costs and not in lowering production?"

"After having reaped a rich harvest on account of wartime shortages, the industrialists now threaten to close down the factories at the first sign of accumulation of stocks, in other words, of reduced profits."

"This tendency is deplorable and government must curb it with a strong hand in the interests of the consumer."

"But the industrialists' ready reply is that production costs cannot be lowered as raw materials cost more and government's labour legislation makes a heavy commitment for the industry."

"As these are the reasons trotted out for the new demand for the abolition of the export duty on tea, we shall now consider its case."

"The tea industry has been demanding relief on the ground that the competitive capacity of the industry in the world market has been crippled by the high cost of production."

"A *prima facie* case for relief was sought to be made out early this month by Mr. B. C. Ghose, chairman of the Indian Tea Planters' Association at the annual meeting of the association. The total world production this year, according to him, was estimated to be 50 million lbs. in excess of world consumption, and countries like Indonesia, East Africa, Formosa, Indo-China, Iran and Malaya had sharply increased production."

"The prospect for 1952 seems to be gloomy and immediate steps should be taken to abolish the export and excise duties on tea if the industry is to be protected against loss, said Mr. Ghose."

"This thesis of Mr. Ghose is however contradicted in an article in the April issue of the *Lloyds Bank Review* by Sir P. J. Griffiths, a former Chairman of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board."

"He quoted the following figures:"

Year	World Tea Production
1937	1,000 million lbs.
1941	1,100 million lbs.
1951	1,200 million lbs.

"In spite of all the difficulties of labour, personnel, 'phoney' auctions and finance, the leaders of the industry are able to look forward with reasonable confidence, says Sir Percival."

"In the case of India, in particular, Sir Percival says that the scope for increased consumption is almost unlimited."

"Lest I should be told that foreigner's opinion is not valid, let me quote the *Indian Finance*:

"But even with the setbacks in demand in certain countries, it has to be noted that the international demand for Indian tea is slightly on the upward trend. The shrinkage of the overseas market is thus not a fact of the present but only an uncertain prospect for the future. If in the near future total world production were to exceed consumption demand as at the present levels, it is only then that the Indian producer will be called upon to examine the problem of a competitive price. . . . Nothing has yet happened in India or elsewhere to justify an alarmist view of the prospects for the tea industry."

"With its usual unerring instinct to put its finger on the real sore spot, the *Indian Finance* says:

"For a time the Government of India were sitting tight over the appeals for reduction in export duties. Their attitude was also justifiable, but circumstances have since then become more compelling and substantial and drastic reductions have been conceded for jute goods. More commodities have queued up for the same kind of consideration. Tea can put up a good case, though we are afraid, not a very pressing one."

It is this periodical queue up of one industry after another that I strongly condemn. The tendency has been, "If the jute industry gets the benefit of lower export duty, why not tea?"

"The case, then, for such revision of excise and export duties must be carefully investigated."

"For instance, everyone would have noticed the striking contrast between the poverty and misery of tea garden workers and the obvious prosperity of the planters on their isolated hill stations."

What is needed, therefore, is a thorough investigation of all the items that make up production costs and the possible effects on internal prices which may result from lower export duty, before any relief is to be thought of.

Preoccupied as the Nehru Government are in meeting the poor crisis, other aspects of our economy are apt to be lost sight of. The frequent alarms of industrialists force them into tight corners from which the only escape

would seem to be to placate the industries concerned. The time has, however, come to cry a halt to this kind of economic blackmail by Big Business in India and to direct it into truly business channels.

This Control Board has thus become a nest of Big Capital. Their concern for Labour Welfare was shown by the way they "suppressed" a film on conditions in Tea Gardens and suggestions for their improvement. We demand that the consumer, the ultimate sufferer be given a majority representation.

Freedom of Expression

This subject has become the staple of discussion in our papers. University students in their training for Journalism are told the story how in the West they secured this valued right and how their people had fought and wrought for it. But there is a tendency even amongst full-blooded upholders of freedom, editors of papers, to deny that luxury to the writers who in their own name write something that jars on the sensitive conception of a religion's excellence. These have become part of everyday experience, and writers develop in themselves a spirit of cynicism that smiles on the bumptious talk of honesty and freedom.

In the United States they do things in a grand way. They held a "Defence of Cultural Freedom" Conference on March 29 last. About 600 "intellectuals" attended it, and had "a gruelling day of intense discussion." Daniel Jones writing in the *New Leader* of April 7 last says that this Conference continued the work of the "World Congress for Cultural Freedom," held in June, 1950. The question was asked, "Who threatens Cultural Freedom in America?"

The schools or "states of mind" are said to have emerged. One, the 19th century libertarian; the third was the other extreme—"the ultra sophisticated school of anti-Communism"; in between are a middle party who fully understand "the Soviet threat and the need to combat it." . . . "They see the mass of ordinary people . . . as so much plasticine to be molded into a harder form through constant indoctrination. These so-called 'experts' have carried with them into the democratic camp the emergency-mentality of totalitarianism, like a germ in its dormant phase that has incubated in the fetid atmosphere of the world crisis."

As opposed to this there was the position of Sidney Hook, Chairman of the Conference and of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, who believes that a distinction can be made between Communism as an ideological heresy and Communism as a politico-military conspiracy. As Hook writes in his new pamphlet, *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No*:

"A heresy does not shrink from publicity. It welcomes it. Not so a conspiracy. The signs of a conspiracy are secrecy, anonymity, the use of false names and labels, the calculated lie. It does not offer its wares openly but by systematic infiltration into all organizations of cultural life. . . ."

"Communist ideas are heresies and liberals need have no fear of them where they are freely and openly expressed. . . . No one should be punished because he holds them. The Communist movement, however, is something quite different from a mere heresy. . . ." (Italics in original.)

Can you prosecute Communists without banning their ideas?

This is the dilemma that faces India's Prime Minister. He feels unable to say as the Madras Premier has said that he is Communism's "Enemy No. 1."

Potato Muddle

The grievance voiced by the Opposition members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly over the inordinate delay the Minister for Agriculture took to inform the House of the loss incurred in the Potato scheme is to a great extent justifiable. The loss of nearly Rs. 5 lakhs was incurred because the potato seeds from the Simla Hills were held up due to a transport bottle-neck caused by the Punjab disturbances and hence could not be distributed to the cultivators in time. Though this took place as late as August, 1947, the fact was not brought to the notice of the Assembly till the other day; actually the intimation of the loss formed part of the demands in the Supplementary Statement of expenditure. The query raised by members regarding this time-lag was pertinent. Unfortunately, Mr. M. P. Patil's reply that the Government took five years to decide the procedure for accounting the loss was not very happy. There was nothing to prevent the Ministry from informing the members of the events and later deciding about such a routine matter as accounting. The episode has another aspect. The cultivators for whom the seeds are meant are bound by an agreement they have signed with the Government pledging themselves to bear any loss that is incurred by the Government in arranging the distribution of seeds. It is good that the Government shared the loss in this particular case, but the provision to force the cultivators to share losses for incurring which they were not responsible is much too rigid.

This experience of Bombay has been repeated in West Bengal. And in spite of Shree Gopalaswamy Iyengar's tenure of office for about four years, the bottle-necks are as plenty as ever.

Regrettable Negligence

The following extract from the *Harijan* of June 7 shows how slack and unconscionably irresponsible our officialdom has become. The Indian Constitution makers in their infantile simplicity forgot that the clauses that they were inserting in the Charter of Liberties were weapons in the hands of the Reckless, the Lawless and the Slacker:

"About eight or nine months ago a public-spirited merchant of the West Khandesh District (Bombay) brought to my notice that so far back as November 1950 orders had been passed to establish a Civil Court at Taloda (West Khandesh), a building had been

occupied and excepting the Judge all the clerical and other staff had been appointed and maintained at a cost of about Rs. 1,000/- per month. I was told that since then all the litigation falling within the jurisdiction of the new Court was being nominally transferred to that Court and all new litigation had to be filed in that Court. But, curiously, although more than half a year had then already elapsed no Judge had taken charge of that Court, and all cases triable by that Court remained suspended. He desired me to take public notice of this delay, waste of public money and inconvenience to the public.

"I regret that for a long time I did not believe his story and neglected him. I thought that this was hardly possible, and that he was either exaggerating or misinformed. As he would not rest or allow me to do so, I demanded more substantial evidence. He thereupon sent me copies of a resolution of the Bhil Seva Mandal, West Khandesh, pertaining to that subject, and of some correspondence between that body and the Government of Bombay, and asked me to publish his complaint on his personal responsibility. From the correspondence I found that the Government of Bombay had referred the Bhil Seva Mandal to the High Court of Bombay, as that Department was responsible for the appointment of Judges. But the Mandal did not seem to have pursued the matter with the High Court, and the matter had stopped there. I decided that before taking notice in *Harijan*, I should personally enquire into the matter."

"The net result is that there was a wasteful expenditure of Rs. 1,000 per month for 15 or 16 months, and even now there is not sufficient work for the Judge, and necessarily, therefore, for the staff. For the same period, the public was left without any judicial authority to attend to their even urgent grievances. The absence of State-established judiciary is not in itself an undesirable thing, but it would have been welcome if it had been brought about by the people. In this case it has been due to gross negligence on the part of the Judicial and/or Executive authorities of the State.

"The High Court and the Government shift the blame on each other. In what manner shall I apportion the blame?"

"The Government have been frank enough to write to me expressing regret 'for the waste of public money involved in this,' and 'for the state of things in which such a thing happened.' They also add, 'We are trying our utmost to minimize such incidents.'"

"I did not pursue the matter further with the High Court as there was no more occasion left for it. But I believe that if I had, the Chief Justice and the Judges would also have expressed their regret for what had happened and promised to try to improve the administration from their side.

"If a case of such negligence of trust funds had come to the notice of the High Court in the course of a legal proceeding before it, I can imagine what strictures the High Court would have passed against the Trustees. Perhaps they would have been held unworthy of holding positions of responsibility.

"But who am I to pass strictures on either the Government or the High Court when I feel myself guilty of contributory negligence on my part also? If I had believed my correspondent, and written to the High Court, when the matter was first brought to my notice eight or nine months ago, perhaps the matters would have been set right much earlier than they have been. But it did not strike me.

"The tragedy of the situation is that there is none either in the Judiciary or in the Executive who attends to these matters. The Bar Room of the District concerned should have pursued this matter. It too did not. And there is no public institution—not even the Congress Committee—keenly watchful of public interest. It was left to a poor village shopkeeper who is also a public worker to pursue it. When he failed to interest the officers, legislators, and public bodies of the district, he turned to me. Unfortunately, I too turned a deaf ear to him for long. But for his perseverance, the waste might have still gone on."

Earth, The Mother of Everyone

The following is a fairly close English rendering of a poem by one of the best known Hindi poets, Shri Maithili Saran Gupta, inspired by Vinoba's pilgrimage:

Fickle is Lakshmi, unstable for ever, wayward as lightning flickering gone.

Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone.

How many sons of Man, your brethren, are cheated of bliss.

They have no part in the land, who then shall answer for this?

Now is the God-given moment, now will the gift avail.

Give for their sakes, of your riches, let justice and mercy prevail.

Glory is yours for the gathering now, like ripe fruit fallen before you strown.

Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone.

A prophet, a leader is with us, the pathway of right to make straight.

Could there be greater good fortune than this which is now our fate?

Behold the merit you sought for hath come of itself—Oh heed!

For the call of Life, unheeded, of death may be the seed.

Yes, where the sap of Truth springs not, there is the blight of poison thrown.

Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone.

We quote the above from the *Harijan* of March 8, 1952.

Ram Mohun Roy Library

This cultural institution in North-east Calcutta has a record of work of more than 25 years. Its report for 1951 continues the previous history, and its financial position is as good as can be expected under present conditions. Its Library is one of the best in Calcutta, containing books that are rare. The Government has not been doing its duty by it. Its gift of books worth Rs. 1,300 is not enough; neither is the Corporation's Rs. 500 considering the requirements of the public of North-east Calcutta, the grants from these should be continuous and considerable, so that the Library may have a distinct plan to carry out with assurance.

An aspect of the Library's work is the study circle that sits every Thursday at 7 p.m., where literature, science, history, sociology, politics, economics, philosophy, religion and kindred subjects are discussed by men who can speak with authority.

"Nations Now in Distress"

Under this title *The Brethren Missionary Herald* published on May 3 last a letter which needs no comments from us:

"The Lord Jesus was often asked for signs. Upon one occasion He said to His disciples: 'There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth.'—(Luke 21: 25-26).

"These words will help one understand why the editor of the *Fort Wayne (Ind.) News-Sentinel* (April 18, 1952) wrote these words:

'How's this for sheer governmental nonsense? We co-operate with Soviet Russia in dismantling Berlin industries, most of the equipment going to Russia, where it is destined to bolster the Red threat against our freedom and that of the rest of the world.

'Then we spend 400 million dollars since 1949, to rebuild these Berlin industries to what they were before we gave the Russians the 'go' sign to tear them down and cart them behind the Iron Curtain.'

'Besides that we gave the Russians a lot of Marshall Plan money to help set them up in business as they are today.

'It certainly is ironical that money raised by our free American economy should first be spent to build up Russia and tear down Germany, and then be spent to build up Germany with the idea that she may help to tear down Russia. Can't we make up our minds?'

'Indeed, the nations of this old world are in a state of distress and perplexity and in need of the

Prince of Peace who alone can bring about order and peace."

This contradiction of policies on the part of the victorious powers has been one of the causes of the present tension between the Soviet Bloc and the Anglo-American Powers. The two world wars have demonstrated that reparations do ultimately fall on the victors. Because, the defeated peoples have to be kept alive, have to be given work, the capital is being supplied by the victors. This ought to make wars an economically impossible proposition. But human history says otherwise. We are unteachable.

Post-Graduate Studies at German Universities and Technical Institutions

The following has been sent us by the Director of Publicity, West Bengal:

"Under the Indo-German Industrial Co-operation Scheme, the Government of India have accepted 50 scholarships for Post-graduate studies at German Universities and Technical Institutions for Arts, Science and Medical subjects and 100 places for training in Industries. The minimum qualification is a good degree. For training in Industries candidates are required to possess not less than two years' practical experience. The age limit is between 20 and 35 years, but for Medical subjects up to 40 years. Out of 100 places for training in Industries, 10 are reserved for teachers employed in Technical Institutions and 30 for the Scientific Man-Power Committee Stipendiaries. Candidates or their sponsors will have to meet half the cost of training. For full particulars of subjects, qualifications and other matters please write to the Ministry of Education, Scholarships Division, Government of India, New Delhi. The last date for receipt of applications in the Ministry of Education is 5th July, 1952. All applications should be made on the prescribed forms to be obtained from the Ministry of Education Scholarships Division, on requisition.

"The candidates in Government Service or employed anywhere else must submit their application through proper channel. Applications received direct from such candidates will not be considered. In case of any expected delay in sending applications through proper channel, an advance copy may be sent but it will be considered only if the application through proper channel is received in due course.

"Candidates are required to attach to their applications two copies of their passport size photograph, copies of University Degree/Diplomas attested by a Gazetted Officer or a Professor in a University/Degree College in support of statements made regarding educational qualifications and a medical certificate from a registered medical practitioner to the effect that they are physically fit to undergo training in West Germany. The candidates should have a working knowledge of German."

Poet of the People

Max Eastman in the *Readers' Digest* of 1946, wrote an article on Robert Burns, the poet of Scotland under the above title. As we, most of us, claim to speak on behalf of the people, Eastman's estimate is of inestimable value. First, he refers to the "travail" of spirit, of the intellect. "Euclid's Elements of Geometry," he somehow managed to "unravel" by his father's fire-side, during "the winter evenings of the first season he held the plough."

In youth he founded a debating society whose bylaws decreed that "every man proper for a member . . . must be a professed lover of one or more of the female sex." And to that bylaw he adhered throughout life, maintaining "from both bachelor and wedlock experience" that love is "the first of human joys."

The Kirk an' State may join, and tell
To do sic things I maunna;
The Kirk an' State may gae to Hell,
And I'll gae to my Anna.

However, Burns strictly obeyed the Kirk and state till 23, and aside from a calf-love song or two, his real career as a poet began in a spirit of humorous play. He would make up funny and affectionate rhymes about the farm animals, or derisive rhymes about the squabbings of neighboring preachers over the dogmas of John Calvin.

While rhyming for fun, Burns exercised a moral and political influence equalled by few men of his century. Calvin's rigid theology of damnation was dry, dark and cruel in the Scotland of those days but it was lightened, by the stream of hilarious laughter and unanswerable logic that poured from the poems of Robert Burns. Burns is as much the teacher of Scotland as Homer was of Greece.

How many of India's modern poets have attained this popularity? Except Rabindranath's songs, we cannot recall any.

John Dewey

By the death of John Dewey on June 1, 1952, the civilized world loses one of the foremost educators and philosophers of all time. John Dewey influenced educational practices in the United States and many other countries for more than two generations. He achieved world-wide fame for his influence on contemporary thought and as a champion of progressive causes.

After the death of William James, Dewey was regarded in the United States as the leader of the pragmatic movement in philosophy. Often referred to as the philosopher of the plain man, it was said of him: "There is hardly a phase of American thought to which he has not made some contribution, hardly an aspect of American life which he has left uninterpreted. His influence has extended to the schools, the courts, the labour movement and the politics of the nation."

According to Max Eastman, noted author, "John Dewey . . . is the man who saved our children from dying of boredom as we almost did in school." It was largely due to his teaching, said the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, that "the centre of gravity shifted from the subject-

matter of instruction to the child to be taught. As a consequence, the school began to change from a place where children prepare for life to a place where children live."

John Dewey was born on October 20, 1859, in Burlington, Vermont, where his father kept a general store. He finished high school and entered the University of Vermont at 15. He graduated at 19 with the highest marks on record in philosophy.

For a while he was a school-teacher, but after his first article was published by the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, he decided to be a philosopher. So he borrowed \$500 from an aunt and entered the graduate school of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. The next year he won a scholarship and also got a job teaching the history of philosophy to the undergraduates. Later, he got a job as instructor of philosophy at the University of Michigan, where he fell in love with Alice Chipman, one of his pupils, whom he married in 1886. Except for one year at the University of Minnesota, Dewey spent 10 years at the University of Michigan, becoming head of the department of philosophy in 1888.

In 1894, he was invited to head the combined departments of philosophy, psychology and education of Chicago University. There he founded the famous Dewey Laboratory School, where he put into practice his theory of "learning by doing."

In 1904, he became professor of philosophy at New York's Columbia University. Following his retirement in the early 1930's Dewey continued to receive his \$12,000 salary as professor emeritus in residence until 1938. In 1932, he was appointed honorary president of Henry George School of Social Science in New York.

Dewey also was for some time president of the American Psychological Association and the American Association of University Professors as well as honorary president of the American Philosophical Association, the National Education Association and the Progressive Education Association.

In June, 1948, Dewey was awarded one of the first honorary degrees conferred by the New School for Social Research in New York—Doctor of Humane Letters. In conferring the degree, the school described him as the "greatest of living American philosophers." Dewey has been similarly honoured by several other institutions both in America and abroad.

He was the typical professor in that he was absent-minded and careless about his appearance. He never bothered much about exercise for he thought brain work was just as good, if there was enough of it.

The Deweys had six children and one of his biographers has said it was the children, clambering over him while he worked "who kept the problems of philosophy thoroughly mixed up in his mind with the problems of education."

Froebel, Montessori and others in the West had pioneered the movement which Dewey made a success in the U.S.A. In India, Rabindranath and Gandhiji are outstanding figures whose language we repeat and whose accents we imitate, but whose precepts we ignore.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL

By J. N. CHAKRAVARTY, B.A., Dip-in-Agri, M.S.A. (Cornell, U.S.A.), I.A.S. (Retired),

Retired Director of Agriculture, Assam

THE first session of the Indian agricultural educational committee held recently at Hyderabad, has focussed public attention at least of the section who take an interest in agricultural problems—on a subject hitherto neglected. It is difficult to believe but none the less true that the intellectual but agricultural province of Bengal never possessed a first class agricultural college, including the days when Bihar, Orissa had not yet been separated. The higher agricultural class, which ordinarily admitted only graduates was started as an adjunct of Sibpur Engineering College towards the end of the last century. It possessed only one professor of agriculture.

The successful students were mainly employed as Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors. There was no room for their absorption in the then agriculture department. The Sabour College established in 1908 started with a three-year diploma course (after Matriculation) which was soon reduced to a two-year certificate course. The Dacca Agricultural Institute, established in 1941, did not develop into a first class institution before it was cut off from India.

The record of the oldest and largest University of India, the Calcutta University, was still better. It had no connection with agricultural education till 1949 when the Jhargram Science and Agricultural College was affiliated to it to the intermediate standard. It came into existence through the encouragement of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. P. N. Banerjee and the generosity of Raja Narasinha Malladeb of Jhargram who donated Rs. 1 lakh and made a grant of about three hundred acres of land. The certificate course instituted at Barrackpore in 1939, was almost still-born, the military having requisitioned the farm land in 1942-43. The staff and equipment were transferred to the Jhargram Agricultural College in 1949. Long before this, each of the major Indian provinces, Bombay, Madras, C.P., U.P. and the Punjab had each established an agricultural college, affiliated to their own universities up to the Degree course. It is understood that the Government of West Bengal have decided to come into line by establishing a full agricultural college and the Jhargram College will soon be affiliated to the degree standard.

The past history of agricultural education in Bengal is not very happy and a short *resumé* may help the authorities as well as the public to avoid past mistakes. As early as 1876-84, about a dozen eminent students of the Calcutta University, many of them holding the master's degree were sent to England

to study agriculture at the Cirencester College. On return most of them were appointed as Deputy Magistrates, one or two fortunates as statutory civilians and only two were employed in real agricultural work. The celebrated lawyer and politician Byomkesh Chakravarty and the educationist and founder of the Bangabasi College, G. C. Bose, refused any appointment and attained eminence in their chosen spheres. The celebrated poet D. L. Roy was one of these and spent his official life in the Excise Department. Apparently no previous thought had been given to their employment after studying agriculture. During 1906-7, eight more students from the higher agricultural class at Sibpur were sent in three batches to the Cornell University, U.S.A., for the same purpose. They were more fortunate than their predecessors in being employed in different capacities in the reorganised department of agriculture. It is clear from the above, that the government had no other objective than training up some recruits for different grades of the agricultural department, nor had the students any other view. They mostly came from families who had always adopted government service or one of the learned professions as their vocation. The facilities required to enable such young men to earn an income comparable to that in government service or learned profession did not exist.

Land and capital, the two essential pre-requisites for farming were lacking, a short course in college did not adequately equip the young urbanite immediately for practical farming. He could not without further experience compete with the cultivator who had agriculture bred in his bones. Conditions in the rural areas in most parts of Bengal were such as could hold few attractions for educated young men to go and settle there. Insanitary, decadent villages without medical and educational facilities could not attract them.

The stock argument that agricultural education is a failure because past students did not take to private farming is misconceived.

In the last half century almost the whole attention of the government, the capitalist, and the public was concentrated on industrialisation. This provided a more secure and comfortable means of gainful occupation than could be secured from cultivation. The middle classes, particularly the energetic and enterprising among them, migrated almost wholesale to towns. The country-side was almost denuded of the more skilled manual workers who obtained more

remunerative employment in the industrial centres. The result was a further stagnation and deterioration of agriculture culminating in the present food crisis, and the almost complete break-down of India's economic balance. The accumulated result of the neglect of half a century cannot be remedied in a day or even a year; but an organised and all-out effort must be made to restore this balance if India is to survive. Conditions must be created to bring at least a section of the middle class back to the countryside. Many of the numerous plans launched recently by the government are aimed towards this end. The first need, however, is to train a large band of skilled workers who will understand rural needs and conditions. There must be also a constant flow to replace casualties. It stands to reason that the best way of doing this is by training skilled workers in the agricultural colleges. There is hardly a department of government now, which is not concerned with agricultural improvement in some shape or other. A knowledge of agriculture will be much more useful to an officer than of pure sciences. There will thus be scope for employment not only in the agriculture department but in all spheres of rural activities.

The agricultural educational committee has made two valuable recommendations, viz., the agricultural colleges should be located as far as possible in rural areas and that the students should be required to work at least one month every year in the villages. The period of training for the degree course should be extended or, if necessary, even some of the lectures should be cut down, to provide for this. It is only by working in the villages among the cultivators that the students can gain a first-hand knowledge of the defects of our ordinary farm practice, the difficulties of the cultivators and the conditions under which they work. It is only by gaining such direct experience that they can later win the confidence of the cultivators and help and advise them. This is not possible in the college farm where conditions are bound to be somewhat artificial and different from actual conditions of the village.

Work does not however mean watch.

During his training at Sibpur, the writer had to spend one month every year studying and learning rural farm practice and conditions, which was a part of the course. During his stay in U.S.A., he used to spend one month every year during his vacation working as an ordinary farm hand. This was possible in the U.S.A. where many students paid a part of their way by such work. He has to admit that the experience gained during these few months had helped him very substantially in his work among Indian cultivators. Some of the lessons, even after the lapse of nearly half a century are still vivid in his memory while many of the class-lessons have been forgotten.

A few general suggestions on the curriculum will

not be irrelevant. The period of training for the degree course may be divided into two stages. During the first stage the student should learn the fundamentals of science, and if necessary, a little mathematics and languages. The second stage should be devoted largely to the study of agriculture proper. Agriculture includes a vast array of subjects, and a wide range of electives should be offered, as the student progresses higher and higher, the final year being devoted mainly to the subjects in which the student wishes to specialise before he enters into active life. Throughout this period, he should be kept close to the earth and made to do some practical farm-work. He should never lose touch with rural life. It cannot be over-stressed that agriculture is not only a science but also an art, which must be practised. Success in professional life will depend more on the skill acquired in the practice than on a knowledge of science. This knowledge can very substantially be increased but cannot replace efficiency or practical skill. It is true that a technician cannot be a master of his profession by the skill he acquires during the training period, but he must be equipped with a sound foundation on which he can build on further experience. This foundation must be built on the rock of actual practice and not on the sand of mere book-learning.

It is understood that the departmental college will only admit I.Sc. students and give them a three-year training culminating in a degree or its equivalent. The Calcutta University, on the other hand, is providing a four-year course after Matriculation, divided into two stages, the Intermediate and the Degree. It is rather doubtful whether the training envisaged above can be compressed into four years' course unless a considerable portion of the vacation is utilised for practical and rural training. It is hoped that the experts of the university and of the department of agriculture will devise a satisfactory course. While the time has come when every sphere of education should be permeated with an agricultural bias and officers of all departments of administration connected with rural life should have an agricultural knowledge, every care should be taken that an agricultural degree stamps the recipient with the hall-mark of efficiency. He must be able to hold his own with his counterparts in the sister departments of medicine and engineering. He must be able to command the respect of the cultivators when he goes out to teach them, and must not give the impression of being a college-trained amateur. It is unfortunate but none the less true that in the past our agricultural graduates have not been always able to inspire this confidence. Nothing should be done to aggravate this.

A further suggestion may be ventured. The Calcutta University has already waited too long before taking up the question of agricultural education. If it is

seriously desired that agricultural education should come to its proper place in the scheme of our national education, a faculty of agriculture should be constituted immediately. This single step will raise it to its proper dignity in the public eye. Till then a strong committee which should include some agricultural scientists and trained agriculturists should actively function. It should advise on the formulation and execution of its agricultural policy. The responsibility is too great for any single person, however qualified, to bear. Similarly the department of agriculture should

constitute a committee which should include some non-officials acquainted with rural life to advise it on its educational policy and programme. It is only by a close co-operation between the Calcutta University and the department of agriculture, Education department and the public, that agricultural education can be efficiently organised and made to occupy its proper place in the national life of West Bengal, or for the matter of that, the Indian Union. Let us hope that agricultural education will soon be recognised as a major national issue.

—O:—

THE GARDEN OF AMERICA

By CHARLES L. SANFORD, M.A.,

Visiting Lecturer on American Literature, Middlebury College, U. S. A.

I
WHEN one attempts to generalize from the American experience, he is confronted by bewildering contradictions, apparent paradoxes, and a vast array of facts which defy analysis. He is fairly certain that the American society is predominantly a competitive business society which places high value on money as the symbol of success. He is much less certain that the generic, composite American is wholly immersed in material ends. In fact, if he were guided by what Americans, past and present, have thought of themselves, he would be impressed by their basic idealism, however misplaced.

For more than three centuries Americans have been re-enacting, literally and symbolically, consciously or unconsciously, the Christian myth of the Garden of Eden, in which they have conceived themselves in the role of God's chosen people with a special mission or destiny to fulfill. It is the central myth of America, one which best explains the distinctive quality of the American experience and which provides the key to the American character. It is the American's high sense of a mission, his fervent belief in his own uniqueness, which, in the words of George Santayana, "stamps the immigrant, almost before he can speak English, with an unmistakable muscular tension, cheery self-confidence and habitual challenge in the voice and eyes . . ."—*Character and Opinion in the United States*.

His patriotism, supra-national in its Messianic appeal, has given repeated offense to the peoples of other countries who have taken their own patriotism more for granted. De Tocqueville, a French visitor to America in 1831, noted that Americans spoke almost as if they belonged to a distinct race of mankind. American writers, early and late, have been obsessed with the fact of having been born in America. It has frequently been pointed out that the English do not

self-consciously write novels called *The Englishman* or the French entitle their novels *Le Français*, whereas Americans have produced many variations upon *The American*. American expatriates—notably Henry James, Gertrude Stein and T. S. Eliot—have seldom been able to stop writing about America and Americans, perhaps because their compatriots would not let them forget. "An Englishman or other European who settled in America," complained one American expatriate,

"incurs no kind of moral blame either in the land he has deserted or in his new-adopted home. But to desert America is somehow regarded as a kind of treachery, as if America were more than a country, were a sort of cause, and its Stars and Stripes the banner of a crusading army which it is dishonorable to desert."—Logan Pearsall Smith: *Unforgotten Years*.

The assumption of moral superiority by Americans was not something bred of the Revolutionary struggle in 1776 or born with the new Republic of 1789; rather, it was something already in existence from the early days of settlement, swelling and intensifying the tide of nationalism. During colonial days it masqueraded as an inferiority complex, as the colonists attempted to ape the ways of their mother country. But in their secret hearts they never doubted their moral superiority over the English; they felt inferior only in respect to their dress, their manners, their culture. The contrast between simple, virtuous American democrats, uncouth in their manners and dress, and suave but unprincipled European aristocrats, which dominated much of the 19th century American writing, thus had its roots in the colonial experience. The contrast—in which Americans always come off the moral victors—not only answered contemporary criticism of American manners by foreign travellers, but also made amends for a long "race" memory of

colonial bondage. In the slaying of the European father America had at last dared to speak its authentic tongue.

The myth framework on which that tongue would hang its tale was established almost at the foundation of the world, when men first hungered for a Golden Age in a land of milk and honey. The "pagan dream" of a Golden Age became fused with and was superseded in Western Europe by the Christian myth of the Garden of Eden. Medieval legend, according to Hoxie Fairchild, located the promised land on some lost Atlantis far in the unknown western seas. Thus, when Columbus discovered a new continent in the western seas in 1492, man's long-starved imagination at once identified it as the fabulous promised land of the Christian myth. "I am convinced," wrote the discoverer of America, "that there is the terrestrial paradise." From that moment the direction of the future millennium became fixed in men's minds as westward, and that conviction was to spur the new Americans to the shores of the Pacific in one of the most rapid westward exoduses in history. Bishop Berkeley's famous line written in 1726, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," merely told the American colonists what they already believed and were acting upon.

The discovery of America not only pledged a race of men yet unborn to the "orgiastic future," but it also began the long process of what Carl Becker has called dismantling the celestial heaven in favor of an earthly one. For a hundred and ten years before the first permanent settlement imaginations feverishly peopled the new heaven on earth with a new Adam and Eve. In a large measure the release of energy known as the Renaissance was stimulated by the discovery of America. A net effect of the Protestant Reformation was to adjust collective dreams to the realm of the practical in religion and to produce a group of people sufficiently dedicated to endure the first hardships of colonization. Such an opportunity to live a better, more abundant life under more ideal conditions had not presented itself to mankind in centuries. It is understandable, therefore, why the attention of the Western world was focused on America and why the early settlers assumed so exalted a role for themselves. The wonder is that "the land of plenty," as it has been known ever since, did not develop a more materialistic culture than it has.

Though the Southern settlers of America, recruited largely from adventurers, fortune hunters, and cavaliers, were quite frankly interested in material gain, they were not altogether oblivious to the spiritual drama. The English poet, Michael Drayton, speeded their voyage with the reminder that Virginia was "Earth's only Paradise,"

Where Nature hath in store
Fowle, Venison, and Fish,

while George Alsop told his fellow inhabitants of Maryland that "they need not look for any other terrestrial paradise." John Smith, the intrepid leader at Jamestown who discovered Eve in the tribe of Powhatan, admitted that "heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation . . . we chanced in a lande, even as God made it." The ship which succoured the starving inhabitants of Jamestown with a year's provisions was likened to the "arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and Wilderness, and then to possess the land of Canaan." A third-generation Virginian, William Byrd, boasted that old people in Virginia felt "as if they were wholly born anew," and he half-humorously subtitled his *Natural History of Virginia* "The Newly Discovered Eden," after Governor Eden.

Southerners, as a whole, never took their religion as seriously as their brethren of New England. The dominant moral tone for three centuries was given to Americans by the New England Puritans, the most zealous sect of the Protestant faith. The Puritans were also the most literal-minded in applying their Bible reading to the conduct of their daily lives and the most insistent upon a literal interpretation of the myth of the Garden of Eden. They spoke of their flight from Europe as a "Voluntary Banishment," and unlike the Southern settlers they brought their royal charters with them, symbolizing their complete break with the past.

To the Puritans England and Europe represented man's estate after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden, a corrupt society in which individuals were oppressed by nobles, priests and kings. America, by contrast, was yet untainted by European civilization. There man could slough off his old skin and recapture his pristine state of innocence. The Puritans believed literally that God's "Second Coming" to his chosen people, prophesied in the New Testament, would occur in New England. In their theological dialectic Europe thus became a "type" of the Past, America the "antitype" of the Future. God encouraged their uniqueness and anticipated their moral purity, moreover, by throwing a "cordon sanitaire" of Atlantic and Pacific Oceans about their promised land. The American's sense of a mission originated, then, in the Puritan's thirst for moral perfection and was nurtured in conditions peculiar to the American environment. The recurrent American theme, the contrast between East and West, between American virtue and European decadence, received its fullest meaning, as well as its classic form of expression, in the Puritan version of the myth of the Garden of Eden. The contrast was to receive its most artistic treatment in the novels of Henry James.

Though the Puritans had accounted for the Past and Future to their satisfaction, they were still living

in a harrowing Present, confined by a "howling wilderness," beset by murdering savages, visited periodically by famine and disease. This was the waiting period, they assured themselves, like that experienced by the Israelites wandering in the desert before God permitted them to enter the land of Canaan. But the Puritans were betrayed by the eternal Present. Increasingly, as the millennium came to be postponed and God had controversy with New England, the time factor in their celestial accounts became merged with the spatial dimension of their new country. The stewards of the Lord began to calculate their future in terms of the western land. It was no historical accident that New Englanders led the orderly colonization westward, for they still sought the New Jerusalem which somehow had eluded them in New England. Undoubtedly, the slogan "Manifest Destiny," employed to justify westward expansion in the 1840's and 50's, covered many sins, but for the descendants of the Puritans it nevertheless continued to express their sincere sense of a divinely appointed mission.

An essential attraction of the new world was its "newness." To the God-seekers it still retained the fresh dew of the Creation, and they named their dwelling places *New York*, *New Haven*, *New Jersey*, *New Canaan*. Here corrupt man was to be born anew, morally regenerate.

All hail, thou western world! by heaven design'd
Th' example bright, to renovate mankind,
rhapsodized the New Englander, Timothy Dwight in 1794. "Races, reborn, refresh'd . . ." carolled America's uninhabited democratic bard. Walt Whitman, as he pictured the numerous off-spring of Adam and Eve moving westward around the globe. "A land that man has newly trod," observed Josquin Miller as late as 1881; a land where

Yet perfect blossoms bless the sod
And perfect birds illumine the trees.

"The world's best hope," said President Jefferson—which President Lincoln rephrased sixty-five years later as "the last best hope of earth." By the time the 18th century was well along, God's "Second Coming" had been forgotten, except by a fanatic fringe which led periodic revivals and founded new evangelical sects in the wilderness. Mere contact with the virgin soil was by them deemed sufficient for regeneration. The cult of the "Noble Savage" and the self-made man which flourished in the 19th century had its earliest setting in the Garden myth. The original expectation of spiritual rebirth translated itself into cultural primitivism.

But the new Americans could not be "reborn," because, as D. H. Lawrence pointed out, they were "race-old." They brought with them many of the institutions, manners, and prejudices of their motherland. As a result, the settlements on the eastern sea-

board of America began to repeat, with minor variations, the pattern of European society. An aristocracy of wealth based on commerce and land speculation began to blossom in the larger seaport towns. Boston thirsted after London as much as London aspired to be Paris. The corruption which the Garden myth attached to European society came to be duplicated in American towns. The dreamers therefore located their New Jerusalems farther west on the unsettled frontiers. Though Europe would continue to play the villain in the Garden myth ("The old and moth-eaten systems of Europe have had their day," bluntly asserted Whitman during the height of westward expansionist sentiment), a secondary villain arose. The decadent eastern parts of America often replaced Europe in the minds of the new-new Western men.

Each successive wave of pioneers and settlers cultivated the image of the woods or the farm as a refuge from the crass civilization they had left behind them. The contrast between innocence and corruption had merely shifted its locale, not its import for the American dream.

"The eloquence of the East is sober, passionless, condensed metaphysical," boasted a Kentuckian orator from his Eden fastness, "that of the West is free, lofty, agitating, grand, impassioned . . . the West defies and transcends criticism."

The Garden myth, coupled with the proximity of vast, unsettled regions, was responsible for the oversimplification which located good in the country and evil in the city, present in the bulk of American literature written since 1820. The Garden myth, as Henry Nash Smith has shown, created the mirage which effaced the western deserts and caused thousands of settlers to stake their claims in areas of insufficient rainfall.

The reality which the western pioneers uncovered never quite measured up to the heroic proportions of their dreams, but they disguised their disappointment by celebrating the size of their country. Their preoccupation with size and quantity concealed a longing for spiritual grandeur. As each successive generation failed in its appointed mission, it concentrated its hopes for futurity on the next generation. When the physical frontiers of America disappeared, they sought their lost innocence in their children, as had the aging James Fenimore Cooper years before, returning from Europe to create the youthful *Deerslayer*. The youths of America, accordingly, became at once the most-glorified and the most-lectured youth in the world. Three great American writers who saw their Garden turning into a Wasteland placed their hope for America's ultimate salvation in her youth. In *Huckleberry Finn*, Mark Twain relived his own boyhood on the Mississippi; Sherwood Anderson bequeathed the task of socializing the modern machine to the "unborn

Hugh McVey" of his novel *Poor White*; Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* told his son to do what he himself had never dared to do. Though the major American writers of the 20th century have, almost without exception, severely criticized their society, the Garden of Eden myth survives in the moral indignation underlying their bitterness. They sought to raise a new Garden out of the ashes of a "Wasteland."

II

One effect of the westward movement on the Garden myth was to replace Europe with the eastern seaboard of America in the contrast of innocence and corruption. Yet the feudal hierarchy of nobles, priests, and kings from which the Puritans had revolted had not been transplanted in America. In the first place, the Garden myth insisted that any over-ripe state of society was rotted with artificiality and convention and that the only antidote was a return to the simplicity of a state of nature. Secondly, changes were taking place in Europe even as the colonists were building their towns. Under the banner of the new science and led by a rising entrepreneurial middle-class, of which the Puritans had been members, a commercial business society was rapidly undermining the old feudal structure. By the beginning of the 18th century the English vocabulary on both sides of the Atlantic was saturated with counting-house usages. The pivotal words of the 18th century were "undertaking," "interest," "accounts," "project," "design," "trade," etc. In 1701, Increase Mather, the leading New England Puritan of the second generation, saw the same absorption in material ends which was beginning to characterize European society: "It was purely on a Religious account," he lamented,

"that they (the first colonists) ventured themselves and little ones over the vast Ocean into this which was then a vast and howling wilderness. Although of later Times we have too much changed that which was our Glory, not Seeking the Kingdom of God in the First Place, not making Religion, but Trade and Land, and Earthly accommodations our Interest . . . In this we are degenerated from the Piety of our Ancestors."

The association of the Eastern seaboard society with the evils of Europe was not completed, however, until the effects of the Industrial Revolution began to be felt on this side of the Atlantic. The application of scientific method to business enterprise had introduced new horrors to French and English society. Thomas Jefferson, who visited Europe toward the end of the 18th century, viewed with alarm the social dislocations and misery caused by the new factory system. In revulsion he invoked his agrarian ideal, based primarily on the myth of the Garden of Eden.

"Those who labor in the earth," he wrote in his *Notes on Virginia* in 1782, "are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for sub-

stantial and genuine virtue . . . While we have land to labor then, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a workbench, or twirling a distaff . . . for the general operations of manufacture, let our workshops remain in Europe."

His first inaugural address of 1801, containing the seeds of modern isolationism, reveals that he counted on God's "cordon sanitaire" to keep morally antiseptic His chosen people, "kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe." But unknown to him, enterprising New England merchants had already imported the English technicians who were to launch the Industrial Revolution in America. Jefferson's own Embargo of 1808 actually encouraged the development and consumption of home manufactures. Jefferson finally had to bow to a *fait accompli*. His efforts to stave off the inevitable nevertheless resulted in the opening to settlement of vast new western territories where the myth of the Garden of Eden might yet be realized.

As Henry Nash Smith has shown in his excellent book, *Virgin Land* (Harvard University Press, 1950), the literature indigenous to the American South never applied the Garden myth to the internal conflict of East and West. The reason for this is that the Southern ethos was based largely on a plantation slave economy, relatively untouched by industrialism. There was no East-West conflict in the sense of an agrarian West as opposed to an urban, industrial East. Industrialism was, in the main, Northern. Consequently, the Garden myth in the South—and Southerners were almost narcissistic in identifying their plantation ideal with the Garden myth—became orientated, as the slave controversy hardened, about the North-South conflict. Southerners opposed the serpent of Negro slavery in their Garden to the serpent of wage slavery in the northern Garden. Though it would be a gross oversimplification to attribute the Civil War to a clash between an agricultural and industrial economy, it could be argued that the Garden myth contributed the dynamism to the Southern cause. The agrarian South has, to this day, remained the most provincial, the most vehement defender of its "way of life," of any region in America. The writing of its most gifted—and most tortured—novelist, William Faulkner, is replete with Garden symbolism. It must be added, however, that the Garden myth has also acted as a powerful catalyst for reform within the framework of an agrarian order. Southern traditionalists have bitterly fought the advances of industrialism in their midst even while urging improvement for the lot of the Negro. The Negro remains for them one of the last symbols of their "Golden Age."

The North in its advance westward has moulded the dominant temper of the American society. One of the earliest American writers to apply the contrast of corruption and innocence to the internal contrast

between East and West was James Fenimore Cooper. Disillusioned by the pushing, vulgar democracy of the Jacksonian era (1829-1837), he located his ideal American democrat, Natty Bumpo, the hero of *The Deerslayer*, in a forest Eden by a lovely lake which gave a "placid view of heaven." He created a moral being who could find "the impress of the Deity in all the works of nature, without any of the blots produced by the expedients, and passion, and mistakes of man." Though Cooper, living in a more secular day, had forgotten his source, the pattern of the Christian myth is unmistakable. The evil of the settlements is represented by three characters: Hurry Harry, the expirate Tom Hutter, and Tom's illegitimate daughter who likes to flirt with the British soldiers, the dark, exotic, sensuous Judith. The rewards for virtue go to the children of nature: the fair Hetty and the simple, plain-spoken Natty Bumpo. The interesting thing about Cooper's version of the myth is his basic understanding of the duality of good and evil in his characters and his reservations about the efficacy of Nature as a regenerating agent. Because he knew something of the hard, brutish life of the true frontier, he endowed his hero with "white man's gifts" to prevent his utter absorption by the forest. Unlike more "romantic" devotees to the cult of the noble savage, Cooper sought an ideal compromise between man living in a state of nature and man living in corrupt civilization.

The presence of the American Indians in their midst flattered the Garden-worshippers' sense of moral self-righteousness. They thought that the Indians were an inferior race, either to be destroyed or be ennobled by conversion to Anglo-Saxon, white Christianity. The mission of America to make over the rest of the world in its image was first conceived in missionary activities along the frontier. The influx of European immigrants also fostered the desire of the Chosen People to regenerate mankind. The successful assimilation of aliens, as the writings of Walt Whitman testify, gave birth to the illusion of America as a microcosm of the world. James Fenimore Cooper's sense of moral discrimination was too highly developed, however, to endorse fully the concept of "white man's gifts." He could not reconcile the killing of Indians, for instance, with the Christian Commandment. "Thou shalt not kill." Though his *Deerslayer* ended in wholesome slaughter of the Hurons, he sacrificed the innocent Hetty in symbolic atonement. Prophetically, the aging Leatherstocking of Cooper's tales made his last stand against an ever-encroaching civilization on the mid-west prairies, the final burying ground of the myth of the Garden of Eden in the 20th century.

A contemporary of Cooper's, Nathaniel Hawthorne, was no more successful in finding a middle ground, an Oasis in the "moral sand-waste of the world,"

between corrupt civilization and the savage frontier. By locating his Garden on a farm west of Boston he proposed in his *Blithedale Romance* to show "mankind the example of a life governed by other than the false and cruel principles on which human society has all along been based," to lead a life "true, strong, natural, and sweet . . . something that shall have the notes of wild birds twittering through it." He invested his Garden with the same Polarity of light and dark to represent innocence and evil that had characterized Cooper. He personified the evil of the settlements in the dark, voluptuous Zenobia and in the scientist Westerfelt—scientist because Hawthorne associated much of the evils of modern society with the scientific, technical advances which most of his fellow Americans confused with moral progress. Instead of a new heaven on earth to be realized in the future, Hawthorne's book re-enacted ironically the story of man's Fall.

Thus, the tragic Zenobia represented not the new Eve, but the original Eve. In the sexual appeal which betrayed her—the moral purity of Americans ruled out considerations of sex—she "brought" up a picture of that fine, perfectly developed figure, in Eve's earliest garment.

"We seldom meet with women nowadays, and in this country, who impress us as being women at all," wrote Hawthorne, "their sex fades away, and goes for nothing, in ordinary intercourse. Not so with Zenobia. One felt an influence breathing out of her such as we might suppose to come from Eve, when she was just made, and her Creator brought her to Adam, saying, 'Behold! here is a woman!'"

America's besetting sin, according to Hawthorne, lay in moral self-righteousness, in not recognizing the common bond of sin and suffering which unites all mankind. Though convention demanded that he condemn Zenobia, he pitied her and he loved her. The major reason which he assigned for the failure of his social experiment in brotherhood was the moral self-righteousness of its leader, Hollingsworth. The moral obliquity with which Hollingsworth treated human beings merely as means to an end had its roots, however, in the supreme faith of Americans in their role as a chosen people appointed to a divine mission.

Hawthorne's friend, Herman Melville, was also critical. His great epic *Moby Dick* concerned itself primarily with the sin of moral self-righteousness in a mad idealist who brought his ship, a microcosm of the world, to its destruction. The book may well have expressed Melville's understanding of American "Manifest Destiny," presented in quite another light by the popular orators and politicians of the day. Cried Justice George Robertson of Kentucky at one Fourth of July celebration:

"Christianity, rational philosophy, and constitutional liberty, like an ocean of light are rolling their resistless tide over the earth . . . Doubtless

there may be partial revulsions. But the great movement will . . . be progressive, till the millennial sun shall rise in all the effulgence of universal day."

One is reminded of Santayana's criticism of President Woodrow Wilson in 1920, that he sought, alone and unaided, to "legislate for the universe." But unlike Hawthorne, Melville had partly succumbed to the American myth of the Garden of Eden. He too thirsted after moral perfection. His book *Pierre* recorded the destruction of an innocent. Like *The Deerslayer* and the *Blithedale Romance*, it presented the polarity of light and dark, of virtue and vice, associated with the contrast of country and city. The first thirteen chapters find its hero established at the family seat, Saddle Meadows, a veritable paradise. The last thirteen chapters register the fall from innocence in the city, where the "most practically Calvinistic view of humanity" is realized. The anomaly in the book is that *Pierre* is both morally self-righteous and morally pure.

The greater stress in America on nature as a refuge from crass civilization during this period was due largely to the proximity in America of a vast wilderness. Ralph Waldo Emerson's romantic naturalism was as much influenced by the westward movement as Cooper's Leatherstocking tales. Moreover, Emerson's transcendentalism was a philosophical justification of American individualism in much the same sense that Natty Bumppo was a fictionalized embodiment of American individualism. Both Emerson and Deerslayer found nature the source of their self-reliance; both "saw God in the forest." Emerson's primary ethical concern was to gird his people morally for their rendezvous with Manifest Destiny in their march westward. His writings constituted a grand Te Deum announcing the New Jerusalem:

"The vast rapidity with which the deserts and forests of the interior of this country are peopled," he noted in an early journal, "have led patriots to fear lest the nation grow too fast for its virtue and its peace . . . Good men desire, and the great cause of human nature demands, that this abundant and overflowing richness wherewith God has blessed this country be not misapplied and made a curse of . . . How to effect the check proposed is an object of momentous importance."

Unfortunately, the Emersonian will to virtue was lost to the generation of rugged individualists after the Civil War. In fact, it was lost as soon as men of goodwill, such as Emerson and Whitman, made the mistake of identifying material with moral progress.

In an age of self-appointed Messiahs Henry David Thoreau's greatest virtue lay in the fact that "instead of engineering for all America," as Emerson put it, "he was the captain of a huckleberry party." Both Hawthorne and Thoreau agreed upon the delusion of material progress without spiritual regeneration.

Neither sought to impose his solution upon his fellow-men. Where Hawthorne conducted his social experiment among a community of likeminded refugees from the city, Thoreau conducted his private one in the splendid isolation of Walden Pond. Walden Pond, "earth's eye," like Cooper's Lake Glimmerglass, gave a placid view of heaven.

"Perhaps on that spring morning when Adam and Eve were driven out of Eden," wrote Thoreau in his masterpiece, "Walden pond was already in existence . . . Even then it had commenced to rise and fall, and had clarified its waters and colored them of the hue they now wear, and obtained a patent of Heaven to be the only Walden Pond in the world and distiller of celestial dews. Who knows . . . what nymphs presided over it in the Golden Age?"

Thoreau's spiritual voyage into the pure depths of Walden, symbol of his soul, recalled another voyage which first planted the myth of the Garden of Eden in America:

" . . . be a Columbus to whole new continents and worlds within you, opening new channels, not of trade, but of thought."

Columbus did more than open channels of trade; he inspired a dream that has nourished all of Western civilization.

The tension in Thoreau's *Walden* comes from the opposition set up in Thoreau's mind between solitude and society. The shrill whistle of the railroad in the distance constantly invades the privacy of his sanctuary. More hard-headed than his friend Emerson, Thoreau is nevertheless guilty of the same oversimplification which locates good in the country and evil in the city, a conception central to so much American writing and thinking then and now. This invidious contrast is partially responsible for the virtuous American's fear of soiling his soul in corrupt city politics. It underlies the return of Silas Lapham in Howell's novel (1885) to his Vermont farm after an unfortunate experience with the Boston aristocracy and his involvement in shady business practices. Henry James' generic American, Christopher Newman, who proves his moral superiority over the decadent European aristocrats, won his moral victory in the American West before he ever saw the Bellegardes. Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) is an innocent victim of civilization. Frank Norris' *McTeague* (1899) escapes from civilization to find his boyhood dream at the Big Dipper Mine. The denouement of Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925) reveals

"that this has been a story of the West, after all—Tom and Gatsby, Daisy and Jordan and I were all Westerners, and perhaps we possessed some deficiency in common which made us subtly unadaptable to Eastern life."

That deficiency was Innocence—and a belief, bred of the West, in an "orgiastic future" which had at last

closed in. The contrast of East and West, of vice and virtue, finds its classic utterance in the myth of the Garden of Eden, the central myth of America.

It is significant that many of the foremost critics of American society in recent American literature derived from the Middle-west. The most hallowed ground in America from its association with the myth of the Garden of Eden, the Mississippi Valley became, in their hands, a Wasteland. Rob Rodemaker of Hamlin Garland's story "Among the Corn-Rows" confessed that he had come West, "just like a thousand other fellers, to get a start where the cursed European aristocracy hadn't got a holt on the people." Instead, he found a hopeless battle with land speculators, money-lenders and the railroads. They were all heart-sick, these American writers, born to promises and nourished on lies.

Ed Howe, Edgar Lee Masters, Zane Gale, Sherwood Anderson, and Sinclair Lewis led the revolt against the mid-Western village. Sinclair Lewis, born in Sauk Center, Minnesota, located the Main Street of bourgeois America in the mid-West, later selected as the site of the Lynds' sociological study, *Middletown*. T. S. Eliot, whose *Wasteland* condemned the moral and spiritual sterility of modern society, was born in St. Louis, Missouri. Ezra Pound, who thought that American Christianity had become a kind of Prussianism, was raised in Idaho and taught school for a few months in Indiana, the birthplace of Theodore Dreiser. Chicago produced James T. Farrell and John Dos Passos, author of *U.S.A.* Ernest Hemingway was born in Illinois, Ring Lardner in Michigan. Scott Fitzgerald was first exposed to the shoddy values of cafe society in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Perhaps the most disillusioned of American writers, Hart Crane, came from Ohio. In his poem "The Bridge" he tried unsuccessfully to reconcile the teeming industrial reality of America with the promise of America:

O Sleepless on the river under thee,
Vaulting the sea, the Prairies dreaming sod,
Unto us lowliest sometimes sweep, descend
And of the curveship lend a myth to God.

This was the Promised Land, and still it is
To the persuasive suburban land agent
In bootleg roadhouses where the gin fizz
Bubbles in time to Hollywood's new lovenest
pageant.

Hart Crane committed suicide, as did another mid-Westerner who began his life as an idealist in "the region of hope," Vachel Lindsay. A native of Pittsburgh, educated in Europe, Robinson Jeffers followed his *Western Star* to the edge of the Pacific, where he developed a protecting layer of stoic indifference:

Now I, the latest, in this solitude
Invoke thee from the verge extreme, and shoul
Of sand that ends the west, O long-pursued.

Of the major American writers from the mid-West only Carl Sandburg has continued the tradition of Walt Whitman, and he has lately turned to celebrating a heroic past.

III

"What then is the American, this new man?" asked the Frenchman Hector St. Jean De Crevecoeur in 1782 after he had lived in America for fifteen years. He phrased his answer in terms of the, by then, familiar contrast, between America and Europe: "He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced . . ." That mode of life derived its virtue from the soil of Jefferson's agrarian paradise. According to Crevecoeur, the American became more uniquely American as he receded farther from the sea and the older settlements. Like Cooper, however, Crevecoeur was realistic enough to recognize that life on the "cutting-edge" of the frontier became brutish, and he sought an ideal compromise between sophistication and savagery. Gradually, American literature has evolved a picture based on the Garden myth of a composite, generic American which has remained remarkably consistent, in spite of changes in the American society and differences in the temperaments and value judgments of the writers, down to the present day. The American demi-god was created primarily in answer to the challenge of Europe, and it was early established that he came from the American West.

America's earliest national literature symbolically refought and rewon the Revolutionary War. The first comedy, Royal Tyler's *The Contrast*, (1787), contrasted the fop, Dimple, who had "read Chesterfield and received the polish of Europe," with Colonel Manley, "an unpolished, untravelled American." The morally superior Manley, grinding the same axe ground by Jefferson and Crevecoeur, warned Americans to "stick to the axe and saw and common virtues." Patriotically aroused, the audience sang *Yankee Doodle* during the play's intermission. In a more muted manner and with a wistful regard for the aesthetic sensitivity of Europeans the maturest novels of Henry James sang *Yankee Doodle* a hundred years later.

After the Civil War, America turned the practical energy which had subdued a wilderness to industrial pioneering. Consequently, Christopher Newman, the composite American who braved James' European lion-den, combined the materialism of Benjamin Franklin with the simple virtues of Natty Bumppo:

"If he did not, like Dr. Franklin in Philadelphia, march along the street munching a penny-loaf, it was only because he had not the penny-loaf necessary to the performance . . . It must be admitted, rather nakedly, that Christopher

Newman's sole aim in life had been to make money."

But contact with the virgin soil of the West imbued him with more spiritual aspirations. "Newman had sat with Western Humorists in knots" around the campfires; . . . "a more completely healthy mortal had never trod the elastic soil of the West." He was named "Christopher" after the discoverer of the new Western world, "Newman" after the new Adam who was to inhabit it, one of Walt Whitman's athletic race of reborn men and women.

"You are the great Western Barbarian," said his Parisian confidante Mrs. Tristram, "stepping forth in his innocence and might, gazing a while at this poor effete Old World, and then swooping down on it."

"Oh, come," said Newman, "I am not a barbarian, by a good deal. I am very much the reverse. I have seen barbarians; I know what they are."

He meant that he was really a product of old world culture and did not fit the European stereotype of the American Indian with head feathers and tomahawk. Nevertheless, as Henry James subconsciously knew, the Americans' own estimate of themselves in their Messianic role as God's chosen people was responsible for the European stereotype. Since the spiritual drama was enacted against a backdrop of forest symbolizing the Garden of Eden, there was psychological truth in the European stereotype. Speaking of Natty Bumpo, D. H. Lawrence once wrote that he was "neither spiritual nor sensual. He is a moralizer . . . , a hard, stoic-killer,"—a philistine, therefore a barbarian.

Only occasionally in his many Pageants of the invasion of Europe by morally superior American men and women endowed with limitless freedom of will did Henry James investigate the validity of their claim to moral superiority. Maggie Verver, in *The Golden Bowl* was one of the few Americans whose innocence did not blind her to the duplicity of Europeans, and she stooped to subterfuge to bring the culture of Europe to her native land. But the "villains" of the piece, Charlotte Stante and Prince Amerigo, became morally regenerate in their "banishment" to America, the earthly paradise. The end seemed to justify the means. *The Ambassadors* contained a veiled attack upon provincial self-righteousness, but the basic moral integrity of Lambert Strethers survived his betrayal of his mission to Paris. In *The Ivory Tower*, one of his last novels, James began to question the source of the wealth which had seemed to him so essential a condition to America's redemption of the world. Christopher Newman had made his money in copper, railroads, bathtubs, soap, etc. (Americans live by their saying that "cleanliness is next to Godliness"). The compulsive effect of the myth of the Garden of Eden was causing

other Americans than Henry James to confuse material with moral progress.

Both Whitman and Emerson had hymned the praises of the captains of industry; both had seen the railroad, the telegraph, the steamboat as the standard bearers of Christian democracy to the shores of the Pacific. "There is more true poetry in the rush of a single railroad train across the continent," wrote a 20th century disciple of Whitman, "than in all the gory story of burning Troy." Again, the myth of a Golden Age. The influence of science changed the basic outlines of the myth very little. The Garden, protected by two oceans, turned into "the great laboratory of the world" in which to perfect in peace and isolation "a grand, noble experiment." The harnessing of nature by machinery merely confirmed the majority of Americans in their sense of a mission. The multiplication of inventions gave rise to the feeling that the nation was entering upon a new era of progress. A treatise written in 1842 was called *The Paradise within the Reach of all Men . . . by Powers of Nature and Machinery*.

Among the first during the Gilded Age to detect the fallacy of material progress without spiritual advance were mid-Westerners. Mark Twain, whose love of luxury and conspicuous consumption was as great as that of any industrial tycoon, took his composite American Yankee to King Arthur's Court to bring modern progress to medieval England. Hank Morgan's lineage went back to Benjamin Franklin and Natty Bumpo. In his practical bent, in his concern for washtubs and soap, in his generosity, etc., he was much like Henry James' Christopher Newman. But the new American type was an industrial pioneer from the state which had coined the phrase "Yankee ingenuity," the state of Connecticut on the Eastern seaboard. In the contrast of America and Europe the West was overshadowed by the pattern of Eastern society which was beginning to stamp itself on all America. The days of the frontier were nearly over.

In a sense, Mark Twain could not have contrasted industrial America with modern industrial England, for he would have found too many resemblances which would have destroyed the myth of American moral superiority. Three-quarters through his book, *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court*, Mark Twain belatedly discovered, as he later explained to his friend Dan Beard, that

" . . . this Yankee of mine has neither the refinement nor the weakness of a college education: he is a perfect ignoramus; he is boss of a machine shop; he can build a locomotive or a Colt's revolver, he can put up and run a telegraph line, but he's an ignoramus, nevertheless."

If Mark Twain's savage attack on the feudal institutions and barbaric customs of medieval England was intended as a veiled thrust at the aristocratic, slave-holding mentality of the post-Civil-War American South, he suddenly learned that a business

culture was not less morally reprehensible for its neglect of human values. The benevolent dictatorship of "Sir Boss" Hank Morgan, which ended in the mass slaughter of 30,000 of the flower of English knighthood and in Hank's subsequent defeat and death, anticipated a critique of American capitalism by W. H. Ghent called *Benevolent Feudalism*. Mark Twain experienced a traumatic shock which led eventually to profound despair. He had been nursed in the "Garden of the World" and brought up in the expectations of inheriting the Kingdom of Heaven.

Natty Bumpo saw God in the forest, but Silas Lapham, William Dean Howells' composite American, found the impress of the Deity in mineral paint. Silas Lapham, like his creator, was a "back-trailer to a more sophisticated society." Where Natty Bumpo had conquered the wilderness, Silas Lapham came from his Vermont farm to conquer new industrial empires in Boston. Mrs. Lapham perceived "that his paint was something more than a business to him; it was a sentiment, almost a passion." Lapham's entrance into Boston society at the unfortunate Corey dinner party paralleled Christopher Newman's reception at the Bellegardes in France. In both cases the innocence of the crude, untutored *nouveaux-riches* established their moral superiority. The real test of Lapham's moral purity, however, came in his business relationships; was it possible to compete successfully without adopting the law of the jungle? Howells, familiar with the unethical practices of the Jay Goulds, the Jim Fiskes, the Jay Cooks and other robber barons, apparently decided that it was not. Silas Lapham retired from business to his Garden of Eden in Vermont.

In 1890, five years after the publication of Howells' *Rise of Silas Lapham*, came the Government's announcement that the frontier was officially at an end. In the same year the editor of the Atlanta *Georgia Constitution* told his readers that "After all, business is the biggest thing in this country." In the 1920's the President of the United States was to remind his constituency that "the business of America is business." In the interval the American myth of the Garden of Eden, based originally on the existence of vast, unsettled lands, was converted into an apologetic for big business. The self-reliant pioneer and farmer, driven ever westward in quest of the New Jerusalem, had lost his momentum, had become bogged down in the mid-West, weighted with mortgages and surrounded by skyscrapers. The myth of the Garden became a Narcissistic symbol, ransacked for its yield in emotional fealty to the image of the new pioneer, the Darwinian superman, the "rugged individualist" of industry. A principal, if unwitting, agent in the symbol transference was Frederick Jackson Turner, who read his famous paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," to the American Historical Association in 1893.

His main thesis was that "the frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization," an observation made by Crèvecoeur more than a hundred years before. Business men gathered that they need only to liken themselves to the pioneer to prove their Americanism and to avoid any obstruction from a democratic government. Some, like Herbert Hoover in his *American Individualism*, (1922) sincerely believed that business was but a continuation of spiritual pioneering:

"Individualism has been the primary force of American civilization for three centuries. It is our sort of individualism that has supplied the motivation of America's political, economic and spiritual institutions in all these years . . .

"The American pioneer is the epic expression of that individualism, and the pioneer spirit is the response to the challenge of opportunity, to the challenge of nature, to the challenge of life, to the call of the frontier."

The old contrast of America and Europe was still evident in his thinking. Pioneer individualism, unassisted by government, constituted the only answer to the new complex of forces resulting from an era of industrial development; anything else was un-American and *ipso facto* evil:

"Socialism of different varieties may have some thing to recommend it as an intellectual stop-look-and-listen sign, more especially for Old World societies. But it contains only destruction to the forces that make progress in our social system."

For the conservative the Garden of Eden had become static, a symbol of the past.

It took a major depression to convince the majority of Americans that the *laissez-faire* variety of individualism had become an anachronism in a complex, highly interdependent industrial society. Henry Wallace, President Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture and product of the mid-West corn belt, restated the myth of the Garden of Eden in his *New Frontiers*, (1934), to fit the New Deal philosophy. His appeal once again was futuristic, an emphasis badly needed to bolster the morale of millions of disillusioned and self-doubting Americans, who had seen their image in Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt*. Once again the American sense of a mission breathed vigor.

"To enter the kingdom of heaven brought to earth and expressed in terms of rich material life," wrote Henry Wallace, "it will be necessary to have a reformation even greater than that of Luther and Calvin . . . Today we again have a situation like that in Europe three or four hundred years ago. In some ways I believe it is far more significant. We have millions of people with good minds and bodies who can't get jobs. They are just as good people as those who left Europe for America three hundred years ago. They are looking for another new world."

"Physically there is none. No more free land worth having is to be had for the taking. But we

can work over what we have of the earth's surface, and what we have of human potentialities for achieving true civilization, stability, and peace. We can have our new world, if we have it in us, and if we are willing to pay the price."

The relative success of the New Deal established a new dynamism in the American character that had been lacking since the days of the Woodrow Wilson administration. It is no accident that the American people have turned again to the redemption of the world, for their original sense of a mission has revived. Those for whom the myth of the Garden of Eden lingers only as the symbol of a Golden Age now past have tended to remain isolationists. Both the isolationists and the internationalists, however, cling to their illusion of America's moral superiority. The isolationists would retreat to their hermetically-sealed paradise in the Mississippi valley, protected from foreign contamination by the "cordon sanitaire" of two oceans and eastern and western buffer states. As Frederick Jackson Turner had written, the frontier was

"free from the influence of European ideas and institutions. The men of the 'Western World' turned their backs upon the Atlantic Oceans, and with a grim energy and self-reliance began to build up a society free from the dominance of ancient forms."

Or as a writer to the *New York Times* put it (January 2, 1951):

"The international do-gooders have had a field day at our expense for many years. They have extended our frontiers to a point where we now are told that we must fight aggression wherever it occurs . . . Must America be crucified for ever on the cross of internationalism?"

"Many years ago Professor Sumner of Yale pointed out the marvellous opportunity our American ancestors had to develop on this continent a civilization which would avoid the mistakes made in Europe. Why have we had to depart from this wonderful idea?"

The internationalists are not less self-righteous, but they would make over the world in their own image—though they would prefer persuasion to force in doing it.

Impressed with the need for maintaining a united front against Communism and disturbed by the mounting criticism of America by non-Communist Western Europeans, Americans have increasingly sought to correct what they call "the distorted European stereotype of America." But when one compares what influential Americans think of themselves with what Europeans think of them, he is struck by the astonishing coincidence in their views. The main, and crucial, difference is that Americans regard as true moral superiority what Europeans regard as arrogant

and unwarranted moral self-righteousness—or worse, downright moral hypocrisy. European socialists, for instance, resent being put in the same category with Communists by pharisaical American capitalists. Potential friends of America, proud peoples everywhere, resent being told, "All over the world there is an immediate demand for enormous quantities of pure Americanism," as Clarence Manyon recently wrote. Europeans tend to distrust Marshall Plan aid, not so much because of Communists' attacks upon it, but because they resent feeling that Americans may be buying their friendship just as Henry James' characters "bought" European nobility. Resentment of the American superiority complex underlies much resistance to America's so oft-insisted-upon moral leadership in the United Nations.

American travellers returning from Europe frequently report, depending upon what circles of European society they visited, that Americans today are mistrusted. One goes so far as to say that he was told by many Europeans, "If there was to be another war Americans would have to do the fighting. Europeans were through." A recent distinguished French visitor to America, Raymond Aron, was more kind.

"The first thing I want to say is this," he told an interviewer from the *New York Times*, "I think Americans are too sensitive to their critics. They must get used to criticism. It is impossible for a leading world power not to be criticized. People are unable to accept the fact that the richest and strongest country in the world is also the most virtuous. Everybody would get an inferiority complex; criticism of the U.S. is part of a psychological compensation."

If Raymond Aron detected an uneasy conscience, the uncanny British political cartoonist David Low, put his finger on the source of the American assumption of moral superiority. He depicted England as having to choose between an American in Indian head-dress haranguing a microphone with a tomahawk, and Stalin coyly enticing the Britisher into his bag. The American is proud of his enormous wealth and industrial efficiency, but he is still prouder of his pioneer heritage with its promise of a new heaven on earth for God's Chosen People.

His uneasy conscience may very well harbor a suspicion that Coronado's *Seven Golden Cities*, Hendrick Hudson's *Northwest Passage* and Ponce de Leon's *Fountain of Youth* are not located quite where he thought. As he loses his aim, to use Santayana's words, he redoubles his efforts. Morality, with the American, has too often been a substitute for thought. His revived interests in the works of Hawthorne, Melville, and Thoreau may indicate that he is beginning to think.

LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

SEVERAL times recently, as I have walked through St. James's Park on the way to my office, I have noticed an aged tattered beggar sitting on one of the public benches. The Park is at its best in early summer. Every day new groups of flowers, lakes of lovely colour, assert their pre-eminence in the scene. One enters the place with a feeling of expectancy and it is like nothing so much as attending a ballet. Motor lorries are not allowed in nor may newspaper sellers cry their wares (or woes). All is gay and transitory and for a short time one is free from the cares of the modern world. But the presence of the beggar was disturbing and I decided, if he were there again, I would investigate. Next day sure enough he was there and this time stretched the length of the bench. I hurried up, wondering if he were ill—only to find him contentedly and comfortably engaged in doing a *Times* cross-word puzzle.

This set me wondering about the ups and downs of fortune and the ideal, or the idiocy, of the quest for equality. There is a great clamour for equality in England to-day. The wealth of the country had come prosaically to be regarded as a cake to be cut up in as nearly equal portions as possible. No one must have too big a slice lest someone should go without. The fallacy here of course is that there need be a limit to the size of the cake. (Also, and far more important, the cake-makers lose interest.)

For the present we seem to be tied to this outlook. Thus it is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot do away with the Excess Profits Levy. Were he to attempt it, the watch-dogs of the 'workers' would soon be at his throat. Indeed, I suppose on the principle of throwing a sop, the levy was included in the election programme of the Conservative Party. But what a relief it would be if the watch-dogs would take their noses off the ground for a bit and sniff a more spacious air! To be obsessed with the relationship between wages and profits—to think of life in terms of money and benefits—is an impoverishing thing. It may lead one to cut off one's nose to spite one's face.

The nose I am thinking of at the moment is part of our heritage. Nearly four years ago Sir Stafford Cripps appointed a Commission to enquire into what might be done to save our beautiful and historic country houses. No owners now can afford to keep them up. Some houses have passed into the care of the National Trust. Others—and even Hatfield, home of the long-headed Cecils—make a virtue of necessity and receive charr-a-banc of tourists who come to visit them and (at Hatfield) take tea in the Great Hall where the earlier-Queen Elizabeth held her first council. But revenue from tourists does not bring in enough. For one thing, it is inevitably a summer trade. For another such things as old stone-work, paintings and tapestries, require constant and highly-skilled and therefore costly attention. One of the recommendations of the Commission was that taxpayers

owning such houses 'should be granted certain reliefs from income tax (including surtax) and death duties.' These houses, they pointed out, mirror some six centuries of our social history and domestic life; are the greatest contribution made by England to the visual arts; and represent an association of beauty, of art and of nature. Yet the Chancellor has decided that he cannot grant their owners this remission of tax. To do so would be to legislate for a 'class'. And so, since the National Trust is not possessed of the widow's cruise, we can expect many a lovely house, such as Blatherwycke Hall, to be sold to a contractor and demolished for the sake of its materials; or taken over perhaps as a Training College and, like Wentworth Woodhouse, spoiled in the conversion. Worst of all, it may meet the fate of Coleshill and be left empty for the damp and the rats to take over. (Blatherwycke Hall, I can only add, seems to be a good name for a Parliament that will not exert itself in such a cause.)

A lot of nonsense has been talked about the new Elizabethan Age on which we are entering. Indeed the only valid comparison that I can see is that we may embark upon space travel just as the former Elizabethans embarked on their voyages of exploration round the world. I think the great Eliza, if she were alive to-day, would feel more at home in America than down amongst the tourists at Hatfield. One of the greatest living authorities on her age, Mr. A. L. Rowse, was addressing the English Association last week. He made an all-out attack on the 'monotonous sameness' to which life in England is being reduced. But all the prominent features of that earlier age which he instanced are still characteristic of the American scene. Careers he said were open to talents and there was freedom to move up—or down. (Query: can there be freedom on any other terms?). He scarcely touched on the political background to the two ages. But I think that just as in the sixteenth century England took on the Spanish colossus, so to-day are the Americans taking on the colossus of Communism. And there is a family likeness surely between the proud boastfulness of Shakespeare's John of Gaunt and Henry V—not forgetting several of the lesser fry scattered through the plays—and the contemporary American addiction to boasting themselves. May their boasts prove as well-founded as were the Elizabethans' boasts!

But of course it is for the arts of peace that we chiefly remember the former Elizabethan Age—for its beautiful houses and gardens and above all for its music and poetry. Can our present age recall those days? Will such arts bloom in the contemporary climate with its pursuit for social equality? Mr. Rowse does not think so. He dislikes the whole conception of social equality because he feels it must create an environment which is inimical to the arts. 'The arts', he said, 'need

* Quoted in Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land*, p. 260.

for subject-matter and inspiration variety, colour, richness, social diversity, movement, ease, standards of culture.' Rather over-doing the gloom he continued: 'What sort of literature or art do we think we are going to get out of a more or less one-class society, levelled down to the standards of the trivial, insignificant average?' I do not know what the average is and I am not competent to pursue this matter. But I don't believe the insignificant, average man has such to say, for instance, about modern architecture. I think he is at the mercy of a dreary, utilitarian outlook called functionalism. It is building him blocks of flats with ugly stone balconies looking like solid baths stuck on to their sides. And at the new Lansbury village, in the East end of London, judging from a recent photograph, it has built a clock tower which looks as if it could be folded up like a steel jack-in-the-box.

Functionalism. What a word! There never was a time when so many things were *functioning*. Rationing, national insurance, currency control, import permits, exports, building licences, housing lists, and so on without end. Never in our history was society so hedged about by controls and never it should be noted, save in times of civil war, were there so many enemies of society at loose in our midst. There must be some underlying connection. We used to think of Chicago as the home of gangster criminals. Now I am afraid we do not need to look so far from home. The latest statistics, from the Chief Constables' Annual Reports for 1951, show that last year, in most of our towns and cities, all records for crime were broken. A great deal of the increase is due to crimes by juveniles. This may be due in part to the number of gangster films shown in the cinemas. But many of the older criminals have been trained in commando units in time of war and turn their experience to house-breaking in times of peace. The most spectacular crime to date is the looting of £300,000 in notes from a Post Office van. But would the prospect of a fortune, obtained by violence, prove so strong a temptation if there were any prospect of making a fortune by legitimate means? In our egalitarian, super-tax society no one can become rich. For some people this certainly appears to put a sparkle on loot—or foot-ball pools. I do not know which is the greater evil.

In former days idle people, whose time hung heavy on their hands, used to take refuge in invalidism. It was a well-worn joke that Baden or Vichy, or some other attractive spa, was frequented by people who 'enjoyed poor health.' To-day, is the Welfare State offering similar escape from the tedium vitae? And does a nation-wide health service tend to make us disease-minded? The thought is suggested by the tremendous sums of money, beyond all expert calculation, which are now being expended. Instead of keeping the people healthy it seems as if we were encouraging them to think that they may require the services of a doctor, dentist or occultist.

In 1942 it was officially estimated that the cost of a comprehensive health service would amount to about

£170,000,000 a year. In actual fact it is costing about £400,000,000 a year. The Government in a White Paper issued in 1944 estimated that it would be 'several years' before the expenditure on the dental service reached £10,000,000. But in the first year these services cost no less than £28,000,000—nearly treble the Government's expert estimate. It is the same with the ophthalmic services. Expenditure was not expected to reach £1,000,000 a year for several years, but actually in the first year of their working the cost was £20,000,000. No wonder the present Government is making a complete overhaul to see where waste can be eliminated and, by making a small charge for prescriptions and so on, to cut down this tremendous expenditure.

The present Government has announced its intention of staying out its full term. It claims that the measures which it is taking to put the country on its feet require time to show results. And it is neither perturbed nor intimidated by the fact that, judging on the results of the recent municipal elections, it now has a minority of supporters in the country. Time, it says, will tell. But whatever may be the outcome of the next General Election many people are deeply disturbed at what seems to them to be a dilemma which threatens our democratic government. The dilemma in which we find ourselves is that parties here are so evenly balanced that we seem doomed to a stretch of ding-dong government. Tories one time; Labour the next; but touch and go as to which and no ascertainable future for any given piece of legislation. Thus it is that the Tories are returning to private ownership the road transport which Labour nationalised and Labour is already promising to repeal the Tories' repeal! This is no way in which to conduct the affairs of the nation. As a writer to the *Times* justly comments, such frequent changes in the law would 'be bound to create contempt for our legal system among the general public since certainty is, after all, the essence of any legal system.'

This same writer puts forward a most ingenious solution. It is the declared intention of the present Government, as he points out, to undertake in the lifetime of the present Parliament a reform of the House of Lords. And 'the main value of a second chamber has always been found in the continuity which it gives to the political life of a country.' So a reformed House of Lords is to come to our rescue. Reformed in such an intelligent way! He suggests that the House of Lords should be a body elected on the principle of proportional representation—the House of Commons to continue as before on the basis of single-member constituencies. 'This would mean that the Commons... could, 'as at present, provide us with a stable single-party Government, while the re-constituted Lords would prevent, or at least delay, the introduction of any measure which is based more on party political doctrine than on the will of the majority of the electorate.' What a breath of fresh air would blow across Westminster if such a reform were adopted. There would I think be a come-back for Liberal ideas. (Not for the Liberal Party. That would depend upon the

Liberals in the Commons; and Liberal M.P.s. cannot make up a united mind about anything). I have always disliked the idea of proportional representation as the method of electing a government. It leads to a proliferation of parties (and much consequent trimming of sails on the part of politicians). But these evils would not arise in a second chamber. Indeed I would like all sorts and conditions of men to seek election there. And I think, amongst other things—since we are sure to be in for a spate of scientists—the spiritual content could be weighted by a Rabbi and a Roman Catholic Archbishop and the leaders of any other religious community which could find a sufficient number of people to vote for them.

The Labour Party may be breathing out fire and slaughter against present Tory measures which it intends to repeal. But when the time comes for the next General Election, will there be one Labour Party or will there be two? The rift between Mr. Bevan and Mr. Attlee has reached a stage at which neither any longer wishes for concealment. Mr. Attlee parades his sentiments in the House of Commons, Mr. Bevan in the countryside. 'When Mr. Bevan gets up', says the Parliamentary correspondent of this week's *Spectator*, 'or is about to do so, Mr. Attlee goes out.' He adds that this is 'one of the nicest Westminster comedies one has savoured.' And as for Mr. Bevan, he blows off steam in the constituencies and has been proclaiming in South Wales that the next six months will see the majority of the Labour Party behind him.

The Labour Party evidently is splitting into a Right and a Left movement. And just as Mr. Bevan thinks he will soon have most of the Labour Party behind him, so extremism seems to be triumphing in the Trade Unions. There is a very clamorous element in the Unions which is bent on pressing for higher wages. Declining markets, adverse trade balances, the writing on the wall of incipient unemployment—they never speak of these things. They remain in the airy spaces of the theoretical. The Electrical Trades Union, one of the most aggressive, was told by its president at its recent conference: 'the trade unions should fight with all their industrial might against any attempt by any political party to introduce a wage freeze, particularly during a period of rising prices.' (The answer to the first part of that piece of rhetoric is: even when foreign competition is putting you out of business? The second part of this rhetoric is a piece of pious irrelevancy. He knows or should know that many prices are falling.)

The Chairman of the Trades Union Congress is Mr. Arthur Deakin. He is a realist, if I dare use that word. Realists are anathema to extremists: nothing will persuade them that realism can be an honest state of mind. Mr. Deakin is also the leader of the Transport and General Workers Union. It is the biggest trade union in the country but even though Mr. Deakin may be able to influence his own members it looks as if he were already despairing of the T.U.C. 'Whatever the T.U.C. do,' he remarked the other day, 'the policy I shall advocate in

my own organization is that we act with the moderation that will enable this country to balance its payments and to continue the export trade that is so essential for its survival.'

Well this issue will be decided in September when the Trades Union Congress holds its annual conference at Margate. But in the political sphere no one can tell how long it will be before the Bevanites come up for judgment before the electorate. In the meantime they are playing the Communist game by blowing tepid in the matter of rearmament and thereby encouraging defeatism on the continent. They imperil the whole fabric of security which we are trying to build up. They also be-devil our relationships with America.

Three months ago Mr. Bevan made an anti-American speech at Jarrow. It was quoted with effect the other day in the American House of Representatives when the vote on the amount of defence aid to Europe came up for decision (and was cut by about £219,700,000). Mr. Bevan was quoted as saying that the world was making a very great mistake in letting moral leadership fall into the hands of the United States:

"I do not believe," he said, "that America has the experience, sagacity, or self-restraint necessary for world leadership at this time." And as a final pat to the theme he added: "I say to my American friends: Your economic and fiscal policies are doing more damage to Western Europe than Stalin could ever do."

(When that speech came over the tape, the smile on Stalin's face must have rivalled that of the Cheshire Cat.....)

At the moment of writing Mr. Eden has just returned from signing the Contractual Agreement with Germany at Bonn and the European Defence Community Treaty in Paris. Western Germany is no longer an enemy and her Ambassador will come to London. There is to be a European Army and in it there will be twelve German divisions. The signing of these two Treaties—hailed by some as the greatest step towards European unity since the days of Charlemagne—has been greeted by the Communists in France with rioting so serious as to look like a rehearsal for revolution. And in Eastern Germany the Communists are putting up barricades and creating a no man's land as if they expected war to begin at any moment.

The *Times* on 26th May published a long article on the 'Prospects of War or Peace.' Its military correspondent thinks that this year may be the most critical, and, if not, then the next year. It seems a great pity that there is so much talk and writing about a possible war. If only we could get statesmen everywhere to realise the power of thought they would know that what they ought to talk and write about is Peace and not war. Thoughts have a very potent effect on actions and the power of thought, if guided in the direction of the paths of peace, would be of inestimable help to a troubled world.

Westminster, London, June 4, 1952.

DR. TARAKNATH DAS IN FREE INDIA

By GOBIND BEHARI LAL

ONE of the leading champions of the closest possible friendship between the republics of India and of the United States of America—and one of the grand, old fighters for Indian independence, prestige and cultural reputation—will be in India this summer.

He is the 68-year-old, white-haired, but still sturdy, unbowed, fiery and eminently learned Hindu-American—Dr. Taraknath Das, member of the teaching faculties of Columbia University and New York University in New York City. His name, I assume, must be quite familiar to educated Indians in all the states of the Union, especially in Bengal. For nearly half a century he has been a legendary figure for his fellow Indians. During this long span of years he had to remain away from the land of his birth, Mother India, because of his revolutionary activities against British imperialism in India.

He has been awarded a travelling fellowship by the Watumull Foundation, of which I happen to be the current "chairman of the advisory committee", in order to make a circuit-around-the world for promotion of educational and cultural relationships demanded by new world conditions. He will visit some countries he has not seen before, but most countries he already knows well by previous sojourns, including Japan.

However, it is India that is the most important of all his destinations now. Dr. Das is an outstanding Indian, an invincible, cultural-spiritual Hindu and a devoted naturalized American citizen. If he sounds as though he were a man of multiple paradoxes, that is only because he is a man of the 20th century, a period of many unsolved contradictions in the affairs of mankind.

From the Indian viewpoint his great paradox is that he was barred from India by the passionate urge he had for Indian independence. Indian revolutionary fighters for the political freedom of their country—a small group to which I also have belonged for more than four decades—remained "outsiders" as long as the British flag flew over the government buildings, fortresses and ramparts of India. They rejoiced more than any other type of Indians when, at long last, the British rulers departed from their native land. One by one they revisit Free India now as the pilgrim goes to the shrine of shrines. It is a feeling almost profoundly religious that is at the heart of a returning old rebel like Taraknath Das.

Taraknath Das was born on June 15, 1884 in Calcutta; his parents were Bengali Kayasthas. From childhood he was brought up in the intellectual atmosphere of Kayasthas and Brahmans, who gave to India such men as Vivekananda, Tagore, Aurobindo Ghose, J. C. Bose, P. C. Ray, and Sarojini Naidu. He was 16, attending the first year of

college, when a romantic, militant nationalism began to smoulder among the students, professors, editors and reformers of Calcutta, then India's premier nerve-center.

In 1905 he was already an active revolutionist, a wandering "sanyasin", pledged to work for the overthrow of British rule in India. One night a police officer, with nationalist sympathy, whispered to him that a warrant for his arrest was being prepared. Das had better leave the country, the officer advised. Somehow he obtained the money for a ship fare, left India—and he has never been back since that day.

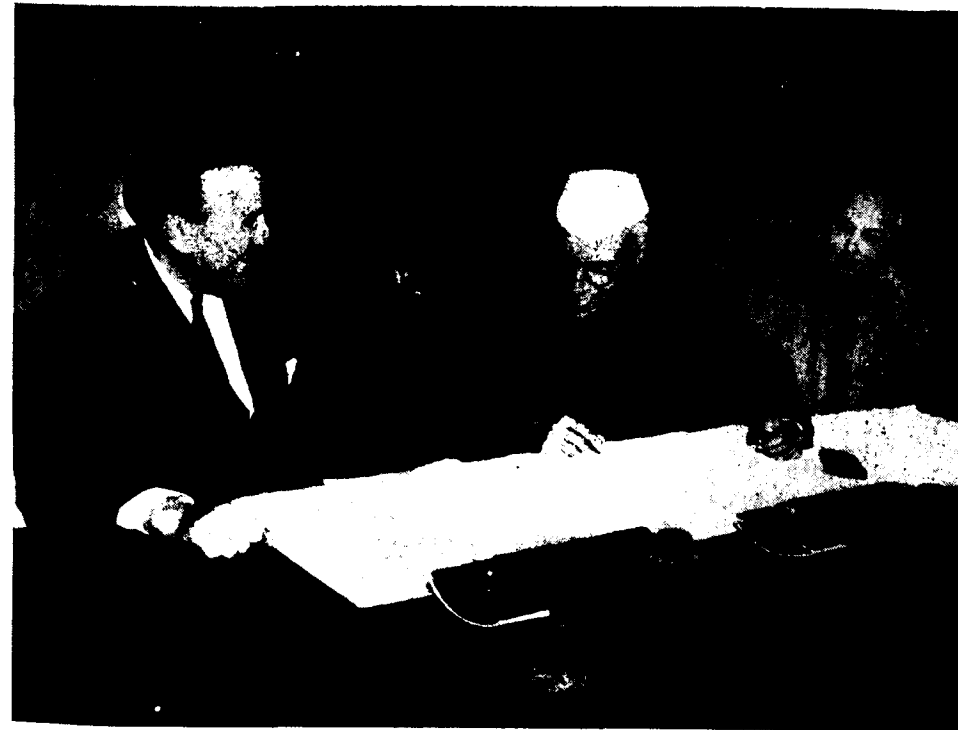
He was in several Far Eastern countries. Eventually he arrived in Japan and began studies at the University of Tokyo. But he was also preaching the cause of Indian freedom, converting his own countrymen in Japan, influencing the Japanese. The inevitable result was that the British ambassador asked the Japanese Government for his extradition. The Japanese themselves told him, "There is only one country where you will receive asylum—U.S.A."

It was in 1906 that 22-year-old Das landed at Seattle, an American port, on the Pacific Coast. He had come imbued with the pride of an upper-class Hindu intellectual. But American circumstances encountering him were unexpectedly rigorous. He was not backed by money, as were the young Indians whose rich families sent them to England to become barristers, stock-brokers, I.C.S. officials. He had to start life at the level of a workman—an unskilled workman.

Thus started a life of living by the sweat of his brow: Das attended to linen in a San Francisco hospital, or plucked fruits in California orchards or planted celery in sun-drenched fields by the side of Sikh and Pathan farm-laborers. In his spare time he read books. Eventually his good, honest work, abstemious living and ceaseless reading attracted the attention of a professor of medicine at the college where he had employment.

"What are you up to Das?" the doctor asked. And Das told him that he was a political exile from India, and wanted to get some university education so that he may learn about the mysteries of history, politics, economics. The professor, himself an American of British parentage, liked the young Hindu and helped him to obtain a job in the chemical laboratories of the University of California, Berkeley. So Das earned enough to live on and to pay tuition, while attending the university.

There was a competitive examination going on for a U.S. Government job, the position of a "translator" or "interpreter" for the U.S. Immigration Service which had to deal with Indians, Chinese and other immigrants who were flocking to the Pacific Coast States. Das sat for the



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru signs the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement (January 5, 1952)



Members of the Indian Cultural Delegation to China called on the President, at Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi, on June 7. Headed by Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the Delegation remained in China for five weeks and visited a number of places of historical and cultural interest



Members of Uday Shankar's ballet troupe in Washington were greeted by guests at a supper given in honour of the visiting dancers by B. R. Sen, the then Indian Ambassador to the U. S. A.



Members of the Turkish Press Delegation visited the Jamia Milia Islamia in Delhi on February 6, 1952. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, explained the work of the Institution to the members.

examination and stood first. He was given the job—an interpreter at the Vancouver U.S. Immigration Station. He earned enough money to start regular studies at the University of Washington at Seattle, where he received his B.A. in 1910 and M.A. in 1911, in political science and economics.

Then he succeeded in getting a fellowship at the University of California, where he began studies for a Ph.D. degree in political science and related subjects. And in 1914 he became a naturalized American citizen. But it was not until ten years later—1924—that he received a Ph.D. degree, in the field of "international relations", from the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University at Washington, D.C.

These ten years or more were the period of stormy political and educational activity which had a single concentrated objective—achievement of Indian independence. Taraknath Das became one of the leading Indian revolutionists who tried to take advantage of the period of the First World War to weaken, if not completely overthrow, the British Indian Raj.

The history of Indian revolutionary enterprises, during 1912 to 1919, from radiating centres in America and Europe, is long and exciting. But it can not be told here even briefly. All that need be said is that a number of us Indian revolutionists and patriots abroad, especially in the United States and in Central Europe, carried on various projects designed to dissolve British rule in India and to establish a National Indian State, preferably a federal republic—the United States of India. Among us Taraknath Das was always prominent.

Ever since his arrival in the United States, Das launched his one-man campaign against British imperialism of the time. He managed to publish each month a magazine of sorts which he called *Free Hindustan*. He had it printed in and distributed from New York, with the warm collaboration of a leading Irish-American publisher who worked for the independence of Ireland and sympathized with Indian independence. For nearly three years Das's publication flourished. Such world figures as Count Leo Tolstoy and Hyndman the British socialist, took interest in its writings. When Das appeared to condone the militant action of an Indian youth in London, involving loss of life, the British had an opportunity to get *Free Hindustan* stopped by the American authorities.

By becoming an American citizen (1914), however, Das had gotten out of the reach of the British. Now began a new life of a free man for him. He could well have forgotten all about the problems of India, especially of Indian nationalism. A brilliant opportunity was open before him. Particularly tempting was a life of peaceful activity in a lush country as America was then, at a time when Indian nationalism in India had fallen to the lowest depths.

But men like Taraknath Das and Har Dayal—the founder of the Gadar (Revolution) Movement in San Francisco, in 1912—were made of unusual psychological stuff. They answered the challenge of 1914 by action—action for Indian freedom.

Har Dayal's organ, the Gadar newspaper, published an article by him, just when the war broke out in August, 1914, in which this statement was made: "Indians....the enemy of our enemy (Britain) is our friend." Leaving San Francisco, Har Dayal went to Switzerland and then to Berlin. Shortly afterwards Taraknath Das left the University of California and betook himself to Germany, where he entered the University of Berlin. Meanwhile Har Dayal's successors at the Gadar headquarters in San Francisco kept the revolutionary projects going. The British charged that all Indian revolutionary nationalists were being supported by Germany. All I know is that the Gadar publishing work was being sustained by voluntary contributions by Indians themselves, especially of Sikhs, Hindus and Moslems in the States of California, Oregon and Washington. At the Gadar, let it be said, Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs worked together in the best unity conceivable. Such complete national solidarity was made possible by Har Dayal's teaching and personality. Toward such unity Taraknath Das had always contributed, although he never joined the Gadar Movement formally.

While the Indians in India and in England did not know or pretended not to know anything about the efforts of their patriots in America and in Europe and in the Far East, the British became intensely alarmed. The British Consulate General in San Francisco and the Gadar headquarters there were like two opposite camps.

But the American people were growing more and more sympathetic toward the Indian aspirations for independence. Countless Americans of Irish and Teutonic and other non-British European lineage listened to Indian demands. Indian independence was fast becoming an American-British policy issue. When, at last, the United States entered the war against the Kaiser, the British demanded the American Government take punitive measures against the Indian rebels of the British Raj who were political refugees in America.

Many years later an eminent American professor of English literature, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, of the University of Chicago, wrote in his Autobiography published in 1948:

"On the day after our (American) declaration of war (1917) a number of these Indian refugees had been arrested and held for trial in San Francisco on the charge of conspiring to ship arms for India (to fight the British). . . . Among them was Taraknath Das, an American citizen. . . . The trial in 1917 had abounded in dramatic incidents. . . . The trial had ended with the conviction of Dr. Das and others. . . ."

The British won only a battle. They had actually lost the whole war. That trial in San Francisco, lasting some eight months, stirred up the whole of America. Americans became aware of the existence of an Indian revolt against British rule in India which was important enough to have thoroughly alarmed the British, so that they went to all the trouble involved in getting the biggest State trial of modern history staged in San Francisco. Everybody knew now that British officials were actually handling the trial, and the Indian defendants

were only asking for Indian independence—similar to the independence the Americans wanted in 1776.

Not content with getting Dr. Das and the rest of us put behind prison bars, the British wanted all of us to be turned over to them—no doubt to face firing squads. By this time, however, the war had stopped. There was such strong revulsion of American feeling against such British methods that a moral victory for Indian independence was practically won.

Prof. Lovett, recalling all this in later years wrote :

"I have been more deeply irritated by the treatment of the Indians in the United States by British agents than by any other instance of foreign interference in our affairs....."

Many were the effects, all favoring the cause of Indian independence, that followed that 1912-1920 Indian revolutionary enterprise, in which Dr. Das and I were involved. One effect was obviously this—that a large, pretty well-informed and sympathetic American public existed when the Indian Revolution returned home—that is, when a great genius, who had developed his technic abroad, in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi, took charge of it in India.

Lajpat Rai, who had come to the United States in 1915 or so, and was too cautious to play a fully revolutionary game, but talked of "dominion status" (home rule) for India, and my friend Syud Hossain, were benefited by all that had been done by more vehement workers.

It was Hossain, I am sure, who first brought the message of Gandhi to America, in 1922 or so, in an authentic Indian manner. He was generously supported by Indian residents of California, Michigan, New York, Chicago, all imbued with the national spirit generated by the earlier struggle I have depicted. Young patriots, Dr. Anup Singh and Dr. K. L. Shridharani, educated at American Universities, made their contribution in the 30's.

By the time the Second World War started Indian merchants of enlightenment and patriotism, G. J. Watumull, J. J. Singh and others, had become effectively active. The work of the First World War had not been in vain. President Wilson had advised the British to give political concessions to Indians, while he had incarcerated Indian rebels in U.S.A. But in 1940 the Indians were not giving the British any excuse to get Americans antagonized against them; and sympathy for India had become a big factor in America. President Roosevelt was behind the Cripps Mission of 1942.

At San Francisco, the old battle-ground, India's

forces against imperialism gathered at the first meeting of the United Nations there. Indians in California and Canada, particularly, raised funds and asked Mrs. V. L. Pandit, then visiting the United States, to fight for the Indian cause on the occasion. She did a magnificent job. She hurled unanswerable challenges at the Deputy Prime Minister, Attlee, and the Foreign Minister, Eden, of Britain.

So history was again made in San Francisco. When, only a year afterwards, it became known that the British Labor Party had really decided to give independence to India, the older revolutionists, men like Dr. Das and myself, G. R. Channon, G. J. Watumull and a few others, rejoiced most of all.

Now Dr. Das—like myself and many others—advocated unhesitatingly that an independent India should establish a close bond with the American-British (democratic) pattern, rather than stand alone or show any leaning toward a totalitarian pattern of any sort.

Dr. Das, who was so roughly treated by the British even in America, bears no old grudge toward them today. He believes that his studies, travels and personal experiences lead him to this position: it is best for India, on the Asian side, and Britain and America, on the Western side, to pull together, to co-operate wholeheartedly.

In all his published writings—including several books, one entitled *Foreign Policy in the Far East*—Dr. Das has dealt with problems of statecraft and diplomacy with special reference to the issues of freedom and justice for the peoples of Asia, including India. His brain is filled with a vast learning acquired in many lands. For him, it seems, statecraft is a high art, and he follows it with the love of an artist. Indian Nationalism, his original stimulant, turned his mind and activity in the direction of the politics of East and West relationships.

Har Dayal took up a secular philosophy, an attempt to unify the whole world by a new faith. Shri Aurobindo went in for Yoga in a new world. My own interests turned towards the study of modern sciences, and their popularization. Many have been the larger patterns of the great transition of India, and of the world, and we are all still groping towards a better way: Errors man makes. But if he is earnest, he rights himself.

In the light of the record I have submitted—can any one doubt the earnestness of Shri Taraknath Das? I predict that our Indian compatriots will find something contagious in his enthusiasms, which are derived from a rich emotionality, vitality, a hardy life of adventure and an enormous academic learning.



GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

By PROF. BELA BOSE, M.A.
Hooghly Women's College, Chinsurah

II

OPERATION OF THE GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN IN WEST BENGAL

FROM the foregoing reports we find that great stress has been laid on the following four methods for increasing food production—(a) manure, (b) improved seeds, (c) irrigation, and (d) reclamation of waste lands.

Now let us examine how the Grow More Food Campaign in West Bengal has been conducted and how far it has conformed to the valuable suggestions made by the First and Second Foodgrains Committees and the Woodhead Commission.

We find that the whole approach to the problem in this province during the past five years has been of a haphazard and improvised nature, unnecessarily diversified and the problem has not been tackled with a clear-cut programme of development supported by necessary provision and executed by an adequate organisation. Grants have been small and even the small grants were not fully and properly utilised. Unnecessary experience was gained at public cost.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN 1949

During the Budget discussions in March, 1949, the Agricultural Minister, Mr. J. N. Panja mentioned three ways of increasing agricultural production, viz. (1) conservation of land, (2) reclamation of waste land, and (3) improving the productivity of land.

He admitted that much land had gone out of cultivation due to soil erosion and was now waste land. He mentioned about an experiment on soil erosion in Santiniketan. He also stated that he was awaiting reports on soil erosion from the Director of Soil Research Institute, Sholapur (Bombay) and some soil experts of the Government of India who had visited West Bengal. An amount of Rs. 1 lakh was sanctioned in the Budget for 1949-50 for the purpose. His successor in office, Mr. P. C. Sen, did not mention anything about these Reports, neither did he give any progress report on soil conservation that might have been attempted. The matter does not appear to have progressed beyond the exploratory stage.

Mr. Panja claimed progress about reclamation but it extended only up to 1375 acres of waste land in Phatapukri in the Jalpaiguri district of which 1000 acres were cultivated with the help of tractors. 200 refugees were settled there. His target for the next year was only 9000 acres of waste land.

As regards irrigation schemes for the improvement of land, Mr. Panja could only claim that arrangements could be made to irrigate only 3000 acres of land through small schemes. He had all praise for pumps.

Persian wheels and Egyptian Screws about which the very next year, his successor had made a very unfavourable statement.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN 1950

Mr. P. C. Sen made a statement on Grow More Food Campaign in the West Bengal Assembly on March 16, 1950. He emphasised small canal irrigation, pump irrigation and tank irrigation in connection with his reclamation scheme.

The budgeted expenditure and actuals for these purposes and waste land reclamation, may be compared with the results achieved. The figures are:

(A) Pump Irrigation (hiring)		
	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1948-49	56,000	Nil
1949-50	19,000	Nil
1950-51	19,000	...
1951-52	...	...
(B) Pump Irrigation (Sale of plants)		
	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1948-49	1,21,000	1,09,074
1949-50	3,60,000	3,21,699
1950-51	9,18,000	...
1951-52	13,00,000	...
1952-53	5,70,000	...
(C) Tank Irrigation		
	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1949-50	15,30,000	Nil
1950-51	15,30,000	...
1951-52	20,00,000	...
1952-53	25,00,000	...
Cost of Implementation of Waste Land Reclamation		
	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1948-49	94,000	13,788
1949-50	4,06,000	...
1950-51	5,71,000	...
1951-52	5,50,000	...
1952-53	7,00,000	...

For the first two years, a total sum of Rs. 5,00,000 was sanctioned out of which only Rs. 13,788 was actually spent in 1948-49.

The Food Minister claimed that 20 acres of land were cultivated under this waste land reclamation scheme which produced a Kharif crop of 10 tons. The net social product added works out at Rs. 2,121/- at Rs. 7-8-9 per maund of official price of paddy. This net product was obtained by spending Rs. 13,788/-. This was the achievement for 1948-49. The actuals for 1949-50 has not been given even in the Budget for

1951-52. The net product for that year, therefore, cannot be calculated.

The Food Minister gave out revealing facts for 1949-50 about the use and cost of tractors. He said that in 1949-50, the Government had only 10 tractors of which 4 were sent to Jalpaiguri, 2 to Makda, 2 to Nadia and 2 to Burdwan. Out of these 10 tractors, 5 were utilised for waste land reclamation. Till February 1950, only 2240 acres of waste land were reclaimed while the capacity of the tractors was 25,000 acres. The actuals for the purchase of tractors for 1949-50—evidently the 10 tractors above referred to—show a net expenditure of Rs. 8,78,044/- or about Rs. 88,000/- per tractor while its market price would be somewhere near Rs. 18,000/-. 21 more tractors were later acquired.

About the area of land reclaimed conflicting figures are given by the Chief Minister and the Food Minister. On March 27, 1951 the Food Minister stated in the West Bengal Assembly that 53 tractors were then in use and 8000 acres of land had already been reclaimed.

On February 27, 1952, Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief, declared that in 1950, 1,734 acres and in 1951, about 11,500 acres of waste land were reclaimed with the help of departmental tractors. Besides, small irrigation and drainage projects of the agricultural department were responsible for the reclamation of 9,753 acres in 1950 and 28,559 acres in 1951. Thus out of a total of 20 lakhs and 29 thousand acres of cultivable waste land in the province only 61,806 acres had been reclaimed with 53 tractors during five years of its operations even when we add up all the figures claimed and disregard any overlapping. If we accept 25,000 acres as the capacity of 10 tractors, that of 53 tractors exceeded 125,000 acres in one year alone. From experience we learn that tractors in Bengal have been useful for the first break-up of the soil, and have not been profitable for subsequent ploughings. For the latter, tractors have been more costly and therefore not popular.

SMALL IRRIGATION SCHEMES

On March 28, 1951, P. C. Sen had stated that out of 1200 small irrigation schemes 224 had been completed in 1950-51 and 660 were nearing completion. But in the Budget of 1951-52 we find that only 324 out of probably these 660 have been completed although the target has been shown as 1000 projects. The Food Minister claimed that through the operations of small schemes 1 lakh 60 thousand tons of food-grains had been raised. But Budget Provision for 1,000 projects was 42 lakhs. Therefore, on an average each project cost Rs. 4200. Now if according to the Food Minister 224 small projects yielded 1 lakh 60 thousand tons of additional food-grains the expenditure comes to $224 \times \text{Rs. } 4200 = \text{Rs. } 9,40,800$. According to Mr. Sen, our food deficit amounts to 6

lakh tons, i.e., about 4 times the additional production of 1 lakh 60 thousand tons which we obtain through small irrigation schemes. There can hardly be any doubt of the scope for multiplication of such schemes not to speak of extending it fourfold. If that is done the cost would be Rs. $9,40,800 \times 4 = 37,63,200$. We are sure that revenues of Bengal can bear this burden of which Rs. 42 lakhs, i.e., more than that had already been sanctioned.

PERSIAN WHEEL

About Persian Wheels, the Food Minister said that this scheme had been abandoned because there was very little demand for the wheels. This experience was gained at the following cost:

Persian Wheels	
1948-49	(Actuals) .. 83,574
1949-50	" .. 24,286
1950-51	(Budget) .. 50,000
1951-52	" .. 8,000
1952-53	" .. Nil

On March 16, 1950, in reply to a cut motion, the Food Minister said that Persian Wheels were not very useful in this Province. The type of deep well in which it can operate is not in existence here. Besides, a Persian Wheel alone can irrigate only 6 acres of land. It costs Rs. 411 and a pump Rs. 2220. A wheel with a pump irrigates at the most 50 to 80 acres of land. The Food Minister categorically stated that on experiment it was found that Persian Wheel was not useful for Bengal and it was discarded.

In the Budget for 1952-53, it has been stated in spite of the Food Minister's statement in 1950 that Persian Wheels were useless. 96 sets of Persian Wheels had been distributed upto January 1952 and a provision of Rs. 8,000 was made for the purpose.

LIFT IRRIGATION

The Food Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen, has stated that Lift Irrigation and the sale of Power Pumping Plants had not been successful. The reduction of the Budget grant for the purpose from 13 lakhs to 5 lakhs 70 thousand is also an indication of it. But in the Budget for 1952-53 it has been stated that 125 Pumping sets had been distributed up to January, 1952.

Against a target of 500 tanks only 400 tanks were re-excavated in ten months.

IMPROVED SEEDS

On the result of the application of good seeds, the Food Minister P. C. Sen said, "We could get an additional Kharif crop of 170 tons and Rabi crop of 820 tons in 7090 acres by the application of good seeds."

Let us see what good seeds were distributed and to what extent. The budgeted items are not clear. We give them below as they stand.

	Under Joint Scheme									
	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.
	1948-49		1949-50		1950-51		1951-52		1952-53	
Scheme for Stocking—										
(a) Aus	2,25,000	Nil	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
(b) Aman	5,00,000	42,881	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
(c) Rabi	10,70,000	Nil	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
(d) Fodder	1,65,000	2,496	2,20,000	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
(e) Famine crops	8,35,000	Nil	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Establishment of seed stores	5,30,000	Nil	2,97,000	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Wheat seeds	3,00,000 (R)	72,000	3,00,000	3,554	1,51,000	Nil	1,62,000	Nil	1,25,000	..
Pulse seeds	6,23,000 (R)	24,000	15,71,000	59,004	1,00,000	Nil	....	..	....	..
Potato seeds	1,41,000 (R)	16,500	1,47,000	Nil	1,38,000	..	1,40,000	..	1,14,000	..
Sweet potato seeds	....	....	17,000 (R)	..	25,000	..	....	..	....	..

Under Provincial Scheme

	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.	Budget	Act.
	1948-49		1949-50		1950-51		1951-52		1952-53	
Boro paddy seeds	30,000	2,489	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Indian summer vegetable seeds	15,000	1,599	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Cold weather vegetables	50,000	1,964	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Winter vegetables	25,000	13,382	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Oil seeds	1,20,000	....	1,44,000	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
Vegetable seeds & seedlings	64,000	....	1,00,000	m. 1,91,000	....	..	....	..	....	..
Potato	....	9,437	2,11,000 (R)	1,79,049	6,60,000 (B)	..	....	..	....	..
Tapioca stems	....	....	9,000 (R)	1,495	3,000 (B)	..	....	..	....	..

R—indicates Revised Budget. Act.—stands for Actuals.

A total sum of Rs. 1,84,268 out of a total sanction of Rs. 46,93,000 for 1948-49 and Rs. 2,43,002 out of a total sanction of Rs. 30,16,000 for 1949-50 was spent on seeds.

The net social product works out at just an additional maund per bigha. This should be considered as a rather poor result for an experiment with improved seeds and stems of 16 varieties of crops. According to the Food Minister, improved seeds would be used only in 7,090 acres of land only.

As regards distribution of seeds, Mr. Panja, Mr. Sen's predecessor, seemed to be a better realist. He said (March 25, 1949):

There were 89 seed stores in West Bengal. These stores supply, in addition to seeds, steel plates for cart wheels, ploughs, etc., ammonium sulphate, bonemeal, and oil cakes to the cultivators. In 1948-49, the supply was as follows:

Aus paddy seeds	..	..	4½ tons
Aman "	"	"	23 "
Wheat "	"	"	55½ "
Pulses "	"	"	102 "
Agricultural Implements	..	1600	"

Much difficulty was experienced by distant villagers to carry the commodities from the seed stores. A plan for distribution through co-operative stores was drawn up, but no further mention about these stores have been made.

Actual figures for 1948-49 Budget seem rather surprising when compared with the Food Minister's claim. It works out as follows:

Seed	Budget	Actuals	Quantity of seed supplied	Cost per maund
Aus	2,25,000	Nil	4½ tons	Rs. 7
Aman	5,00,000	42,881	23 "	Rs. 69
Wheat	3,00,000	72,000	55½ "	Rs. 48
Pulse	6,23,000	24,000	102 "	Rs. 8

Where demand for good seeds was high, only a scanty amount was sanctioned out of which only a fraction was actually spent. The cost of paddy and wheat seeds seems to be exorbitantly high.

In the Budget for 1952-53, P. C. Sen stated that seed stores were reduced to 42 while from an earlier statement we find that they were 89. Of these 42, he said that 41 were functioning at the Sub-divisional headquarters. The difficulty of the villagers as regards access to the stores was increased instead of being

reduced. The former Food Minister, Mr. Panja, had stated on 25th March, 1949, that a plan for distribution of seeds through Co-operative Stores had been drawn up. But in the Budget for 1952-53 it has been stated that the scheme for distribution of agricultural commodities through Co-operative Multi-purpose Societies has been held in abeyance since 1951-52.

The distribution of seeds along with other agricultural commodities has been entrusted to the trade.

The scheme for additional seed multiplication farms for which a provision of Rs. 6 lakh 40 thousand had been made, has been held in abeyance during 1951-52 which was one of the worst agricultural years for Bengal.

22,000 maunds of paddy seeds were purchased and distributed in 1951-52.

There is general complaint amongst the cultivators that the seed supplied by the Government does not germinate. The Annual Report of the Agricultural Department of the Government of India for 1950-51 dis-

closes the fact that one of the causes of low production of jute was that the seed distributed did not prove of adequate quality. The seed in some places was so bad that it did not germinate. Two officers responsible for the purchase were suspended. Such must have been the affair with other seeds as well with the difference that they did not come to light. Government seeds are not popular.

MANURES

The Food Minister made the following statement on manures:

(1) "Chemical manure was not distributed in large quantities because it was costly. The Agriculture Department tried to introduce cheap compost manure."

(2) "In 1948-49, 2,914,895 acres of land were manured and the additional products were Kharif 20,911 tons and Rabi 13,450 tons."

(3) "In the same year, 8,800 tons of additional paddy were produced by using compost manure."

Let us examine the nature, quantity and cost of manure used.

	1948-49		1949-50		1950-51	1951-52	1952-53
	Budget	Actuals	Budget	Actuals	Budget	Budget	Budget
Oil cake	2400000	318000	2300000	489117	1638000	375000	486000
Bonemeal	1020000	749080	1534000	274627	560000	196000	244000
Chemical fertiliser	6095000	3489762	4200000	4071288	3385000	170000	199000
Green manure	90000	10036	75000	Nil	137000	..	..
Production of compost							
in village contingencies	250000	Nil	250000	Nil	65000	..	..
Composing town refuse into							
manures contingencies	85000	Nil	90000	Nil	127000	150000	150000
Calcutta sludge distribution	296000 (R)	Nil	297000	Nil	340000	290000	240000
					487000 (R)		
Cattle dung	2000 (R)	Nil	3000	Nil	..	..	..
Distribution of cow dung	..	..	3000 (R)	..	..	..	..
Calcutta sludge distribution	152000	..	..	..	..	..	..

Let us now examine the results. The total amount sanctioned for 1948-49 was Rs. 1,03,90,000 out of which Rs. 45,66,878 or less than half was actually spent. The net product added per acre of land, according to the Food Minister, was less than 1 maund in 3 acres or about 4 seers per bigha. According to the Food Commission, manuring can improve production to 6.54 maunds of grain in addition to the average yield of 18.8 maunds by the application of 120 lbs. of sulphate ammonia to 1 acre of paddy land at the time of transplantation. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that something is radically wrong somewhere with the West Bengal Government's Manuring Scheme.

No definite idea about the claim of an increase of 8600 tons of paddy due to village compost manure distribution can be had from the data supplied.

In the Budget for 1952-53, the following distri-

bution of manure for 1951-52 up to January 1952 has been shown in the booklet "statement showing the progress of development schemes, etc." (Government of West Bengal):

(a) Oil cake	..	4,193 tons
(b) Bonemeal	..	1,784 "
(c) Ammonium sulphate	..	5,899 "
(d) Ammonium phosphate	..	101 "
(e) Super phosphate	..	46 "
(f) Fertiliser mixture	..	400 "

Excepting fertiliser mixture which were prepared and distributed departmentally on a "no loss no profit" basis the distribution of other manures was made through trade channel, Government having to meet only the cost of subsidy to growers, i.e., the difference between the cost incurred by the distributors and the price paid by the growers. The Budget provision was as follows:

GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

	1951-52	1951-52	1952-53
	Budget	Revised B.	Budget
Cost of oilcake	3,75,000	4,77,000	4,86,000
Cost of bonemeal	1,96,000	1,66,000	2,44,000
Cost of chemical fertiliser	1,70,000	1,70,000	1,99,000

As regards the scheme for composting town refuse into manures it was stated in the Budget that besides payment of subsidy at Rs. 1/8/- per ton to the Municipalities, loans were being advanced to them for purchase of lorries required for the Scheme. It was claimed that 10,550 tons of compost had been distributed up to January 1952.

Green manure seeds were distributed at 75 per cent subsidy and only 27 tons were distributed up to January 1952. These, to say the least, were hopelessly insufficient.

DIVERSION OF LAND FROM FOOD TO NON-FOOD CROPS

While diversion of land from non-food to food crops had been the recommendations of the Food Conference, the reverse has been the case since 1948-49 when land under food crops had been diverted to jute. In 1950-51, such diversion has been very substantial. On 17th February, 1952, Sardar Datar Singh, while presiding over the meeting of the Indian Central Jute Committee in Calcutta, said:

"In 1950, the acreage under jute was 1,454,000 while during 1951 the acreage was 1,952,000. In 1950, the production of jute was put at 3,301,000 bales, while in 1951 the production was estimated at 4,677,000 bales. Considering that after partition we were left with an area of 650,000 acres under jute and production of jute at 1,690,000 bales only, this 300 per cent increase in acreage and production is a good achievement."

The Food Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen in a statement to the Assembly during the Budget discussion on March 27, 1951, supported this diversion of paddy-land to jute. He claimed that increase in jute production had greatly benefited the cultivators and that jute had been cultivated on many lands newly cultivated. The instructions of the Famine Commission as well as the Food-grains Policy Committee were thus flouted, both by the Agricultural Department of the Government of India and also by the Food Minister of West Bengal. Jute claimed greater attention than food and has now landed West Bengal in a difficult position in respect of food. The mirage of high jute prices have also faded away.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE PLAN

We may now summarize the causes of the failure of the Grow More Food Plan. First of all the most glaring defect appears to be a complete disregard of the valuable expert advice given by the important committees like the two Food-grains Policy Committees and the Woodhead Commission. Concentration of serious effort on the four primary directions, namely, small irrigations, manure, seed and reclamation have not been properly made. Too much was attempted

all at the same time and attention was diverted to unnecessary and costly experiments. Co-operation between the agricultural department and the cultivators has evidently been non-existent. We do not find any plan where the experienced agriculturist has been given a place of importance. Money has been spent from Calcutta on the advice of officers whose knowledge of agriculture in its practical aspects is doubtful. We remember in this connection the statement of Dr. Voelcker who had stated clearly that the Indian cultivator knew his job too well. There is no soil map for the province. Cultivators know the local soil and can utilise it according to the tradition and practice prevalent in the area. Outside advice based on books is bound to be wasteful. Prices of paddy have been fixed at a level which has brought resentment amongst the cultivators because there has been a wide divergence between the controlled price and the market price. The reluctance to deliver paddy at the control price has been widespread. Forced procurement was introduced which was severely resented. Reports we have been able to gather show that a fairly large proportion of land was diverted to jute not so much for the temptation of jute prices but because the paddy price was considered to be too low and for fear of seizure of the paddy produced. We have a suspicion that some land has been left fallow deliberately out of such sentiments. What is however quite clear is that the Government has miserably failed to secure the active co-operation of the cultivators and transfer the initiative for production to them.

OUR SUGGESTIONS

We believe that it is worth experimenting along the following lines:

(1) Local committees should be formed on which experienced cultivators should be represented. They should be asked to submit plans for improvement of local agriculture. These plans may be examined by the department and any alterations in them should be made in consultation with the local committee.

(2) Money sanctioned for the purpose should be placed in the hands of the committee on whom the initiative for expenditure should be entirely left. There must be a time limit for the execution of entire plan or specific portions of it. Money sanctioned should always be for a specific period or a specific part of the plan.

(3) The committee may be told that further finance will be supplied only on completion of a particular part of the plan within the time limit stated in it.

(4) Every plan should have a defaulting clause so that money wasted would be recovered from the committee. The defaulting clause should be made rigorous and deterrent so that undesirable elements would be discouraged and excluded.

RECENT TRENDS IN MODERN INDIAN ART

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

It is a somewhat embarrassing and thankless task to review the modern trends and tendencies in Modern Indian Art. During the last thirty years artists have been working *not* in groups—with any definite common ideals and aspirations but in extremely individualistic, even capricious, manners,—each following his own peculiar aspiration, in ideal and in technique, on widely divergent paths without any common basis or objective. An individual and original outlook is no doubt a very desirable virtue in all forms of artistic creations. But in all ages and countries schools of art have existed, with some common ideals and aspirations, interpreting some definite principles.

In order to take stock of the recent tendencies, it is necessary to take a look back to the artistic happenings in India for about a century.

The old schools of Indian painting having a respectable history of a continuous tradition covering nearly four thousand years came to an end in about the year 1832, when Molaram, the last representative of the *Pahadi* or Hill School, died, bringing to a close a brilliant chapter of the latest phases of the native indigenous schools of Indian painting then surviving in the Panjab Himalayas.

In the meantime the political domination of the British has laid the foundation, for sinister influences, of the second-rate and third-rate British and European art, on the art-practitioners in India, who were taught to believe that India had developed no national art of her own in the domain of the higher achievements in the Fine Arts, and, that Indian painting was essentially "decorative" and of an inferior kind not worthy of the designation of the "Fine Arts." This view was crystallized in the policies of the establishment of the Government Schools of Arts, in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, where English teachers began to teach Indians the methods and technique of European painting of the realistic or the naturalistic "schools."

The typical products of this age were Raja Ravi Varma, followed a little later by M. V. Dhurandar and others in Bombay, who began to paint traditional themes of Indian mythology and history in Western style, absolutely ignoring the fact that a vernacular language of Indian painting has existed in all periods of its history.

To this denationalized outlook of the artists of the Bombay Presidency, a protest was raised by the late Dr. Abanindranath Tagore who discovered the traditions of Indian painting and developed these traditions to build a new language of Indian painting suitable to modern conditions and modern outlook. He demonstrated by a variety of experiments that the characteristic language of Indian pictorial

art was capable of interpreting all the new aspirations of modern India.

But his principal achievement lay in interpreting Indian mythological, religious and even historical themes in the characteristic dialect of Indian pictorial art with a liberal assimilation of the best phases of European methods and technique. His disciples, chiefly Nandalal Bose, developed these new lessons by emphasizing on the strength and flow of continuous systems of draughtsmanship derived from the old masters of the Buddhist schools. Tagore himself exploited and developed the qualities and characteristics of the Moghul school, and in his colour schemes adopted many of the conventions of the Chinese and Japanese schools of painting. In his compositions he assimilated many of the principles of European painting in a true eclectic spirit without slavishly imitating Western technique and insisting on a strictly Indian point of view in vision and outlook. For nearly a quarter of a century his disciples, taking up work in many centres outside Bengal, in Lucknow, Lahore, Madras and Mysore, preached and practised the principles of the new school of Indian painting on the lines suggested by Tagore, the leader of the new movement. During the last few years, some of his disciples have dissented from the basic Indian principles and adopted and imitated Western techniques to win popularity and cheap patronage.

And the great master and leader of the New Movement, a few months before his death, had recorded a sorrowful protest against the works of his later disciples who had deviated from the path of truth and rectitude. He had said: "It is a pity that 'Indian Art' did not continue along the line it had taken at the start and deviated a great deal,—my heart aches when I think of this."

In the Bombay Presidency the chief centres of modern painting have been Bombay and Ahmedabad, the Guzerat group having been trained at the beginning at the J. J. School of Art, Bombay, where the imitation and adaptation of Western conventions have been a predominating feature of all forms of modern art until two years ago when the English teachers of art were replaced by Indian artists trying to develop Indian traditions. Of this new tendency, in the Bombay group, to develop Indian manners and technique, the leading representative is J. M. Ahiwasi, now a teacher in the J. J. School of Art, and some disciples of the Ahmedabad artist Ravi Sankar Rawal, who overcame the baneful influence of Gladstone Solomon who exhorted the students of his school to imitate the realistic conventions of the European studios. Of the Ahmedabad

RECENT TRENDS IN MODERN INDIAN ART

45

group with ambitions to imitate the Bengali school in developing Indian traditions the most talented exponents are Kanu Desai, Rasiklal Parekh and Somlal Shah who worked for some time in Santi-Niketan. But, with the exception of the Ahmedabad group, the persistent tendency in the Bombay group has been to lean deliberately towards European methods ignoring the qualities and characteristic conventions of the indigenous national Indian schools. It must be conceded that in skilful handling of the medium of oil colours the Bombay artists have displayed wonderful skill and power, particularly in portraiture and landscapes. In the latter part of the 19th century, very distinguished works in oil have been achieved by Pestonji Bonmonji and Lalkaka and their followers founding a respectable Indian tradition in oil painting, now ably represented and maintained by A. M. Tali, M. R. Achrekar and others. In Bengal the adoption of the European medium of oil as a mode of expression has been persistently followed by several exponents beginning from J. P. Ganguly and his many disciples such as Satis Sinha and others, as also by Atul Bose, and recently by Ramendra Nath Chakravarty. But generally, the medium of oil has been avoided by artists who believe in Indian traditions and conventions which are best expressed through the medium of water-colours and in miniature sizes. There has been a recent tendency in some of the Bengali artists to handle the oil for the purpose of demonstrating that an Indian artist is as much capable of handling the imported foreign medium as in handling his own old indigenous medium of water-colour, just as Indian poetic and literary talent has skilfully used the English medium for a genuine national expression demonstrated by Sarojini Naidu and Harindra Chattopadhyaya and, recently, by Ranjee Sahani and Mulk Raj Anand. This deliberate use of oil by Indian national artists is best represented by Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury and Ramendra Chakravarty and recently by Sailoz Mukherjee of the "Delhi group," who claim that it is possible to reveal Indian ideals and Indian ideas even through the foreign medium of oil. These new experiments by the disciples of Tagore to dabble in oil to express Indian nationalistic ideals have not, however, been very much of a happy success and have not received the sanction of the best critics.

In the works of the Bombay group, a new tendency has been to lean towards the vernacular language of Indian pictorial art without abandoning the medium of oil. The old slavish imitation of European manners and techniques replaced by a concession to Indian ideals has given rise to the idea that a modern Indian artist, while he should not adopt Western traditions, should not also repeat the old Indian traditions of the Buddhist, Moghul, or

the Rajput schools, but have no prejudice against the assimilation of the latest phases of the European paintings of the post-Impressionists and Cubists, which have abandoned the the cheap realism of the Victorian Age, and which have valuable lessons to impart, which may *enrich* but need not *dominate* the basic Indian national manner of expression. In other words, it is believed that the language of the vernacular art of India, now slavishly adhering to the old and worn-out conventions, can be vitalized and strengthened by a judicious assimilation of the best phases of modern non-representational art of the modernistic French schools. An eclectic and critical assimilation of the best lessons of the Modernists of Europe is not necessarily a disloyalty to Indian national art, and in our blind worship of Indian artistic traditions we should not shut out the best and illuminating "lights" from the West, for light may not always come from the East. On this principle a group of artists from Bombay—Deuskar, Adurkar, Chavda, Achrekar, Satavalekar and Y. K. Shukla—had gone to Europe to study the latest developments of European painting to assimilate useful lessons for strengthening the Indian language of pictorial art. This attempt to extract useful lessons from European modernistic art had not been very successful, except in the works of Chavda and Shukla. Shiavax Chavda has not entirely confined himself to Western modernistic techniques but has also drawn valuable lessons from the traditions of old Indian sculpture as demonstrated by his studies of the sculptures of Ambarnath. Shukla has widened his outlook by taking a two years' training in the great traditions of Chinese painting. Jaya Appaswamy, an artist from the South, has also sought to assimilate lessons from the finest phases of old schools of Chinese landscape painting. But the general effect of an eclectic and critical contact with the works of Gauguin, Van Gogh and the Cubists, in the works of the modern Bombay group, has been to trample on the delicate and subtle phases of Indian traditions and to display an uncontrolled, nervous and clumsy brush-work of the Modernists of Europe. This tendency to indulge in reckless *bravura* of brush-work "in deforming figures, torturing of forms, mutilation of limbs, in the name of rhythmic design and plastic unity, is in most cases, a delightful delusion where it is not a wilful self-deception."

The same importation of modernistic manners has marked the works of a group of artists in Bengal, who labelled themselves, into a group called Calcutta Group refusing to be dominated by the Indian ideals and indigenous methods of expression preached and practised by the disciples of Abanindranath Tagore. It must be admitted that there has been a very legitimate reaction against the weak, senti-

mental, and insincere copying of Ajantan mannerisms and Rajput and Moghul caricatures, revealed in the large series of weak imitators of the Tagore school, who were unwilling to undergo the severe discipline of Indian draughtsmanship and merely repeated and imitated the mannerisms and formulas of old Indian traditions. The tragedy has been due to the fact that after the distinguished works of the direct disciples of Tagore, no new generations of interpreters of Indian painting with the necessary training and discipline have come forth to work out the principles of the Tagore school in Bengal, except a few artists trained in Santiniketan, such as Indra Dugar and Kripal Singh Shikhwat, so that the brilliant contributions made by Nandalal Bose, Kshitim Mazumdar, Asit Kumar Haldar, Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury and others have not been followed by later travellers on the path, and the Tagore School has languished during the last few years for want of worthy interpreters.

Another depressing feature is the general want of trained connoisseurs and critics at all centres of art in India, such as there are in Europe and America. This dearth of intelligent and responsible criticism and accurate appraisal of our contemporary painting and sculpture has lowered the quality and accomplishments in our modern artists, instead

of raising the standards of their work on paths of new development. Related to this want of accurate assessment of present-day productions of art is the incessant exhibitions of modern works, both in India and abroad, and the *diplomatic* rather than artistic use of our products on the basis of a genuine thirst for art on the part of the general public. Various second-rate and third-rate paintings have been sent to the UNESCO Exhibitions and also to decorate the rooms of our Embassies abroad. In choosing these exhibits, to meet a hurried demand, it has not been possible to select the best artists, and not even the best works of the mediocre ones. In this way the success of less deserving works has demoralized the productions of the really talented ones and led to a general lowering of standards. "The bad coin, in many instances, is driving out the good."

The general tendencies of the modern artists, in nearly all the centres, are to imitate the technique, conventions and formulas of the Modernists of Europe, almost ignoring the manners and methods of the indigenous language of Indian pictorial art, so that the old query put nearly a century ago by a French critic is still crying for an answer: "Art in India, should it be *Indian* or should it not be so?"

By the courtesy of the All-India Radio, Patna.

—:O:—

FIELD SONGS OF THE WESTERN RANCHI DISTRICT

By PROF. GAUTAMSANKAR RAY, M.Sc.

THE Western portion of Ranchi district in the State of Bihar may be said to be the present-day homeland of the Oraons. They are one of the artistic tribes of India. The late S. C. Roy of Ranchi has dealt in details regarding these people in two excellent monographs: (1) *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, and (2) *The Oraon Religion and Customs*. The Oraons possess wonderful aesthetic sense. But unfortunately their artistic abilities, their aesthetic sense are rapidly decaying on account of poverty and the infiltration of cheap amenities of modern civilization. They are an agricultural people. But due to heavy pressure on land a large number of these people have migrated to different parts of India as labourers, especially in the tea-producing districts of Bengal and Assam. Still in the midst of many odds there are some remnants of their old tradition, their artistic sense, their great aptitude for songs and dances, their beautiful sense of decoration as they have not yet totally lost the charm of life. Even in the face of famine they do not show any sign of hopelessness, nor go out for begging like the non-tribal peasants of India, but collect different

kinds of edible roots and tubers or collect some kind of leaves which they eat after boiling from the neighbouring trees or forests, to appease their hunger and gather at the *akhras* (dancing grounds) in the evening to go on with their usual songs and dances. Another similarly ill-fated Adibasi group is the Kharias, who have some concentration in the southern part of this area. They have also maintained their cultural traditions to a certain extent up till now. Regarding the Kharias there is a monograph by the late S. C. Roy and R. C. Roy of Ranchi.

A cold war is going on between these simple folks of the soil and a group of economically superior people of the towns which is gradually eating at the root of their aesthetic life. It is high time for our social planners to see that the best elements of their culture are not lost. If we can preserve them, we shall be able to add some beautiful items in the high cultural tradition of India.

Songs and dances are the life centres of Tribal India. Among the Adibasis each and every ceremony or function is accompanied by songs and dances. But

FIELD SONGS OF THE WESTERN RANCHI DISTRICT



Oraon drummers



Palkot village



Oraon girls in dancing dress



An Oraon man going to the field

among the Oraons, songs and dances play such an important part that one can hardly realize it unless one lives for a few days among them. Here I have translated a few characteristic songs of the Oraons and the Kharias of the Western Ranchi District from my own collection. We have got two good collections of Oraon songs translated by W. G. Archer entitled: (1) *The Blue Grouse* and (2) *The Dove and the Leopard*. But as long as the Oraons are there, no collection of their songs is quite exhaustive; so I have ventured to collect more songs in course of my stay in that country. Archer has analysed the songs, specially with reference to symbolism and has classified them according to the different festivals or occasions on which they are sung. In this article, I have tried to explain the songs in the context of their tradition, life and customs. And moreover I have given some Oraon and Kharia songs in their respective languages as specimens, along with their translation in English. The words 'Oraon' or 'Kharia' within brackets at the end of each song indicate whether it is an Oraon or a Kharia song.

Towns are always attractive to villagers, not to say of simple Adibasis, most of whom live far away from any town. Ranchi is the only big town in the Oraon country which has many features of a modern town, especially its electricity. So to an Oraon villager who has seen Ranchi town at night:

Ranchi re Ranchi sahar Ranchi sahar jingor jingor
Haere Ranchi sahar jingor jingor
Mal eren pandru mal eren kheso Ranchi sahar
jingor jingor
Haere Ranchi sahar jingor jingor.
 —(Oraon—original)

When translated:

Ranchi town, Ranchi town, Ranchi town is
 shining
 Haere Ranchi town is shining!
 Can't see a red nor a white, Ranchi town is
 shining

Haere Ranchi town is shining!

For the sake of interest another Oraon song depicting perhaps daytime Ranchi may be quoted here from Archer's collection:

Haere
 Ranchi town
 Ranchi town
 Thronging with crowds.
 Red you will see
 White you will see
 Golas you will see
 Shops you will see
 Motors and rickshaws
 All you will see.

Golas=granaries for storing grain.

Just like a town a railway train seems attractive to the Adibasis, especially to the people from the southern part of the district, where there are no railways. Those who have seen a moving train describe it in the following words:

Hore gari dholta Hore gari cholta
Pohia pohia gari cholta
Tulungate loha tutahle timsongadah
Pohia pohia gari cholta.—(Kharia—original)

When rendered in English:

Hore! the train is running, Hore! the train
 is running

The train is running over the rails.
 It is made of iron, water and fire within,
 The train is running over the rails!

In the south-western Ranchi district there is a beautiful place known as Palkot. It is a pretty small town surrounded by hills, jungles and big ponds with lotuses. It was once the seat of the Raja of Chota Nagpur. Everything beautiful, everything good is associated with this place and the Raja's family. There are numerous songs depicting the beauty of this place or describing the culture and tradition of the Raja's family:

It is in Palkot *champa* flowers bloom,
 Fragrance of which has filled Nagpur.
 The daughter of King Indra is a good gardener,
 Sweet smell is coming from her garden.
 —(Oraon)

Champa= a fragrant yellow flower.

In Palkot town
 Water is lapping upon the side of the boat,
 Water is flashing
 Water is lapping upon the side of the boat.
 —(Oraon)

The Princess of Palkot is spinning very fine
 thread,
 Removing the seeds and spinning very fine
 thread,

As if stitching the sun and the moon to make
 a garland.—(Kharia)

And one from Archer's collection:

In Palkot town
 Is a bamboo fence,
 A fence to shield
 A grove of beans.

According to Archer 'beans' symbolises girls in many Oraon songs.

Orphans are indeed unhappy persons in any society. But in a tribal society, their fate is the most wretched of all. They cannot go on with their songs and dances or with their amorous life like other young fellows, as they are to spend much of their time in search of food and shelter. There are a large number of songs among many tribes which deal with the sorrows and miseries of an orphan, e.g.:

Kononjo ompai mahajo khiram
Har dea ing te ber langhay
Apainjo ombordoi ajongjo ombordoi
Har dea ing te ber langhay
Dadaingjo ombordoi ajingjo ombordoi
Har dea ing te ber langhay
Kulamjo ombordoi kulamdaijo ombordoi
Har dea ing te ber langhay.—(Kharia—original)

When translated:

Whether a small stream or a big one,
 Who will help me to cross it?

I have no father, I have no mother,
 Who will help me to cross it?
 There is no elder brother nor his wife,
 Who will help me to cross it?
 Not even a younger brother or a sister,
 Who will help me to cross it?
 My parents are dead, my house is empty,
 Oh my house is empty!
 My parents are dead, cattle are crying for
 thirst and hunger,
 Oh cattle are crying for thirst and hunger!
 —(Oraon)

For comparison, one Oraon song from Archer's collection and one Ho song from my collection* may be given here which will indicate where lies the sorrows of an orphan. The Oraon song from Archer's collection is:

While the father lived
 While the mother lived
 I played with a fan of gold
 I played with a fan of silver.
 The mother died
 The father died
 The golden fan is lost
 The silver fan is lost.
 Here a "fan" means a fan for winnowing.

And the Ho song is:

You have got a father,
 You have got a mother;
 You can spend your days
 Full of songs and dances.
 I have got no father,
 I have got no mother;
 How can I have songs and dances?
 And how can I think of love?

The Oraons are divided into a number of exogamous clans. The girls after marriage go to live with their husbands in their respective villages. It is very painful for the young men of a village to see beautiful girls of their own village going away:

Ningan koe pelo era era paraðkan
Bela benjorka bina ambon
Das lago bis lago
Bela benjorka bina ambon.—(Oraon—original)

In English:

You have grown up before my eyes, girl,
 I won't let you go I shall marry you.
 Whether it costs me ten or twenty,
 I won't let you go I shall marry you.
 O damsel, don't go to a foreign land,
 Famine is also there.
 Search your bread in this village,
 For famine is also there.—(Oraon)

The term "foreign land" is also used by the Oraons to mean Assam.

Generally the Adibasis are very conscious about their tradition and integrity:

Wherefrom the Kharia people have come
 And hoisted their flag in this new land?
 It is from the east the Kharia people have come
 And have hoisted their flag in this new land.
 —(Kharia)

Oh Raja of Barwe!
 How you have made friendship with the
 Europeans?

In the morning of *Sarhul*,
 How you have made friendship with the
 Europeans?—(Oraon)

"Sarhul"=name of a festival.

And one from Archer's collection is:

The flag of the tribe is flying,
 The war drum is sounding,
 They are coming in the morning,
Jhamar jhamar the bells sound.
 The following songs will show the nature and



An Oraon man

variety of some of the topics that these people select as their subject-matter:

Oh such a big palace! where is the king?
 The queen is crying from room to room.
 Just as the dry leaves fall away,
 So also the king has gone away.—(Oraon)
 Ho hore! what a love in the foreign land,
 maina,

What a love in the foreign land?
 Ho hore! what a love in the foreign land,
 maina,

What a love in the foreign land?—(Oraon)
 According to Archer, "maina" or starling in Oraon songs is a symbol for a girl.

A sage has come on the river side,
 Let's go and hear some preachings.
 The river has swollen, the boat is far away,
 How to go there and hear his teachings?
 —(Kharia).

* See *Man in India*, Vol. 29, Nos. 3 & 4.

Is it not due to Hindu influence?

Whether this beautiful girl is married or not,
If I get her I shall take her to Assam.
When given water she will wash her feet,
When requested she will take her seat,
When offered food she will cook it,
When turned out she will go away,
If I get her I shall take her to Assam.

—(Oraon)

In many cases where a man cannot marry a girl of his choice due to lack of social sanction, he generally elopes with her and takes shelter in the tea gardens of Assam where both work as labourers and



Two Kharia men

live a conjugal life. After earning some money they come back and pay a fine imposed by the village council and are again admitted into their society and nobody bothers about the marriage.

*Ne khadro karanjo jabdar
Karanjo pupa khatera lagi
Bhala karanjo pupa khatera lagi
Babu tambas karanjo jabdas
Maiya tangio pesage kali
Bhala maiya tangio pesage kali.*

—(Oraon—original)

When translated:

Who is shaking the karanj tree?
See, the karanj flowers are falling below,
See, the karanj flowers are falling below,
The boy's father is shaking the tree
And the girl's mother is going to pick up,
See, the girl's mother is going to pick up.

"Karanj"—a kind of tree, from its fruits a variety of oil is extracted and used for various purposes. Is there any symbolism in this song representing the sex-relation between husband and wife?

Bapre! it is for my father's debt,
The sepoy is on the door.
Wait a bit! let me see the papers.
Then I shall repay his loans.—(Kharia)

Those who have come in contact with the Adibasis know how the moneylenders from towns cheat these simple folks.

The girl with yellow dress is under the *kadam* tree,

Golden ornaments are shining on her ears,
See, golden ornaments are shining on her ears.
Father-in-law has given gold, brother-in-law

has given silver
See, golden ornaments are shining on her ears.
—(Oraon)

"Kadam"—a kind of tree.

*Khare khare nu nim chandra ful koe
Khare khare nu lal guranda
Mahato pelar hi nim chandra ful koe
Mahato jokhar hi lal guranda.*

—(Oraon—original)

In English:

On the river side there are beautiful *nim* flowers, O girl,
On the river side there are red *guranda* creepers.
The daughters of *Mahato* are the sweet *nim* flowers, O girl,
The sons of *Mahato* are the red *guranda* creepers.

"Nim"—a kind of tree; "Guranda"—a kind of parasitic creeper; "Mahato"—village headman.
O weaver! O weaver!
You have sown paddy in your kitchen garden!
No corn has come out nor has it ripened
And you are beating your wife.—(Kharia)

Compare with the common sayings among the Hindus regarding the foolishness of the weaver caste.

Ho hore! I can't make a leaf cup,
I try my best but it turns bad.
Coming from the field he has beaten me.
Kindly see! I can't make a leaf cup.—(Oraon).

Leaf cups serve important purposes in the material life of the Adibasis. These are used for various purposes but especially they are used for serving rice beer, their chief drink and food.

Their girls have gone to steal *dimbo*
Our girls are still in the bed.
Hoo! it's sweet to steal *dimbo*
Though a fine is to be paid.—(Oraon)

"Dimbo"—a kind of fruit.

Father has prepared the field,
Brother has bought the seeds,
O father! who will take it away,
Haere! who will take it away?
Let it cost thousands of rupees,
O father! who will take it away?
Haere! who will take it away?—(Oraon)

ROBERT LEE FROST

When the clouds will thunder, old lady,
Take *serega* take it after boiling.
When the storm will come and the rain will fall,
Take *serega* take it after boiling.—(Kharia)

"Serega"—fruit of *sal* tree.

Which flowers you have put on thy hair,
Swinging and coming, twinkling like a star.
Aiho, swinging and coming, twinkling like a star.

—O:—

Tilay flowers you have put on the hair,
Swinging and coming, twinkling like a star.
—(Oraon).

"Tilay"—perhaps *sesamum* flowers.

This particular song has a wide range of circulation. It is sung at different parts of this country in different forms without a major change in the meaning.

ROBERT LEE FROST: America's Poet of the Common Man

By CHARLOTTE REIN

The language of the poetry of Robert Frost, called affectionately the dean of American poets, is that of the common man. His poems are flavoured strongly with the salty idioms of the north-eastern corner of the United States known as New England, where he has spent the greater part of his seventy-seven years. But even a cursory reading of the poems would show that much of their force and beauty come from the universal truth that the poet develops out of situations and people that are apparently commonplace and prosaic.

Frost dislikes the description "dialect poet" that is sometimes applied to him. He said once:

"It was never my aim to keep to any speech, unlitrary, vernacular or slang. What I have been after from the first is tones of voice. I have counted on doubling my meaning with them."

One can find this double meaning throughout his poetry and philosophy of life. Without appearing to have been put there by the poet, it is left to the reader to discover the same in some quiet observation or anecdote.

Incidentally, this double meaning is often revealed as a paradox, another of the poet's favourite themes. The ironical contradictions in men and in nature have a fascination for the poet and are laid bare in his longer poems. In his "Mending Wall," we find that the desire of a man to be on good terms with his neighbour clashes with his anxiety to have a wall or fence round his house; in "The Road Not Taken," it is the pursuit of one goal that calls for the abandonment of another; in "Stopping By The Woods On A Snowy Evening" a man's dreamy solitude is interrupted by the call of social duties.

One of Frost's critics remarks:

"His wonderful dramatic monologues and scenes come out of a knowledge of people that few poets ever had, and they are written in a

verse that uses with absolute mastery the rhythm of the actual speech."

Truly, Robert Frost has the ability to create profound and lyrical poetry out of the commonness of daily life in the unadorned language of the farmer



Robert Lee Frost

and the mechanic. He is also one of the few American poets who combines playfulness with deep thought, and humour with seriousness. Beneath the casual tone of Frost's poems, lie teasing humour and searching philosophy.

Born in San Francisco on March 12, 1875 of

long line of New Englanders, Robert lost his father, a newspaper editor, ten years later. His mother, a teacher, took him to Lawrence, Massachusetts, to live with his paternal grandfather. While at high school there, Robert began to write poetry. After graduation, he entered Dartmouth College in 1892, but not liking the place he left it a few months later. He taught for a while in his mother's little school, went on a hiking tour of the southern states and did odd jobs which included working in a New Hampshire shoe-shop and a woollen mill. He was writing poems all the while; most of them were rejected by the leading magazine editors to whom he sent them. The first of them to appear in a periodical of national circulation, was "My Butterfly—An Elegy" published in the *Independent* on November 8, 1894.

At the age of twenty, the poet married Elinor Miriam White who remained his critic and inspiration till she died 43 years afterwards. After his marriage, Frost went on doing odd jobs. For a while, he edited a weekly paper and later, in 1897, entered Harvard University to study classics. After two years there, he left Harvard without a degree.

Next, he took up farming on a lonely farm in Derry, New Hampshire, and went on writing poetry. After six years of struggle, his poetry drew the attention of the authorities of the Pinkerton Academy in Derry. In 1906, he accepted their offer of a teachership in English and dramatics. For three years, the poet taught while farming but, finally, he gave his full time to teaching. After two years as teacher of psychology at the State Normal School, he left for England in 1912 on the advice of his wife. In the meantime, the Frost family had grown—of the five children born, three are now dead.

In England, while the family lived in a small cottage in Beaconsfield, Robert Frost met other poets—Rupert Brooke, Lascelles, Abercrombie, Wilfrid Gibson and Edward Thomas. Discussions on the forms, technique and purpose of poetry were frequent in the circle in which he found himself. In 1913, a collection of his poems was published under the title *A Boy's Will*. Containing poems in esta-

blished lyric forms with conventional line, stanza and rhyme arrangements, the collection was received enthusiastically on both sides of the Atlantic. A reviewer wrote:

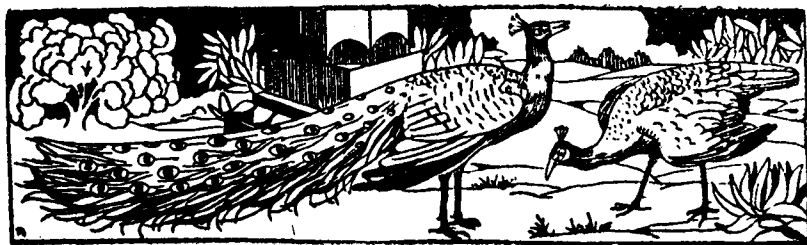
"We have not the slightest idea who Mr. Robert Frost may be, but we welcome him unhesitatingly into the ranks of the poets born."

Frost's second book of poems, entitled *North Of Boston* came out in 1914. The poems which were in blank verse, included some of the best known, such as "Mending Wall" and "Death Of The Hired Man."

On his return to the United States in 1915, he was hailed as the leader of the "new era in American poetry." His simple lyrics, his sympathy and his humour received great praise. Since then, while Robert Frost goes on writing poetry, honours have been showered on him as perhaps on no other poet in his country. They include the coveted Pulitzer Prize on four occasions (1924, 1931, 1937 and 1943), the first Russel Loines Memorial Poetry Prize of 1931 awarded by the National Institute of Arts and Letters, seventeen honorary degrees from as many universities and colleges including Harvard and Dartmouth. For his 600-page *Complete Poems* published in 1949, he was awarded the Gold Medal of the Limited Exhibitions Club.

Robert Frost, the poet, retains his love for farming and teaching. During the summer, he lives in a small cabin on a 300-acre farm in Vermont. He moves to his house in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in October and lectures in Amherst College for two months during the winter. He also accepts teaching arrangements when they do not interfere with other works. Frost's only play, *A Way Out*, was well received in 1917 and was produced at the Academy of Music at Northampton, Massachusetts, two years later.

The position of the 77-year old Robert Frost as one of the most remarkable figures in contemporary American poetry is beyond question. He has, indeed, become an American institution.



PROGRESS OF THE DAMODAR VALLEY SCHEME

The two major River Valley Schemes, Hirakud and the Damodar Valley are again under fire, this year from the opposition. Dr. Meghnad Saha has made some trenchant criticisms, the main point being inefficiency and wastage of money. Last year the attack was concentrated on the Damodar Valley, and was inspired by a group of officials who wanted to get control of the scheme for obvious reasons. Hirakud was under official control and so they kept silent on the details of its working. This year the opposition has spot-lighted both with the same accusations.



Tilaiya Dam. View across axis, Jan. 1952

Very little publicity has been given about the officially controlled schemes at Bhakra-Nangal and Hirakud. Money has been—and is being—poured in torrents on both and no progress reports have been issued to the public, which seems to be rather curious.

We hold no brief for the Damodar Valley Corporation. Indeed, on the contrary. We were not at all satisfied either with the control or with some of the staff, at the beginning, and even today we are suspicious and dissatisfied about the working of the controls. The Commissioners were not all well chosen and the necessary drive and keen supervision seem to be lacking at every step. Work at Maithon was started late and the expected progress could not be made before the rains and the consequent floods stopped the work. The same is the case everywhere and therefore there is a time-lag beyond justification resulting in some considerable waste. It seems to us that if the D.V.C. is expanded slightly by the addition of one or two capable Commissioners, and an advisory committee on proper lines linked with it, then the additional expense would be more than justified by the saving in time, which means money in crores in this case.

But all the same it must be conceded that there is no hide and seek about the D.V.C., either at the top or broadly along its working, as in the case of the officially controlled schemes. We are not trying to justify all expense nor are we asking for the total exoneration from the charge of inefficiency. What we do emphatically state is that whatever be the state of affairs there is no deliberate attempt on the part of the Corporation to draw a screen over it. Ample publicity is given to the working of the scheme, in all its details and it is open to the public for criticism either way.

We have before us the latest brochure on the progress of the Project over three years and a half, extracts and illustrations from which are given *infra*. The details and the progress of the power grid has been omitted because as yet it is not functioning directly from the D.V.C.

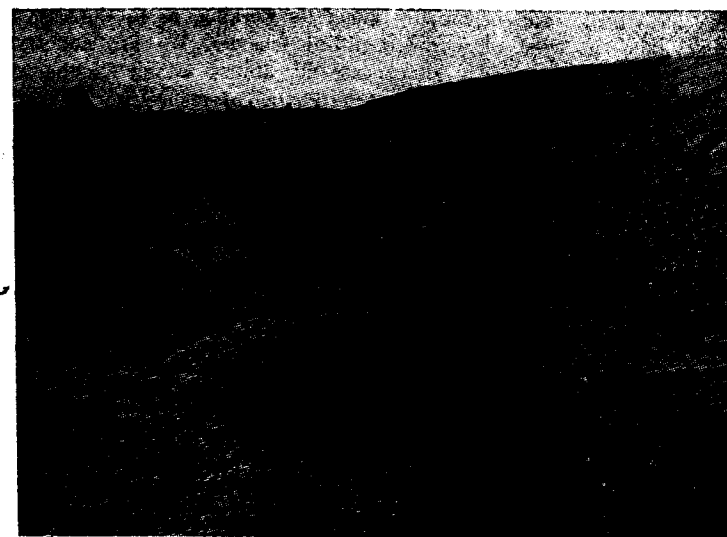
It might be mentioned in passing, for the information of those who missed our full description of the Project in one of our last year's issues, that it is a comprehensive multi-purpose project, modelled on the Tennessee Valley Authority. Flood-control, Irrigation, Power-production and Navigation are the main objectives. Subsidiary objectives on the programme, like soil-conservation, water-supply for domestic and industrial use, fishery development, anti-malarial campaigns and planning of cottage industries and small



Bokaro Thermal Project. July 1951

and medium industries, which would help in decentralisation of the metropolitan population, are also the statutory responsibility of the Corporation.

The latest brochure on the progress of the Project gives us a *coup d'oeil* over the entire scheme. We append extracts, which would help our readers to form an opinion on the matter :



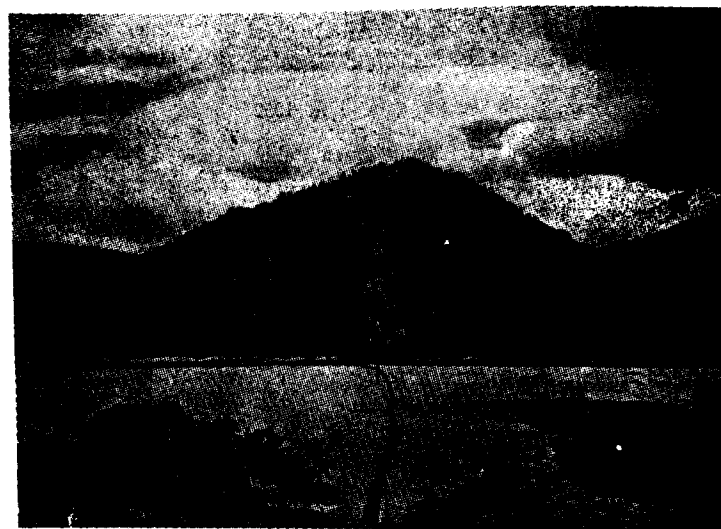
Konar Project. Progress in Jan. 1952

"Of the seven multi-purpose dams included in the Damodar Scheme, three have been reserved for later construction, and while all of them together will safeguard the valley from floods of the magnitude of a million cusecs, the four due for completion between this year and 1955 will afford full protection against the highest flood hitherto recorded. The erection of three hydro-electric plants associated with the three dams of the Second Phase has also been postponed for the present, and one unit of 50,000 KW is not being put in just now at the Bokaro Steam Power Station which is designed for an installed capacity of 200,000 KW to even out the seasonal variation of hydro-electricity.

"When this additional power, both hydro and thermal, becomes available the D.V.C. grid will certainly need further expansion; but the high-voltage transmission system, which is being erected now as part of the Corporation's First Phase Programme, is four times more enlarged than was originally contemplated. Similarly, the area under

perennial irrigation has become extended by 80 per cent, and the million acres in the Lower Valley which will enjoy this benefit will do so as soon as the First Phase is finished. Of the 1,500 miles of canals and distributaries to be fed by the Durgapur barrage, 83 miles will be navigable, as was initially proposed, and the extra capacity of 50,000 KW which Bokaro will ultimately possess is also a supplement."

"*Tilaiya Project* : Completed towards the end of 1949, the construction camp at Tilaiya consists of about 100 buildings of various types, and is provided with modern sanitation, medical facilities, filtered water and electricity from a diesel-operated power house which also supplies the mica mines and the town of Kodarma and Hazaribagh. The dispensary has since May, 1949, treated about 45,000 cases, among whom the local villagers predominate. The construction of this all-concrete dam began in January, 1950, and it is scheduled to be ready in 1952. The hydro-electric



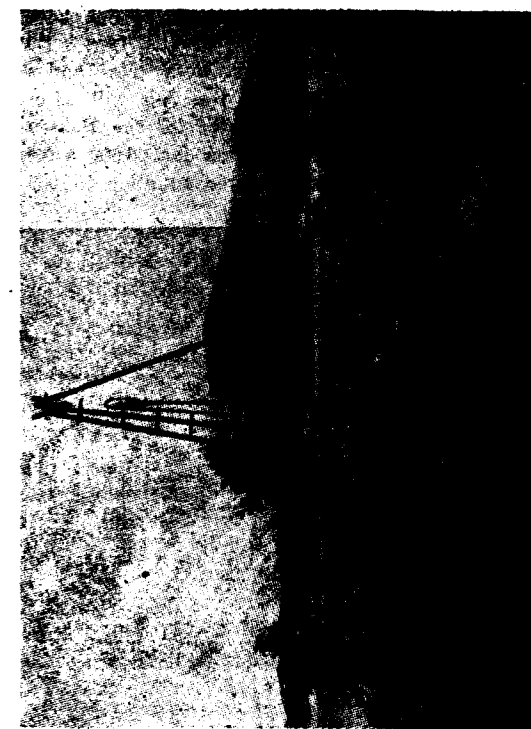
Maithon Dam site. Centre line

station will start functioning somewhat later. The water released from the reservoir will provide Rabi irrigation for 75,000 acres and Kharif irrigation for 24,000 acres, totalling 99,000 acres, a year. The hydro electric generation is computed at 22,770,000 kilowatt hours per annum. The dam will also contribute to moderation of floods in the Lower Valley."

PROGRESS OF THE DAMODAR VALLEY SCHEME



Chinese paddy on conserved waste land



Panchet Hill Project. Drilling at site



Soil Erosion near Hazaribagh



Soil conservation contour ploughing

"Konar Project : The second of the four dams included in the First Phase Programme of the Corporation, Konar is of the concrete gravity type with continuous earth embankments on both sides and a saddle dike. The release from the reservoir will, after supplying 400 cusecs of cooling water for the Bokaro power house, provide Rabi irrigation for 68,000 acres and Kharif irrigation for 36,000 acres, totalling 104,000



Bokaro Project. First Stator in sites. Jan. 1952

acres annually. The hydro-electric generation from the 40,000 KW plant has been computed at 191,000,000 kilowatt hours per annum. The construction of the dam began in the middle of 1950, and though the pace at the start was a trifle slow, work is at present proceeding satisfactorily on both the concrete and the earthen section. By mid-1952, the dam should develop sufficient storage to meet the needs of Bokaro, and its completion is scheduled to coincide with the 1953 monsoon. The Konar camp consists of 210 buildings of all types, and possesses full facilities. The area was notoriously malarious; but as the result of vigorous anti-malarial measures carried out during the last two seasons, it is now completely free from the scourge. The dispensary has hitherto treated about 40,000 persons including neighbouring villagers."

"Maithon Project : Maithon, the third of the First Phase dams, is designed primarily for flood control. Scheduled for completion by 1954, it is being constructed departmentally. The dam will be a com-

posite structure—partly concrete and partly earthen, and the attached generating station, with an installed capacity of 40,000 KW, will produce 164,000,000 kilowatt hours of hydro-electricity, while irrigation will be provided for 270,000 acres in the Lower Valley. As is in keeping with a project of such magnitude, Maithon is the largest of the Corporation's construction camps and contains over 325 buildings of all kinds. The available facilities are appropriate for a modern township, and include a primary school and a well-equipped dispensary where, since July, 1949, about 35,000 persons, with a good proportion of outsiders, have been treated. Its central situation makes Maithon the natural site for the D.V.C.'s Soils Laboratory, Timber and Mechanical Workshops and various other stores and godowns. The main distributing centre for the Sindri power is also located there, as is the headquarters of the Transmission Division, and to remain in step with the rising tempo of dam construction, the camp is still expanding itself."

"Panchet Hill Project : The last of the D.V.C. dams on the Damodar, Panchet Hill, like its counter-



Soil Conservation Laboratory. Crop tests

part, Maithon, on the Barakar, is primarily concerned with flood control, and the two together, with some help from the upper reservoirs, will give the Lower Valley full protection against the worst floods hitherto recorded. In design, too, Panchet will be similar to Maithon, and while 100,000,000 kilowatt hours of hydro-electric energy will be generated by its 40,000 KW plant, the area it will service with perennial irrigation will be 683,850 acres as against 270,000 acres to be benefited from Maithon. With the completion

ABANINDRA NATH TAGORE : HIS EARLY WORK

f Panchet in 1955, the First Phase Programme of the Corporation will come to an end. The preliminary designs of the dam are ready, and preparations are well advanced for beginning its construction in 1953 when advantage can be taken of the equipment that it then will become surplus at Maithon."

"Bokaro Project : The Bokaro Thermal Power Station will be the biggest single plant of its kind hitherto erected in India. The power house is designed for an ultimate installed capacity of 200,000 KW; but the fourth unit of 50,000 KW is not being put in just now. The plant will use low-grade coal drawn from the Corporation's own mines situated about five miles away, and conveyed by an aerial ropeway, so as to minimize the cost of transport. The pooling water will come from the Konar dam 12 miles upstream; and efficient local storage will be ensured by a solid concrete barrage, with lift gates, near the power house. Containing more than 270 buildings of various types, a township suitable for 1,500 persons has been built at the worksite to house initially the construction staff and later the operating personnel. It is provided with all modern facilities including a post office, a school and a hospital where over 52,000 cases, both inmates of the camp and villagers from outside, have received treatment since June, 1949. Plant and equipment for Bokaro were ordered at the end of February, 1949, and

work on the power station proper started a year later. The first unit of 50,000 KW will be in operation by August, 1952, and the remaining two at intervals of two months thereafter."

"Soil Conservation : Afforestation and control of erosion are among the statutory duties of the Corporation which is also responsible for promotion of public health and the agricultural, industrial, economic and general well-being of the Damodar Valley. But no river valley project can, in any case, neglect soil conservation if large storage dams are to be prevented from premature silting. In the headwaters of the Damodar conservation measures are particularly necessary, as for years forests have been cut down recklessly, and overgrazing has left the slopes so bare of vegetable cover that rains cannot but wash away the soil. Moreover, the Corporation must reclaim waste land for relocation of the displaced population, and unless scientific methods are used in cultivating the new fields, they will revert to the desert. Thus the Corporation's Soil Conservation department is engaged simultaneously in mechanized reclamation as well as in land-use experiments, and while 5,000 acres of wilderness have already been restored to fertility, new crops and grasses as also various improvements in the existing agricultural practices are being tried out to ensure continued productivity of the land."

—O—

ABANINDRANATH TAGORE : HIS EARLY WORK*

By S. K. SARASWATI

ACHARYA ABANINDRANATH TAGORE occupied a unique and significant position in the history of art movement in modern India. At a time when Indian art had degenerated almost to the point of extinction, stifled by the prevailing distaste of the so-called cultured class, under the influence of the ignorant superior attitude of the ruling community for things Indian; when artistic activities in India consisted of debased copies of third-rate Western art, Abanindranath, by an inner aesthetic urge, tried to break new ground and evolved a style which, though based on older Indian art traditions, was at once individualistic and distinctive of his own genius. He was a pioneer and a path-finder and to him goes the credit of raising Indian art from the rut in which it had unfortunately fallen and of inaugurating a movement that augured tremendous possibilities. The achievement of Abanindranath consists not only in what he himself did but also in what he signified.

* *Abanindranath Tagore : His Early Work* : Edited by Ramendranath Chakravarti. Art Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Paper Rs. 12. Cloth Rs. 18.

An aristocrat by birth and an aesthete by temperament, Abanindranath took to art early in his life. He had his lessons in the technique of Western painting under two distinguished European painters, Sig. O. Ghilardi and Mr. Charles Palmer. The rigid technique of European painting, however, did not satisfy his aesthetic sense and imagination, and an inner urge led him to produce a few miniatures, based on the *Krishna-Lila*, which evoked unstinted appreciation from Mr. Palmer as having a new and distinctive character. Mr. Palmer encouraged him to proceed in the line that he had found for himself and to produce more works of a similar nature. Abanindranath's career in European art ended with this advice and he turned to the rich heritage in Indian art to find out his role.

The *Krishna-Lila* series, done in the nineties of the last century, thus turned to be a significant landmark, not only in the career of Abanindranath but in the history of modern Indian art as well. It was while doing this series that he discovered his *metier* and a sense of approach to his true vocation. "A

perfect identity," said the artist, "was established between myself and my theme," and it is this identity which, according to the Indian ideal, goes to the making of a great artist and of a supreme creation of art. The intellectual and imaginative function, the keynote of Indian and Oriental aesthetic concept, was re-discovered and with this recovery starts a new epoch—the epoch of neo-Indian art movement.



Siddhas of the Upper Air

In an interview with Mlle. Juel Madsen Abanindranath spoke of the artist as having four pairs of eyes—a pair like those of the ordinary man to see, the second pair which enable him not only to see, but also to remember the shape and form of things seen and to reproduce them, the third pair that lead him to go deeper into the meaning of the things, and the fourth, the eyes of imagination, which give him the power to see things unseen in nature and to create forms which are never found in nature. The fourth pair, which he calls the eyes of the soul, constitute the most power-

ful factor in the making of an artist. The second and the third constitute his intellectual equipment. An artist, deserving the name, must have these additional pairs of eyes to enable him to fulfil truly his vocation in life.

Abanindranath felt the formal and realistic concept of Western art to be an obstacle to the intellectual and imaginative function of art and it is this feeling which led him to seek new grounds and new lines of inspiration. He delved deep into the past heritage of Indian artistic and literary traditions. His quest was not confined to India alone, but was extended far beyond, to Persia on the one hand and to Japan on the other. He effected a fusion of the Occidental and the Oriental techniques, without any detriment to the character of the Indian art tradition, and evolved a new style of painting, entirely a creation of his for the expression of his own ideas and in fulfilment of his own aesthetic impulse. It is this signal achievement of Abanindranath that lay at the root of what is known as the Renaissance movement in Indian art.

The unique personality and genius of Abanindranath brought about this re-orientation and it is worth our while to get familiar with his early productions. The Art Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has done a distinct service by bringing out an album of thirteen of his early paintings from among the specimens preserved in its gallery. The album is accompanied by short informative articles on Abanindranath and his work by Srijiut Nandalal Bose, Srijiut O. C. Gangoly, Prof. Stella Kramrisch and Srijiut Benodebehari Mukherji. Srijiut Nandalal Bose, the

foremost of the master's pupils, speaks of the emotional significance of the paintings and shows how the heart of the master "seeks to pierce through the veil of technique in order to reveal in art the fullest expression of emotion and love." Srijiut O. C. Gangoly, the celebrated art-critic and historian, stresses on Abanindranath's power of assimilating methods and manners which, by a mysterious fusion of both eastern and western points of view, created a new language of Indian painting and brought to old Indian thought new forms of beauty and new forms of expression.

PANORAMA OF HISTORY IN AN AMERICAN MUSEUM

60

Descriptive texts explaining and elucidating the paintings are also from his pen. Srijiut Benodebehari Mukherji studies the master's work in the light of contemporary art and analyses his style, lest we should forget in our enthusiasm for him as the 'father of modern Indian art,' as not belonging to any specific tradition, but as absolutely his own. The genius of Abanindranath needs no appreciative introduction; but a balanced analysis of his early works enables us to understand the manifold forces and factors that moulded the master's career and to correctly appraise the new movement of which he was the creator.

The thirteen paintings, reproduced in this album, "mark the turning away from the Western styles in India to the heritage of the country." Their publication in a decent form, as the present album is, is certainly of considerable historical interest. It may be contended that Abanindranath's mature painting is rather different from most of the paintings in this collection. But this does not minimise the value and importance of his early works. Not only are they of immense historical significance, but aesthetically too they are far superior to the contemporary productions that went by the name of art. They are pictorial records of the artist's pioneer attempts to recover the lost language of Indian art, the earliest beginnings of a splendid career of art. In these early gropings one discovers, in no uncertain manner, not only the new language, but also an art of rare charm and distinction. They belong to the beginning of the creative phase in the master's career and the qualities that characterise his style, are already there. In spite of their being experiments in diverse methods, manners

and techniques, the style is already distinctive and the atmosphere replete with Indian flavour. They indicate unhampered liberty in expressing race and feeling. To quote Gangoly:

"The leading traits of his wonderful miniatures are an intensely romantic and lyrical quality and a dreamy and mystic treatment of his subjects which lift them to a far higher level than the plane of merely literal naturalism."

It is from these early and simple beginnings that Abanindranath developed into the "wizard of form and colour."

The album is very nicely produced, in text as well as in colour-plates, in spite of so many handicaps to good printing now-a-days. It is very difficult to convey fully the fine and subtle lines and the mysterious colour-scheme, that characterise the work of the master, in colour halftone reproductions. The plates, reproduced here, however, approach the originals with a considerable degree of accuracy, resulting, no doubt, from a happy co-operation between the editor and the printer. Himself a reputed artist, the editor deserves congratulations for placing this beautiful album before the public.

To conclude, we cannot but reiterate again the achievement of Abanindranath in the words of Prof. Stella Kramrisch:

"Abanindranath Tagore averted his mind from imposed standards. Aristocrat and connoisseur, he assimilated the forms of the past and those around him to the sensibility of his living self, in the morning twilight of a beginning."

And that beginning was of the modern Indian art which has, during the last half a century, reaped a good and rich harvest.

—:O:—

PANORAMA OF HISTORY IN AN AMERICAN MUSEUM

By JOE M. CLARK

The history of a region and its people is depicted in the exhibits on display in the State museum of New Mexico at Santa Fe, a city almost three and a half centuries old in the American Southwest.

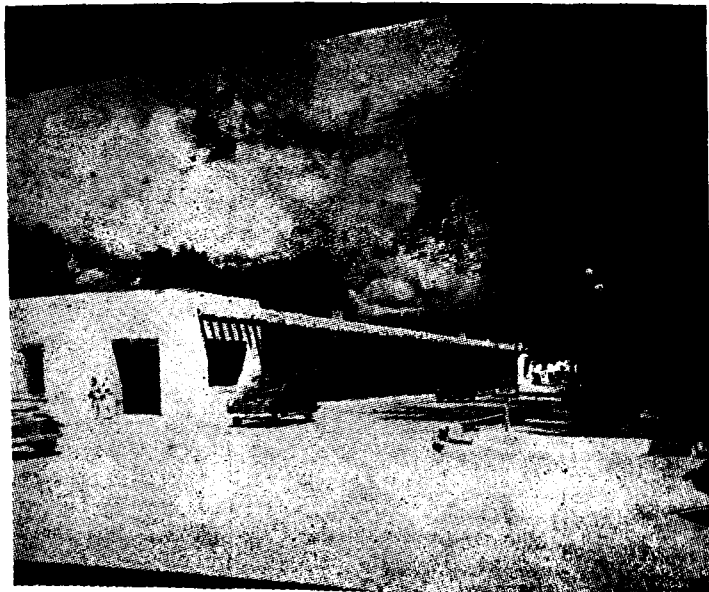
The museum contains a fascinating assortment of primitive tools, weapons, household articles, and artifacts which made living possible and pleasant both for the American Indian residents of the area and for the non-Indian explorers and settlers who first arrived there late in the sixteenth century. The early Spanish explorers began the colonization of New Mexico in 1598, or 22 years before the early English settlers landed on the Atlantic Coast of the new continent.

The museum itself is housed in a building first used as the capitol of the colony of New Mexico in 1610. That was more than two centuries before the area became a Territory of the United States, and more than 300 years before it became the forty-seventh State in 1912.

The long, low structure, simple yet impressive, forms one side of the historic plaza which marked the end of the Santa Fe Trail, historic wagon travel route from the State of Missouri to New Mexico before the railroad was built. The building is still known, popularly and officially, as the "Palace of the Governors" and is the oldest public building in the United States.

More than 100,000 visitors now enter the museum each

year to view the colorful exhibits there, and many of these thousand years ago. Some authorities put the time as persons return again and again. Obviously, many find much as 5,000 to 15,000 years ago.



The oldest public building in the U.S.A. This adobe (sun-dried brick) structure at Santa Fe, capital of New Mexico, now houses a museum. It was erected by Spanish settlers as a provincial capitol in 1610.

the past intriguing and here one may see glimpses of mankind's past with clarity.

The visitor plunges further and further into the past history of human life in this region as he winds his way through this fascinating museum. The centuries pass quickly, and the 250 years of Spanish rule seem brief indeed as the visitor examines mementos and handcrafts of the ancient Indians who raised grain and vegetables in the valleys of New Mexico, and who with spears and arrows hunted game in the nearby foothills, centuries before the Spanish conquistadores arrived in a hapless search for gold.

These aboriginal exhibits in the old "Palace" at Santa Fe are rated among the best extant. Some of the collections, started many decades ago, today offer a treasure of information for those interested in life in the long-ago in North America.

Authentic evidence has been found indicating that stone-age hunters visited what is now New Mexico several times as large as a standard modern brick—to facilitate erection and improve construction. (The same kind of

All exhibits on display in the museum, however, are dated since the beginning of the Christian era. And here it is clearly apparent that mankind has progressed far during these past 1900 years. This progress is shown in particular in the development of housing. Many of the early forebears of New Mexico's present-day American Indians lived principally in natural caves and crude shelters which they built with fallen logs and brush.

As time passed, others learned to utilize rocks in the construction of walls, using adobe, or sun-dried clay, as mortar. Adobe made with the clay found in certain sections of New Mexico proved so satisfactory for this purpose, that it came to be used almost exclusively in the erection of thick walls, much as cement is used today.

A further refinement in the use of adobe as a building material was introduced in this region by the early Spanish settlers. They taught the Indians how to mold and sun-dry adobe blocks of convenient size—about four



This building, patterned along the lines of an American Indian pueblo (communal dwelling), houses the art-gallery and auditorium of the State Museum of New Mexico.

PANORAMA OF HISTORY IN AN AMERICAN MUSEUM

blocks is still used in the construction of hundreds of homes each year in New Mexico.)

This evolution in the housing of the people of the State is traced in exhibits at the museum. New Mexico now has some 50,000 American Indians, occupying 22 areas which they own. These areas include 18 pueblos or

travel routes in New Mexico before the advent of the railroads, and both have colorful histories.

The story of the "Palace of the Governors" itself is interesting. Its use has ranged from colonial capitol to stable and back again in its 300-year existence. The flags of Spain, Mexico, and the Confederate States of



This realistic and authentic model in the State Museum of New Mexico illustrates the life in an American Indian village over 100 years ago.

communal villages. Most of the Indians have been prompt to adopt methods or materials which promise to improve their pattern of living without altering it to any major extent. This is shown in the exhibits in the Hall of Ethnology, an adjunct to the museum, concerned with Indian origins, characteristics, arts, and customs.

Many visitors to the museum remember best the two old stagecoaches on display in the large grass-covered patio. Both of these vehicles were in service on regular

America (the States whose secession brought about the American War between the States) as well as the flag of the United States, have flown over it.

Obviously this is no ordinary museum. Here the history of a region and of a people unfolds. Here are exhibits to interest everyone, from school-children to historians, who make up the 100,000 persons who visit it each year.—From *The Highway Traveler*.



POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA

By PRAKASH CHANDRA SAXENA, M.A.

THE Hindu concept of *dharma*, as is well known, is all-embracing and all-comprehensive. No branch of activity, no walk of life is such that it may be thought exempt from its claims. For every act, howsoever humble or seemingly insignificant, there is a right and a wrong way of performing it. On the field of Kurukshetra Arjuna asks the Lord:

Sthitapragasya ka bhasha somadhisthasya Keshava; Sthitadhih kimprabhasheta kimasta vrajeta kim?

Obviously even the most insignificant acts of the enlightened soul are different from those of others.

It is not therefore surprising—indeed it is only to be expected—that there is no branch of life howsoever secular-seeming, that in Hindu thought has not been coloured by the spiritual outlook that is the main characteristic of Hinduism. This is as it should be—for it is only when the fundamental approaches of a society or people in different spheres of life be identical or similar, that there is harmony and smooth-working of the social and political machine. Hindu political thought, for example, drew its inspiration and energy from the fountain-springs of religious thought as expounded by the venerable ancient seers. This naturally led to a close harmony between the spheres temporal and spiritual, ecclesiastical and secular—and thus the horrors of European Mediaeval Church-State conflict were entirely averted.

Of course, this led to the predominance of Church over State in Hindu States, in other words all affairs spiritual were given prime importance over affairs secular, but this as we shall see was not a bad thing. Emphasis on worldly matters is a characteristic of a materialistic outlook on the universe which results in fratricidal and suicidal wars, suspicion, distrust and hatred as in the world today. It was not because of religious fanaticism that the Hindus of ancient India subordinated the State to Religion but because they felt that the State, as all other things, is important only so far as it is contributory to the spiritual evolution of man and his attainment of the four treasures—*Dharma, Artha, Kama* and *Moksha*.

Unfortunately, superficial observers have misunderstood this. Their opinions have misguided the world into thinking that the Hindus never developed so-called secular arts and sciences and were extremely backward in worldly affairs. Says Prof. Dunning in his *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediaeval*:

"The Oriental Aryans never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded today."

Or as Max Muller says:

"Religion and philosophy formed the only sphere where the Indian mind found itself at liberty to act, to create and to worship."

Or Willoughby:

"To the early Eastern mind the fact that a thing existed was sufficient of itself to show its right to be. Thus was effectually excluded all possibility of enquiries as to the relative perfection or justification for the existence of *de facto* social and political speculation."

The last assertion is so sweeping and condemnatory that it is obvious that the author knew nothing of the ancient classification of sciences and arts by the Hindus. According to it, the primary *vidyas* or sciences are 32 and the primary *kalas* are 64. Of the 32 sciences *Arthashastra* or *Dandaniti-Politics* is one. Two others were *Anvikshiki* (Metaphysics) and *Trayi* (Theology), which shows that politics was dealt with apart from the other two.

Sukracharya in his *Sukraniti* held that *Arthashastra* included both Politics and Economics, but the main body of thinkers sharply differentiated the two. The respective schools of Manu, Brihaspati and Usanas all disagreed with Sukra in this.

Thus the Hindus, while entirely separating politics from other sciences still gave it a religious basis due to their inherent tendency towards synthesis, towards looking at life as a whole and each aspect of it as closely inter-related with all others. In the present world we find the different sciences developing individually with calm indifference towards all others and there is no one to correlate the different spheres of specialised activities. The need for a synthetic view in which all developments of the various sciences would be co-ordinated is now only faintly being recognised by the West, while it was put into use by the ancient seers of India. Writes Alexis Carrel in his famous *Man the Unknown*:

"Every year we hear of the progress made by eugenists, geneticists, statisticians, behaviourists, physiologists . . . clergymen, sociologists, economists, etc. But the practical results of these accomplishments are surprisingly small. This immense amount of information is disseminated in technical reviews, in treatises, in the brains of men of science. No one has it in his possession. We have now to put together its disparate fragments and make this knowledge live within the mind of at least a few individuals. Then it will become productive."

It was precisely this synthetic approach to the problems of life that enabled the Hindus of ancient India to achieve what is called *Rama Rajya* of which the most conspicuous feature is that all branches of

activity were perfectly adapted to the greatest happiness of society.

It was on this fundamental basis that politics grew into a separate science. As Dr. Beni Prasad remarks:

"After ages of intellectual activity politics was recognised as a science in itself and in the hands of some authors, was exalted to the rank of the supreme science but could never make itself completely independent of religion and ethics."

We are reminded of the Aristotelian conception of politics. The Greeks had a perfect realisation of the interconnectedness of the two.

The sages of India, in the sacred books, laid down the law for man for each of the varied branches of life. In the hands of priests and seers even the politics of India acquired a spiritual outlook and basis. Those who discussed politics as separate, could not restrain themselves from expressing views on other subjects. No one made the mistake of Western thought—of the separation into watertight compartments of different aspects of life. Everywhere the divine hand is visible. The divine purpose is to be enforced. Earthly punishment is reinforced by the divine and sometimes the latter is emphasised. Hindu social theories become part of the general theory of the universe and was made to fit into the general scheme which included theology, metaphysics, tradition, logic, law, ethics and economics.

All Indian social thought pre-assumes an ethical basis. Certain fundamental principles of morality are taken for granted, and on this basis it seeks to establish theories of social and political life. The State, on the Hindu view, is certainly not a mere 'hindrance of hindrances'—it is not merely a preventive institution. Again and again it is insisted on that it must create and maintain conditions for the virtuous life and keep men to their duties as laid down in the *shastras*. The State is not to be merely secular in the sense of dealing only with the non-religious and non-spiritual aspects of life. It must go deeper and contribute to the spiritual evolution of man. Repeatedly, we find insistence on the duties (*dharma*) of both rulers and ruled, rarely, if ever, on their rights (*adhikaras*). The theory of the State is only the other aspect of the theory of ethics. Politics is the ethics of a whole society—a theory of the duty of man in regard to all his relations and environment. To this end all governmental activities are to be directed.

Hindu theory has its Utopias of a Golden Age or an Age of Truth (*Satya Yuga*) but mainly the seers confine themselves to the practical problems of humanity. The bent of thought was essentially constructive and it is therefore that mostly the existing institutions, traditional scheme of duties and the prevailing form of government were not sought to be overthrown or replaced, but instead an attempt was made to build up systems of thought on their basis.

Facts are always compromised with. But though, like Machiavelli and Treitschke, the theorists were realists, they never once lost sight of the deeper values of life. The aim is always the same and always high—the means vary according to conditions and circumstances.

The Hindu habit of synthesis and idea of all-comprehensiveness of the State linked theories of politics and government to those of economics, agriculture, irrigation, famine-relief, mining, communication, diplomacy, fortification, etc., in fact all social phenomena.

One important result of the comprehensive view of life is that government was made only an agency of the enforcement of the social order. It was only a part of society. Its importance was never exaggerated. Though its authority was ultimate it was not made an end in itself in contrast to the spiritual, industrial or commercial spheres, as is and has been done by a large section of European thought. Society viewed from different aspects was conceived as political or religious or economic or military. But the wood is never lost sight of for the trees. The State is always subordinated to the good of man. No responsible thinker dares to look at things cold-bloodedly from a political or military angle alone. The same spirit is reflected in the figure of Asoka who gave up his schemes of conquest when he witnessed the horrors of war in Kalinga. This comprehensive view again results in a usage of the term 'government' in the modern sense of 'State.' And since 'government' was generally monarchical the theory of kingship may be taken as the Hindu theory of the State.

Another of the consequences of this was the rather unfortunate conception of political inequality between man and man on the basis of caste. Since on a religious view men were divided into castes, the State accepted this division and acted accordingly. The State as purely secular had not yet emerged. Privileges were accorded to those of high caste, but one good result was achieved: the absence of any separate ecclesiastical organisation like the Church in Europe. This eliminated the conflicts that might otherwise have arisen between Church and State. To quote Dr. Beni Prasad:

"It is the relation of the government with the social order and life as a whole which call for comment and guidance (in Hindu thought). From the very nature of social theory government could not be regarded as Sovereign in the Austinian sense of the term. It did not impart validity to the social order; rather it shared its validity. It could not alter it at will; other parts of it were as valid as itself. It sustained the social order but that was merely its function. It embodied the coercive power of the community and was bound to use it in the social order just as the priest or trader was bound to use his spiritual or economic power in the social interest. Sovereignty was really diffused throughout the community and was embodied in the Law which had its source in the Divine Will.

On the part of the individual there can be no unified allegiance, no single loyalty, except to society as a whole. No component part not even government, can claim to be absolutely sovereign. Here the monistic theory of sovereignty as applied to the State or government fails completely; only a pluralistic theory can grasp the Indian phenomenon. The State was only one of the groups to which the individual belonged, or rather, the State was merged in the social order as a whole. It is only the principles which lay at the root of the social and moral order that are omnipotent. They are summed up as Dharma, Law, Virtue or Duty. The Law, conceived in this wide sense, is above all individuals or groups. It limits the power of government; it regulates its exercise. It is above man; it is divine. With the government rests the ultimate power of adjusting social relations but the adjustment must proceed according to Dharma. Such are the principles in the light of which the Indian theory of government has to be examined."

Having indicated the basic principles of Hindu political philosophy I now proceed to the views of seers set forth in various treatises.

In Vedic literature we have only vague references to social theory. We find the institution of caste mentioned with reference to the supremacy of the Brahmana:

"The Brahma certainly precedes the Kshattria. For the king should think (that) when the Brahma is at the head, then my royal power would become strong and not to be shaken."

The Brahmana, repository of learning and spiritual excellence, is assured of supremacy. He is said to be under the special protection of the gods and is even the representative of the latter. His person is inviolate. The Shatapatha Brahmana declares him independent of government and exempt from taxes. The Atharva Veda says that kings who injured Brahmanas are ruined both here and hereafter. The Rig Veda calls them Rashtragopa (protector of the realm), they should always be propitiated.

In Hindu theory, monarchy is the key-note. The institution of kingship has divine sanction. Time and again in Vedic literature we find it declared that the king gets his authority from the godhead and is the representative of the Supreme on earth.

It must be noted that though the office of kingship is divine, the king's person itself shares this divinity to only a certain extent. The right to revolt is not ruled out. The king may be deposed or exiled, for, if he is tyrannous and unjust and thus fails to do his duty he loses all moral authority and privilege. He is supposed to be just and to protect his subjects and if he fails in this, he not only earns spiritual punishment but also disgrace on earth. He may be called to account or killed. In the Anushasan Parva of the Mahabharata, subjects are advised to arm themselves for slaying a tyrant. Though his office is divine, the king is not himself deified.

Here we have the ideal of Plato's 'philosopher-

king.' Later too, again and again, we shall find insistence on the moral virtues that a king should endeavour to acquire in order to rule well.

In another sphere however the Mahabharata is not so idealistic.

In the Ramayana, the great poet Valmiki gives a vivid picture of the 'social contract.' The original state of anarchy is a horrible one where there is no rainfall, no trade on earth, no security of life and property, no idea of law anywhere, no family life nor moral codes, where father and son fight, where the husband has no control over the wife, where there are no religious practices, no honour among even Brahmanas, no performance of sacrifices, no prayer, no joy nor happiness. From these horrible conditions the king saves society. He is the universal benefactor, father, mother, and friend. He is the truth and the light of humanity.

The Code of Manu (*Manusmriti*) and other law-books are our next source of political theory. All aspects of life are dealt with herein. The Brahmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras are said to have sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively of the Creator (I. 21). It therefore follows that the Brahmanas are the greatest of men. They are all one with Brahman and the eternal incarnation of the law. A Brahmana's wrath will destroy everything. His origin entitles him to special privileges. All that exists is his by right. It is through his sufferance that other men exist. He is the support of the three worlds and the gods. Whether learned or ignorant, of noble or of mean occupation, he is divine (IV. 4). Manu has no respect for the Shudras. He can attain no excellence. While trade and usury are Satyanrita (mixture of truth and falsehood), service, the occupation of Shudras is Shwavritti (dog's mode of life). They are born of slaves. Their work cannot be allotted to the twice-born even by Brahmanas (III. 154-167, II. 168, II 155, VIII. 412-414, IV. 4-6, and V. 83-84). But a man may receive learning even from one of low birth, law from the lowest and an excellent wife from a base family (II. 238).

One cannot but deplore this unfortunate exception to the high idealism of Hindu thought. Moreover, not only were the lower castes deprived of their rights but they were also to be forced to their status in life by the State. All the castes must perform their duties, but Manu says, the Vaishyas and Shudras in particular must be compelled to do so, for if they did not, society would be thrown into confusion.

As to the law, Manu gives the primary authority as the Shrutis or Vedas and Smritis or tradition. The other two are the custom of virtuous men and reason. When two texts conflict both are valid but decision is to be taken according to custom or reason.

"What may have been practised by the virtuous, by such twice-born as are devoted to the law, that he shall establish as law, if it be not

opposed to (the customs) of countries, families and castes."—Chapter on Civil and Criminal Law, Manu.

All local and communal customs must be respected—the implication being that these are usually in accordance with the eternal law. This means relaxation of the rigidity with which a fanatic zealot might have sought to enforce his own conception of the sacred texts.

Manu accepts the theory of social contract following the state of 'matsya-nyaya.' For him, kingship is divine though in purpose utilitarian. The king is composed of the eternal particles of the eight gods: Indra, Varuna, Yama, Vayu, Agni, Surya, Kuvera and Chandra. He performs on earth the duties of all these and exceeds all men in lustre. All should honour him, none disobey.

The king is admonished to be humble and modest, learned and versed in sacred and secular wisdom. "Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to conquer his senses, for he alone who has conquered his senses can keep his subjects in obedience." He has a daily programme of duties prescribed.

We have a rather pessimistic view of human nature when we find that Manu, as in the Mahabharata, praises chastisement or *danda*, incarnation of Dharma, formed by Brahmana glory and the only thing supposed to be capable of keeping order in the world. Even in the Mahabharata we find Arjuna impressing on Yudhishthira the fact that without *danda* creatures would soon be destroyed and 'like fish in the water the stronger animals would prey on the weaker.'

"Even they that are breakers of rules, that are atheists and scoffers at the Vedas, afflicted by chastisement soon become disposed to observe rules and restrictions."

"If chastisement did not uphold and protect, then ravage and confusion would have soon set in on every side and all barriers would have been swept away and the idea of property would have disappeared . . . nobody would have studied the Vedas, nobody would have milked a milch cow and no maiden would have married."

The social instincts, as in Hobbes, are entirely ignored. So also Bhishma answers Yudhishthira when the latter asks him 'why one man, the king, should govern the rest of the world numbering many men possessed of great intelligence and bravery.' We seem to have here the Hobbesian view of human nature in its entirety. But there is a justification for this. As in Plato, the human being and his passions are likened to a charioteer driven by unruly horses. A natural corollary of this view is that in the State there must be an over-ruling power who keeps in check the unruly senses and passions of his subjects. It is a well-known fact that the path of temptation is always more easy to glide into and in the State—as in Plato's Republic—if there is no wise authority, it would be more

likely, though not inevitable, that the passions and inclinations of people might so get the upper hand that they might ruin themselves by a free play of these. At such times the fear of a higher authority would be the only deterrent. Hindu thought applauded chastisement only as a means to the welfare of the people themselves.

Thus the king has the final word. He is required to keep seven or eight ministers for consultation but the final decision is to rest with him. The royal priest must inevitably be confided in before every enterprise and none undertaken without his consent. Thus was a check placed on the misuse of monarchical power.

Local self-government is advocated, the smallest unit being a village, but authority is central for the sake of unified control.

Justice forms an essential part of protection which is the prime function of the State in Hindu thought. If a thief escapes undetected the guilt falls on the king. He has even to pay out sixteen times the amount or make good the loss to the plaintiff. The murder of Brahmanas, women and children is to be punishable by death. The weak are to have a privileged status. We cannot but admire this benevolent spirit of political thought.

Dire punishments await the king who is tyrannous or unjust.

"A king who punishes those who do not deserve it, brings great infamy on himself and sinks in hell."

"The guilt of an unjust decision is shared equally by the criminal, the judges and the king."—(VIII. 18).

The idea is that kingly office is divine but it is a duty and not a right bestowed by God. In the Shanti Parva of the Mahabharata, Utatthya says to Mandhatri: "One becomes king for acting in the interest of righteousness and not for conducting oneself capriciously." An unrighteous king should be slain. The Divine Right of Kings is an unthinkable conception for the Hindu seers. King Vena is said to be the lineal descendant of Narayana himself and yet was slain by the Rishis, being unrighteous and oppressive. Later, Sukra in his *Nitishashtra* was to declare that the king is honoured because of his qualities and not birth. The justification of the king's authority rests on utilitarian grounds. Willoughby is entirely wrong in saying:

"In all of the vast Asiatic monarchies of early days the rulers claimed a divine right to control the affairs of the State and this was submitted to by the people with but little question.—*Nature of the State*."

Hindu kingship is not unfettered or irresponsible. In the many Dharmashastras, Arthashastras, Puranas, Nitishastras and epics we repeatedly find checks to tyranny mentioned. These were both retributive and preventive. The latter were both internal and

external. Moral discipline is the first requisite for kings and a vast period of religious and moral training is mentioned before the office can be held. It is a matter of pride that the ancient Hindus realised the futility of external checks on irresponsibility of which even after centuries of blood and tears the Western world is not yet conscious. Even in recent times Mahatma Gandhi gave his life to the inculcation of the principle that inward progress and self-culture would work more wonders than any external checks or institutions seeking to do so but the truth is not fully realised by all. We have seen the League of Nations fail and U.N.O. too is likely to do so, for, when there is no sincerity in the heart, no external institutions can promote goodwill and co-operation. Says Shamasastri:

"... Religious and moral restraints as self-denial, conquest of the six passions, preparation for *Moksha* or *Nirvana* by renunciation, frequently preached to the prince and poor alike, were scarcely less powerful than the constitutional and legal checks of Western nations of modern times. How far the modern constitutional checks, based on utilitarian rather than ethical principles, are preferable to religious or philosophical restraints, which are applicable to all, is a question yet to be decided."—*Evolution of Indian Polity*.

Other preventive checks were religious and one can imagine their effectiveness. Says Manu:

"A king who protects receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit, if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also."—(VIII. 307).

So also Sukra and Kautilya too in his *Arthashastra*.

Political preventive checks were Laws and Customs, Public Opinion, Ministers and Assemblies. Though the final authority vested with the king, all these had to be taken into account, and so far as possible, catered to. Sukra declares that a king 'should dismiss the officer who is accused by one hundred men.' In the story of Devapi and Shantanu, the former was a leper and though his father wanted to instal him as heir-apparent, public opinion made him change his decision. Similar is the case of Yayati who had to justify the installation of his youngest son as heir, to the people.

But most important were the ministers and assemblies. Of the high-priest says Kautilya:

"As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master, the king shall follow him."—*Arthashastra*, I. 9
Sukra asks:

"Can there be prosperity in the kingdom if there be ministers whom the ruler does not fear?" Sukraniti says, "The king who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him, is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth and soon gets estranged from his kingdom and alienated with his subjects."—(II. 515-516, 7-8).

The king was not even above the law as is the case even in many enlightened Western countries today. Manu says:

"Where another common man would be fined one karsha, the king shall be fined one thousand."

The effectiveness of the Gandhian technique of passive resistance and Satyagraha in the struggle for independence against a foreign ruler has been proved. How much more effective was the Atmamedh or Prayopavesha form of satyagraha can very well be imagined in an age of religious zeal. The people en masse made a vow of fast unto death until grievances were removed. We find in the *Rajatarangini* that ancient kings sent out spies to find out such cases of Prayopavesha; for the kings, even if ignorant of the matter, was branded a murderer if any death occurred. His 'crime' was punishable by re-birth as a lower animal.

Deposition and tyrannicide are allowed. In the Vedic period monarchy was elective and the people deposed many kings. Says Kautilya:

"A king of unrighteous character and of vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall a prey either to the fury of his subjects and to that of his enemies."—*Arthashastra*, VI. 1.

"Impoverished and disaffected subjects voluntarily destroy the king."—(VII. 5).

In the Shantiparva of the Mahabharata, Bhishma quotes the great *Rishi* Vamadeva as saying:

"That king who acts according to the counsels of vicious and sinful ministers, becomes a destroyer of righteousness and deserves to be slain by his subjects with all his family."

Sukra declares:

"If the king be an enemy of virtue, morality and strength, people should expel him as the ruler of the State, and in his place for the maintenance of the State, the priest with the consent of the *Prakriti*, should instal one who belongs to his family, and qualified."

He does not agree with Narada in that whatever a king does is right, nor with Aryadeva that a king is a mere servant of the people and nothing more.

Sukra gives the following functions of the king or state: protection of the people and punishment, tax-realising and tax-spending functions, wealth-producing activities, the advancement of learning and religion and acts of charity and conquest. Kautilya is more realistic and less idealistic. The latter even looks on religion as a convenient tool for the furtherance of state-policy and does not scruple to advocate prostitution of religious institutions for this: The king if in need of money may set up a temple with an idol in the darkness of night and collect the money offered by the people in their credulity. In his politics Kautilya is not irreligious but unreligious and this is why he is termed the Machiavelli of India. For conquering an enemy, poisonous drugs and prostitutes are recommended and to kill an enemy king various devices are

given in minute detail for doing so when he goes on a pilgrimage. The king may even give out that he is omniscient and able to converse with the gods in order to terrify the people. But all this is due to Kautilya's pre-occupation with the necessity of a strong administration which can wink at some irregularities in order to retain its strength which is to be used only as a means to enable the attainment by the people of the four ends: *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, and *moksha*. His idealism can be gauged by the fact that while his contemporary Aristotle was justifying and proving the necessity of slavery, he condemned it in no uncertain terms. He even declared laws and fines for its extinction. 'An Arya can never be a slave,' he declared and said that such an ignoble custom can exist only among *Mlecchas*. Not only sellers and buyers but also witnesses of slave-deals were punished.

It is a well-known condemnation of the West that Orientals have never had any respect for human life. This malicious libel is disproved by the fact that even Kautilya lays down that it is the duty of the king to provide for all without means. He has to feed the weak and indigent, the widow without children and orphans. Men forsaking wife and children or brothers refusing to take care of minor brothers and sisters were punished. Men could take to *sannyasa* or join monastic orders only if they made provision for their families or were punished. Beggary was severely dealt with. Exploitation by businessmen was strictly punished and rigid control over prices and supply was exercised by the government. Society in ancient India, though monarchical and capitalist, yet exercised such thorough control over the two institutions that no misuse of power, political or economic, was even remotely possible.

In regard to inter-State morality, we find Kautilya absolutely amoral, though other theorists were not so.

Much the same trends of thought and outlook are to be found in the *Arthashastra* of Brihaspati or the *Brahmapatya Sutra*.

This brief survey of the political philosophy of ancient India makes it obvious that it can not be subsumed under any of the prevalent categories of Western political thought. The Hindu conception of politics is a thing unique. The closest approximation to it is to be found in the Greek thought of Plato and Aristotle and which was taken as a basis by Rousseau and other idealist thinkers. Hindu theory does not conceive of the State and the individual as entities opposed to each other. The idea of protecting and safeguarding the latter from the encroachments of the State—a preoccupation with Western thought—did not occur to the Hindu seers. Each member of society—as in Plato—is supposed to perform his own function and thus to contribute to the welfare of society as a

whole. Duties are always insisted on, seldom, if ever, rights. The divinity of the monarch derives its worth from the amount of service he renders to society. The individual is regarded only as a member of society and the latter exists only to further the ends of the individual's life. A more beautiful harmony between State and individual can hardly be conceived.

Another common characteristic of both Plato and of Hindu thought is the conception of each class of society having a definite and independent function of its own to perform. Each class, accordingly, has its own type of mentality and thus its own rights and duties. As Bosanquet says:

"Society, *prima facie*, exists in the correlated dispositions by which a plurality of individual minds meets the need for covering the ground open to human nature, by division of labour in the fullest sense."

All this may be true but whatever the benefits derived to society we cannot but deplore the system of privileges based on caste. That a Brahmana was considered one by birth and not by qualifications in the latter part of the ancient period, is evident from the laws for Criminal Procedure laid down by Manu and others where the most heinous crimes, if committed by Brahmanas and higher castes, were punished more lightly than if committed by others. I believe that no possible justification can be put forward for this. It amounts to a denial of personality. Laski says in another context:

"It is the primary fact in personality as such that it has no allotted station. It wins or ought to win the station in which it may best fulfil itself. It can do so by experiment alone... Any attempt at the division of society into 'natural' classes with 'natural' functions is bound to break down. We discover what we naturally are in terms of what we seek to become. And the discovery is intimately our own."—*Grammar of Politics*.

Apart from this, there is a lot to admire in the political philosophy of Ancient India. History records the amount of peace and happiness and what is more, virtue to be found in our country in those times. If, in spite of all this, some one should object to the monarchical system upheld, I can only retort: 'For forms of government let fools contest; whatever is best administered is best.' (This does not however imply the adequacy of the institution of monarchy in modern times).

The world has a lot to learn from the thought of ancient India. From the practical point of view, the sooner it is realised that no external institution or machinery or power of force can bring peace and prosperity to the world, the better. The greatest lesson of Hindu political philosophy is, in my opinion, that unless the heart of man itself is changed from within he cannot live happily or peacefully.

REVERENCE FOR LIFE

By I. E. J. DAVID

THE HERO OF VERDUN

MARSHAL PETAIN, the Hero of Verdun, was led to rest the other day. His imprisonment, his death and burial are a sad tribute to France. At a very critical time in the War of 1914 he saved France, and again at a very grave and a very much more critical juncture in the history of France he played his part again, and though aged, he took a decision which brooked no delay—perhaps rightly, or perhaps wrongly—but *that* only he and his God knows, and probably posterity. But it was done for France and for the sake of his France, I have no doubt. What France did to him in return is, the defeat of human nature,—the defeat of France.

HATE AND VENGEANCE: THE SEEDS OF WAR

Marshal Petain was tried and condemned to death by France—the death of a traitor and a criminal. The execution was cancelled, but the life imprisonment was worse. France, one of the greatest nations of the century, which taught heroism, freedom and equality to the nations of the world, how small, how petty in its treatment of Petain! The ultimate victory or defeat of the nations which took part in the last World War depended or depends upon how they came out of that last heinous war—upon the measure of the *hate in their hearts*. The other day, five years after the blood bath, nearly a score of German “war criminals,” who appealed in vain to the courts and hearts of the Nations of the World, were hung one and all. Cold-blooded murder. The Christian Nations sent innumerable more such human beings to the gallows, branding them, in all self-righteousness, as “war criminals.” This cold-blooded murder flowed beyond the frontiers of Europe, to Asia, to Japan, and to our frontiers and now to Korea. Bloody hatred and vengeance galore. And we think, thus we have destroyed the roots of war and the seeds of war. Nay, this fair earth of ours is sown with bigger and deadlier seeds, and drenched with the blood of our brother man, and we are on the threshold of a mammoth harvest in Kashmir, in Korea, in the Middle East, in Russia and Europe. Man's hate against Man is raining blood on the face of this fair earth of ours.

IF OUR CIVILIZATION SHOULD SURVIVE

As long as there are human beings, there may be those who hate and desire to plunge into wars. But if our civilization lays more emphasis and stronger emphasis on man's love for man, and believes in *One Race*, in *One* people, *One* human family and *One* world, and cultivates love as the one and only

worthwhile and supreme end and aim of life, and endeavours to wipe out the hatred that encompasses man today, wars and hatred will be rarities, and against which the whole world will throw up its hands in wholesale horror and protest against man warring against man.

Hatred and love are born out of the hearts of individuals and these rivulets form ultimately the ocean. Hatred and love are cultivated. Love to become universal, love to establish the brotherhood of man, should be cultivated with assiduous and tireless effort. Every individual and organisation should take part in this great wide-world human effort on which the salvation and happiness of mankind rests—the hope of our children. Do you want our daughters and sons to be butchered and raped the way our mothers and wives were shamed and slaughtered, and the way our fathers have been led to hate and death?

OUR “CHRISTIAN NATIONS”

There are no Christian Nations. There are Christian individuals. It is amazing that the Christian Church as an institution and an organisation has never openly, boldly and uncompromisingly outlawed war. It is unbelievable that the World Council of Protestant Churches, which met not long ago in Amsterdam I believe, passed a resolution supporting the “Police Action” of the United Nations in Korea. It was pure hypocrisy on the part of those who met and passed that resolution, and to whitewash a full-scale war as “Police Action.” It was, I consider arrogant Imperialism. I for one, and I am sure all individual Christians disown any such resolution, and repudiate those men who met, however great they may be, the right to represent *Christ's Church* and pass such a resolution. “Love them that hate you. Pray for them that despitefully use you. If you are smitten on one cheek, turn the other cheek.” *There is no compromise at all on this.* The Church cannot compromise one whit on this. Because it is not practised by many, it does not mean it is not possible, and it does not mean that anything opposite of this can ever be right. Right down the ages hosts of men and women, in all climes and countries, have practised and fulfilled this teaching,—martyrs, saints and ordinary obscure men. To commit a sin or crime is definitely bad, but to say that, that action or offence is not a crime or sin, is worse. *Then you lose for ever the chance of conquering that weakness. Let us strive unceasingly for peace, and for the understanding of The Reverence For Life.*



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

A SURVEY OF THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN MALABAR, 1603-78 : By T. I. POONEN. University of Travancore, 1948. Pp. xxiv + 303.

This survey, though limited to a small area in time and geographical extent, has nevertheless been done with such scholarly care and accuracy that it must rank as a standard work of reference in its own corner of South Indian history. Though the Dutch sun has set, it should not be forgotten that that race ousted the Portuguese (the first race of European empire-builders in the East) as a colonising and trading power in India, and the English came behind the Dutch and eclipsed them nearly 70 years later. The value of Mr. Poonen's work lies in its going beyond the usual conquests and battles, and giving us the commerce, polity, administration, people's condition. It reflects credit on the University of Travancore to have chosen this useful work as one of its first publications.

J. SARKAR

VIKRAMADITYA OF UJJAYINI : By R. B. PANDEY. Published by Shaladala Prakashana, Benares. 1951. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 15.

In this scholarly work the author has attempted “to reconstruct the history of Vikramaditya and the social and cultural history of his age on the basis of various types of evidence—astronomy, folk-tales, Brahmanical literary traditions, Jaina traditions, archaeology, history of tribal migrations in Asia and the pure literature of ancient India” (Preface p. v). In the first two chapters, the author makes out his case for Vikramaditya's historicity based upon the cumulative evidence of “Indian eras, popular stories, the literary traditions of the Hindus and Jains, epigraphy, numismatics, the history of the Malavas and the history of the Sakas” (p. 49) and involving criticism of the contrary views of previous scholars from Fergusson to D. R. Bhandarkar. In the following five chapters (III-VII) the author attempts to trace Vikramaditya's career in detail in the light of the above evidence from his parentage and birth down to his great military achievements. Chapters VIII-XIII deal with various aspects of Vikramaditya's Age under the titles *The Malava State under Vikramaditya, social conditions, religious conditions, language and literature, art and architecture and economic conditions*. The concluding chapter (Chapter XIV) winds up with a brief notice of Vikramaditya's last years and a critical estimate of his character and place in history.

We propose to make a few remarks. It is unfortunate that the *Vikrama Volume* (Ujjain, 1948) which was published in commemoration of the 2000th year of the Vikrama Era was not available to the author at the time of writing his work. Otherwise, when considering the view of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (pp. 61-76) which, as he rightly remarks, is “the most serious theory so far propounded” on the subject, he would have noticed the additional arguments put forward by the late lamented scholar (*Vikrama Volume*, pp. 57-68). He would also not have failed to consider the weighty arguments against the authenticity of the Vikramaditya tradition put forward by Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri (*ibid*, 483-511) on the basis of the significant silence of the Puranic dynastic lists and the accretions in the Sattasai as well as the chronology of Varahamihira and Kalidasa. In so far as the reference to the mysterious Kshapanaka is concerned, he would have followed up the exhaustive and learned study of Dr. Charlotte Krause under the heading *Siddhasena Divakara and Vikramaditya* (*ibid*, pp. 213-80). To this we have to add that the author should have considered, in connection with his chronology of Kalidasa, the difficulties presented by the poet's use of “Middle Prakrit” in place of the “Old Prakrit” of Asvaghosha and Bhasa. We have, again, grave objections against the author's characterisation of the original constitution of the Malavas as “a democracy” with “a second chamber of elected members” and of their later constitution as “a mixture of democracy and aristocracy” (pp. 132-133). We would substitute for the first phrase an aristocratic republic of the usual *Sangha* type with a sovereign assembly consisting of hereditary nobles and probably a council without plenary authority to conduct negotiations with foreign powers. For the latter phrase we would substitute an aristocratic republic with a hereditary executive head. The above differences notwithstanding, we have nothing but admiration for the industry, learning and skill with which the author has tackled this very difficult problem. In particular, his illuminating chapters on the cultural history of the period rendered illustrious by the works of Kalidasa and the lexicon of Amarasimha are worthy of high praise. In conclusion, we heartily endorse the words with which Dr. R. C. Majumdar introduces the author in his Foreword : “He has laid the students of Indian history under a debt of obligation by his comprehensive, critical and scholarly investigation into the problem of the historicity and personality of Vikramaditya.”

U. N. GHOSHAL

GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA: By S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Hind Kitabs Limited, 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 69. Price Re. 1.

Sri Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan is perhaps the greatest living exponent of Indian philosophy. He has recently been sworn in as the Vice-President of the Indian Republic. Rightly Sir Francis Younghusband remarked that as an interpreter of the philosophy and religion of India to the West no one excels Radhakrishnan. When Sir Radhakrishnan delivered his lecture on the Buddha, contained in the booklet under review, in the Master Mind series to the British Academy it was observed of him that he was himself a master mind. This lecture was delivered to the British Academy under the Henriette Hertz Trust on 28th June, 1938 and first published in the fourteenth volume of the proceedings of the British Academy. It was first reprinted in India in 1945, then in 1946 and again in 1949. This shows how warmly has it been received by the students of Buddhist thought. In this lecture Sri Radhakrishnan gives a bird's-eye view of the life and doctrine of the Enlightened One in a very flowing style. So readable and thoughtful, so lucid and learned a lecture is rarely delivered now-a-days. The interpretation is wonderfully impartial and original. The problems concerned have been discussed authoritatively with appropriate quotations from the Pali and Sanskrit works. According to the great author, the Buddha is undoubtedly one of the greatest figures in history and one of those few heroes of humanity who have made epochs in the history of our race with message for other times as well as their own.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE PASSING OF SRI AUROBINDO (Its Inner Significance and Consequences): K. D. Sethna. Reprinted from "Mother India"—Bombay, dated January 9, 1951. Published by Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pp. 23. Price Re. 1.

The return of "the material envelope of the Master" to its elements is a phenomenon that has a special significance to the author, a disciple of Sri Aurobindo and a poet whose mystic writings reflect his spiritual intuitions and realizations. Sri Aurobindo devoted his last days to re-writing or re-touching the *Savitri*—the drama that symbolized the triumph of Love over Death—a story that has been immortalized in the Hindu mind by generations of women making a particular day in May-June reminiscent of the old story of *Savitri and Satyaban*. It was "a lordly and leisurely labour," this writing of the drama. But "all of a sudden a couple of months before the fateful December 5, Sri Aurobindo startled his scribe by saying: I must finish *Savitri* soon." In these words the author read a mystic meaning that the Master had decided to take to another world for the greater work of helping the world's evolutionary process. This is the great faith and hope that sustain humanity amid so many disappointments and failures of body and mind.

TWO SCENES FROM SAVITRI: By Sri Aurobindo. Published by Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pp. 14. Price Re. 1.

Only mystic scholars can indicate the superb poetry of this grand drama. The King Aswapathi childless, prays to the "Creatrix, the Eternal artist Bride," goddess *Savitri*, to give him some power that would break "the doom to which thou bindest thy

sons." The prayer is granted, and promises that "One shall descend who shall break the iron Law And alter Nature's doom by the Spirit's power."

Her lips shall be the honeycombs of God,
Her limbs His golden jars of ecstasy.

Strength shall be with her like a conqueror's sword...
Fate shall be changed by an unchanging will."

The Hindu knows the rest of the theme. The English-speaking world has now an opportunity to know and understand the significance of our Ramayana and Bharata stories.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

LINGUA INDICA REVEALED: By Principal S. C. Chaudhuri. Published for Life Education Service of India by Thacker Spink and Co. (1933) Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 8-4.

The main object of the work appears to be to disprove the necessity of selecting one particular language as the national language of India, for, in the opinion of the learned author, a *Lingua Indica* is already in existence; it is revealed through the close affinity existing among the various languages of India. He advocates the use of a common alphabet, 'tentatively the Devnagar alphabet in its present form, and ultimately the Devnagar alphabet in a scientific and adoptable form' (p. 113), for all the provincial languages. It is hoped that 'the adoption of this common script of Devnagar will work as a magic in merging the dialects of India into a grand *Lingua Indica* of Bharati, by a liberal levelling of the minor angularities' (p. 49). Nay, he goes further and declares that Mahabharati—presumably Sanskrit, the parent language which has nurtured the various later languages of India—for her most scientific grammatical system, accurately phonetic alphabet, and spontaneous acceptance by the vast body of human society living between Russia and Celebes and between Madagascar and Korea, and for the candid appeal of her non-communal and non-appellative universal religion of *Humanism* will, in no time, find herself sincerely welcomed as the most suitable common alphabet and the most exquisite common language of the world' (p. 149). Few people may be expected to be as optimistic and as hopeful as our learned author. But his attempts to draw attention to instances of linguistic unity noticed in different parts of India and of Indian influences far and near will be widely appreciated. Detailed and dependable information on this interesting subject is a desideratum. Results of our Government's reported move in collecting common words used in various Indian languages are eagerly awaited. The importance of the author's proposal for the introduction of one script, though not a new one, requires to be brought home to the people at large so that it may be implemented at an early date. It may be pointed out in passing that the style of the book is rather diffuse and the bibliographical references are incomplete.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

UNDERSTAND YOUR CHILDREN: By H. R. Bhatia. M.A. Published by New Hindustan Publications, 9A-92, W. E. A., Karol Bagh, Delhi, 1950. First edition. Pp. 239. Price Rs. 5-15.

Children are the assets of a nation, for upon them devolves the responsibility of upholding the society and enriching life and civilization. It is therefore desirable in the greater interest of the society that every facility should be provided for the maximal development of children's latent abilities. Most parents in our country are indifferent to educative processes and emotional training of their children. They rely solely upon schools and teachers in this respect. But school can hardly achieve success unless the home actively co-operates and parents exercise a wise and helpful attitude towards the little growing humans. Though there are numerous books on child psychology and development, general readers avoid them as dry pedagogy and thereby miss a chance of entering into an unknown and interesting world—a strange world of children's life and fancy, play and growth.

The present volume, free from pedagogic dryness, written in a simple, lucid and attractive style, aims at helping enlightened parents to understand the right way of bringing up, treating and training children. The author has discussed the various stages of child's development and characteristics thereof with definite suggestions for parents and teachers to be adopted for the right guidance of the young soul. Children's welfare is most dear to their parents. And parents to be equipped with proper knowledge for training children should acquaint themselves with their nature, peculiarities and problems. Sri Bhatia's book will help them admirably in this process of self-training for proper parenthood.

While congratulating the learned author for this excellent book we would request him to incorporate a

few chapters, in a later edition, on the comparative physical growth of boys and girls from childhood to adolescence with normal ailments and emotional bloomings peculiar to their ages.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

HINDUSTANI SELF-TAUGHT: By Sosheila Ram. Published by the Vidya Mandir Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 170-74. Price Rs. 3.

This is a very easy and handy primer for English-knowing people to learn Hindustani in both the alphabets—Devanagari and Urdu. Sm. Sosheila Ram being in the educational line (holding London Teachers' Diploma) is thoroughly conversant with the modern scientific methods, so the book she has prepared is scientific. The rules are easy, the illustrations copious and the Hindustani-English and English-Hindustani dictionary appended at the end is very useful for beginners.

B.

REVOLUTIONARY PEASANTS: By Prof. N. G. Ranga. Published by Amrit Book Co., Caunaught Circus, New Delhi. Pages 234. Price Rs. 7-8.

Prof. Ranga in this volume presents to his readers a comprehensive study of peasant movements in different countries of the world including that of India and declares that the peasant is revolutionary through ages in spite of his obscurity. Neglect shown to the peasant by other classes, particularly urban workers and professionals is considerable but his contribution in world's democratic movements is not negligible. As a leading authority on Indian peasants, Prof. Ranga depicts the Kisan ideal of Swaraj.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA OR AWAKENED INDIA

(Started by Swami Vivekananda in 1896)

A high class English Monthly conducted by the monks of the Ramakrishna Order at Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. It is devoted to Universal Religion, Comparative Philosophy, Education, Art, and other topics of national and international interest. It keeps its readers in touch with the cultural side of the Indian national life, ancient and modern, in its proper perspective.

Annual Subscription: India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, Rupees Five; Burma, Rupees Six;

Foreign, Fourteen Shillings; U. S., Four Dollars.

Single Copy: Inland, Annas Eight.

Subscribers are enrolled with effect from January or July. Some of our publications are given at concession rate to the subscribers.

Prabuddha Bharata, having a wide circulation all over India, Ceylon, U. S. A., Europe, etc., is an excellent medium of advertisement.

Rates are as follows:—

Per insertion ordinary full page	Rs. 50
" " " half "	Rs. 28
" " " Quarter "	Rs. 15
Rates for cover pages and special positions are quoted on request.	

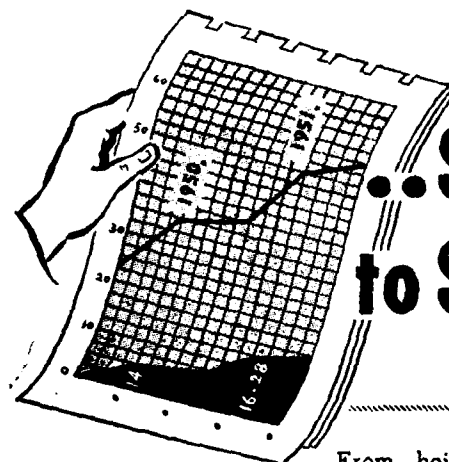
All business communications should be addressed to—

THE MANAGER

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

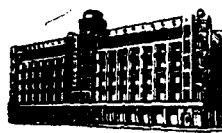
4, WELLINGTON LANE

CALCUTTA-13.



..Strength to Strength

From height to height and from strength to strength the Hindusthan is making a record of outstanding progress every year. It is an arresting landmark in the onward march of Indian Life Insurance. The 45th Annual Report for 1951 once again reflects the soundness, integrity and distinction which always have been so characteristic of the Society.



THE FIGURES THAT TELL..

ASSURANCES IN FORCE	Rs 81,02,36,164
TOTAL ASSETS	Rs 19,98,13,853
LIFE FUND	Rs 17,66,19,628
PREMIUM INCOME	Rs 3,72,27,528
CLAIMS PAID	Rs 83,57,978

NEW BUSINESS
16,28,85,800

HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.

Hindusthan Buildings, 4, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.



BOOK REVIEWS

In the first three chapters, the author discusses the subject from the Indian angle. Indian Peasants' struggle, particularly that of Andhra and Congress kisans with which Prof. Ranga was personally associated, is vividly described with the past historical background. In the next three chapters peasant movements in Asia—China, Philippines, Fiji, Mongolia, Korea, in Western Europe—France, England, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Ireland, in Eastern Europe—Poland, Balkan States (Rumania, Bukovia, Bessarabia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Greece and Yugoslavia); are given. Next four chapters are devoted to Russia, Africa, United States and Latin America respectively. According to the author like other dictatorships, the proletarian dictatorship betrayed the peasant masses of Russia during 1917-21. The chapter on Economic Depression (1929-35) brings out the international character of the peasant's lot in world crisis and hence the author concludes his book by a call to the peasants of the world to unite. The peasant shall establish his own democracy in which he shall be an equal partner with the workers, artisans, professionals and intellectuals. This is the ideal towards which he Indian kisan is working. Mahatma Gandhi blesses this ideal of "Kisan-Mazdoor-Fraja-Raj." This is an interesting and instructive study for all political workers.

A. B. DUTTA

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL PROBLEMS (Second Edition): By Dr. Raghuraj Singh and Vijayendralal Singh. Published by L. N. Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Hospital Road, Agra. Pp. 435. Price Rs. 5.

The book is a collection of essays, being an advanced study on the most important economic and commercial problems of India. It has dealt with almost all the outstanding questions, such as, India's Fiscal Policy, Five-year Plan, Gandhian Economics, The Role of Foreign Capital in India, The Importance of Cottage and Small-scale Industries in India, Nationalisation of Banking and Industries, India's Foreign Trade, Indo-Pakistan Trade Relations, etc., that face Free India today. The problems are fairly elaborately treated within a short compass and the essays touch upon all the relevant points that arise on the different subjects in view of the economic and commercial developments of the country. At the end of each essay is given a bibliography of the authoritative books to be read by the readers, which has greatly helped to add to the value of the book. The book is obviously meant for advanced students of Economics and Commerce.

B. K. SEAL

EVERYMAN'S DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS AND PROVERBS: Published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. Pp. 769. Price 12s. 6d.

Fashions change in quotations as in everything else; and by modern standards the dictionaries of a past generation seem to be ill-proportioned. Besides new authors and new historic phrases like Marshall Petain's "They shall not pass" at Verdun, are often quoted. Such phrases can not be found in older dictionaries. A new dictionary has become a necessity; and the volume under review removes such difficulties. Within a short compact volume the editor has given more than 10,000 quotations. The arrangement of the authors, English and non-English, is alphabetical. Their dates of birth and death are also given thus fixing them chronologically. Within each author again the arrangement is chronological though no dates are

given. In the case of the Bible, the usual order of the books has been followed. Its value has been greatly increased by a copious index. This is a very useful and handy book of reference for both students and busy readers, Indians especially. One little comment we have to make; if instead of giving *Ibid* as reference in the Bible portion, the book has been named, it would have been better.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

BANGALIR SARASWAT AVADAN, Part I. **BANGE NAVYA-NYAYA-CHARCHA**: By Dinesh C. Bhattacharya. Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta. Royal Quarto. Pp. x + 334. Price Rs. 10.

"The Bengalis' achievement in the field of learning"—this title has been rightly given to this scholarly history of the philosophical school of New Logic which originated in Bengal and which ended by eclipsing the old Logic whose home was Mithila. This is a book of abiding value and unassailable authority on account of the high degree of accuracy and painstaking research displayed by its author. It covers a field which had not been so minutely or half so ably explored before. Future historians of the growth of mental philosophy in India and the evolution of Sanskrit learning in Bengal, will have to consult it. The author has wisely chosen not to follow the many winding paths of logical disputation and hair-splitting distinctions, which in Europe moved Thomas Carlyle to sneer at "the logical mill (John Stuart Mill) chopping straw." He has been more fruitfully employed in constructing a very dependable, full, and critical biographical dictionary of the founders of the Bengal School of Logic and their line of successors, with very useful lists of their works and the places where manuscripts of these can be found. We thus get a clear and instructive chart of the cultural evolution of Hindu Bengal (on the intellectual, not religious, side) during the middle ages—a field which was a dark jungle haunted by legends and popular "ghosts" before. This result has been attained after twenty years of devoted labour, the examination of many thousands of documents and manuscripts (often in out-of-the-way places), and the piecing together of an infinite number of small details or dates thus collected. The author's freedom from the usual bias of pandits and his modern critical attitude to historical questions would do honour to a scholar trained in Germany or Oxford.

One little thing is of a personal interest to me. The great Vedantist Vasudev Sarvabhauma, who took care of Chaitanya at Puri, had migrated from Navadwin to Orissa in "fear of the ruler" of Bengal (p. 42). That was at the end of the third quarter of the 15th century. The oppression of the Abyssinian dynasty of Bengal Sultans reached its climax under the ruthless Shamsuddin Muzaffar, rightly called the lunatic or *Divana* (died 1493), and in Delhi the fanatical temple-destroyer Sikandar Lodi had come to the throne in 1488.

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad has earned public gratitude by doing, unassisted by public funds, a service to learning, which cannot pay its cost, and which in other civilised countries is done by the State or well-endowed universities.

JADUNATH SARKAR

SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA : By *Brajendranath Banerji and Sajanikanta Das*. Published by *Ranjan Publishing House, 57 Indra Biswas Road, Calcutta-37*. Price Rs. 3-8.

A large number of books have been written on Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. With only a few remarkable exceptions almost all of them have been written from the point of view of Bhaktas devotedly attached to him. They have a value of their own, but devotees and admirers are not persons to write real biographies. A certain detachment is necessary to do that. The book under review is neither a biographical sketch nor is it written from the standpoint of a Bhakta. It shows Sri Ramakrishna as he appeared in the eyes of his contemporaries. Evidence from contemporary newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and books has been gathered and put together so that the saint of Dakshineswar may appear in his true light shorn of all the trappings that have been thrown over him in the excess of a devotee's zeal and may shine in his true glory, the mist of time and distance being not there to make the figure appear as something different from what the great man really was. Though not a biography it has biographical materials enough to satisfy any intelligent reader. The great Brahmo leader Pratap Chandra Mazumdar writes in the *Theistic Quarterly Review*, October-December, 1879: "The Hindu saint is a man much under forty . . . His dress and diet don't differ from other men . . . He protests against being lionised . . . Our ideal of religious life is different, but so long as he is spared to us, gladly shall we sit at his feet to learn from him the sublime precepts of purity, unworldliness, spirituality and inebriation in the love of God!" And in his letter to Max Muller, September 1895, he writes: "I have frankly and warmly expressed my estimate of that saintly man . . . I would not withdraw a single word I wrote in his praise." The reputed authors have spared no pains to find out everything that is available and have collected a considerable amount of materials from contemporary documents, which throw a flood of light on the life and teachings of the great saint.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

HINDI

GANDHI GRANTH : Compiled and edited by *Prem Narain Mathur*. Published by *Ram Narain Lal, Katra Road, Allahabad*. Pp. 172. Price Rs. 5.

This is an anthology of penetrating contributions on some of the aspects of Gandhiji's mission by Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, A. V. Thakkar, Haribhan Upadhyaya, Sudhindra and others, including the compiler-editor himself. The appendices regarding the Social Studies Association of Banasthali Vidyapith, seem, however, to be rather out of place.

KHURAK KI KAMI AUR KHETI : By *M. K. Gandhi*. Published by *Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad*. Pp. 302. Price Rs. 2-8.

HAMARE BHOJAN KI SAMASYA : By *Ramavadh Dwivedi and Shrigopal Tewari*. Published by *Benares Book Corporation, Benares*. 4. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-8.

Both these publications deal with the burning problem of food shortage in the country. The former is a compilation, edited by Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa, of Gandhiji's views on the subject in all its details, scientific as well as sociological as expressed by

Gandhiji from time to time in his *Harijan*. The latter, however, is a searching economic study of the problem, highly educative and practical. Such studies in Hindi are to be warmly commended, indeed, because they help enlighten the adult electorate in the country.

PATHSHALAON KA PRABANDH : By *Prof. Jagadish Prasad Vyas*. Published by *Laxmi Narain Agrawal, Agra*. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 3-12.

A series of lecture-notes in the class-room, now elaborated, dealing with the organization, ideological as well as administrative, of schools in a manner, which is sure to prove very helpful to schoolmasters in their arduous work of making schools, in terms of interest and attractiveness and usefulness, more like temples or playgrounds of the soul (and also of the various senses with which a child is endowed) than just prisons or cattle-pounds!

ANANT KI OR : By *Swami Satyadeva*. Published by *Gandhara Karyalaya, Jwalapur*. Pp. 262. Price Rs. 3.

A closely reasoned out appeal and advice, well supported by argument and illustration, "to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness"—to aspire and advance after the Eternal—so that one's life may be rich in health, happiness, peacemindedness and loving kindness.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GANDHI BAPU : By *Ardeshtir Flamji Khabardar*. Bombay. Printed by *Associated Advertisers and Printers, Bombay*. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 143. Price Rs. 3.

Gandhiji held poet Khabardar in great regard and the poet reciprocated that feeling. In thirty-eight pieces of high class poetry Mr. Khabardar has paid a poet's sincere and cordial tribute to Gandhiji's ideals and achievements in various walks of life, and as at *In Memoriam* volume it stands easily as a first class one amongst the many tributes paid to him.

BHARAT-NA LAL : By *Pravin Vakta*. Printed at the *Usha Printing, Bombay*. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 36. Unpriced.

Trikuta Mandir is a society of young artists in Bombay. They have staged a play lately depicting the zoolum practised by a Zamindar over his poor tenant and his family. The picture presented is realistic.

DHARMNUN TATTVAJNAN : By *Rev. W. Graham Mulligan, M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D.*, of the *Iris Presbyterian Mission, Bhavnagar Para*. Printed at *the Saraswati Press, Bhavnagar*. 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 68. Price Rs. 5.

Rev. Dr. Mulligan writes Gujarati with a practised hand. A deep student of philosophy, he has set out various phases of it, such as belief in God, non-belief in same, i.e., agnosticism, etc., from a learner's or teacher's point of view. Notwithstanding his leaning towards Christianity, he has been able to view the various view-points of the subject, impartially and ably. Altogether it is a valuable contribution to the branch of literature in Gujarati.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

What is an Abstraction ?

K. G. Mashruwala, a trusted follower of Gandhiji and his successor in the editorship of *Harijan*, writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The February issue of *The Literary Guide and Rationalist Review* contains a good critical review of Gandhiji's Autobiography by Lord Chorley. The reviewer is a Rationalist and finds it difficult to understand Gandhiji's conception of God and his faith in Him. Let me quote his own words:

"It is difficult to be more precise than to say that Gandhiji believed in God. When one comes to ask oneself exactly what he understood by God, one finds oneself in even greater difficulties than one does with the average Christian or Theist. In the introduction to his book, indeed, he says that he has not yet found God but is seeking after him. A little earlier he says that Absolute Truth is God, though he agrees that 'his manifestations are innumerable.' Truth is an abstraction—and it is difficult to understand how God, in any accepted sense of the term, can just be such an abstraction. Yet it is clear from the rigorous, indeed ruthless, way in which Gandhi struggles in this volume to achieve the truth about himself that a worship of the Truth in this quite exceptional way can lead to remarkable results.

"In an article written years after, Gandhi discussed whether God is a Force or a Person. His conclusion is not at all clear, but he admits that 'the power we call God defies description.' The truth of the matter is that Gandhi's intellectual equipment was not of the kind which wrestles successfully with such problems. As appears over and over again from his Autobiography, his genius was essentially that of the practical man, the organizer, the wielder of an iron will and determination."

Lord Chorley asks with surprise and tries to answer himself as follows:

"How, then, does this essentially practical man, this bold experimenter with truth, this shrewd politician, come to have such an intense, if vague, religious faith? I think the answer is almost certainly that he derived it largely from his maternal upbringing, as has happened so frequently with religious leaders."

It seems to me that Lord Chorley's difficulty is commonly shared by all those, whether Theists or otherwise, who are accustomed to conceive of God in only one way, viz., as some sort of mystical Being—even if formless—situate somewhere outside the Creation, and creating, breaking and remodelling it out of materials at His command somewhat like a potter making pots out of clay, and governing the universe somewhat like a ruler governing his kingdom. Indian philosophy starts with the removal of this conception. God is to be conceived of both as the potter and the clay, the ruler and the governance; and His abode is in the pots themselves and inseparable from them. Until the mind becomes disabused

of the former rudimentary conception of God, the Vedantic conception of Him might remain an enigma to Western philosophers of even Theistic persuasions. Atheism has its origin in the personified conception of God. When this conception fails to appeal to man's reason, he finds no basis for belief in God.

Lord Chorley says, "Truth is an abstraction—and it is difficult to understand how God. . . can just be such an abstraction?"

But what after all is an abstraction? Is it anything more than a verbal summing up of a mental isolation of the common principle in several concrete objects? We speak in "abstract" terms and make a show of thinking in the abstract, but are we ever able to make a really abstract conception? Whether we speak of truth, love, non-violence, beauty, cruelty or even red and blue and white, or of force and energy in the abstract, or of the specific forms of energy like light or electricity, we are never able to conceive any of them except in a distinct or hazy association with several objects through or in which those properties are made manifest. Let us take also such a mathematical symbol as *n*. It looks, and has to be worked upon, as if it were a definite numerical quantity. We know, however, that it is a fraction, the value of which cannot be exactly calculated; and yet it can be definitely represented by a pair of compasses.

Man has the capacity of speaking in abstract terms of matters which he can conceive of only through concrete examples; he has also the incapacity of not being able to speak in exact terms of matters which he knows in an exact manner. For instance, he can understand sweetness and yet can never define it in exact language.

When you say God is Truth, or God is Law, or God is Love, or the converse of any of these, while your speech is in abstract terms, really your mind has a distinct or hazy picture of concrete objects that represent your idea of Truth, Law, Love, etc. That God is spoken of in so many diverse manners means that the term God is really a grand verbal abstraction of abstractions of all types of concrete realities. It is a generalization of all generalizations. On account of man's inability to picture all the types at once, he chooses what appeals to him as the most important among them, and for his own immediate purposes confines the term God to that one type of abstraction only. Thus, one speaks of God as Love, another as Truth a third as Law, a fourth, as Bliss, and so on in infinite ways. Every one of these is a compartmental view of God; and when man is conscious of his compartmental vision, he says, "the power we call God defies description."

Somewhat the Hindu mind is used to moving from the abstract to the concrete and back without feeling embarrassed, and sees no difficulty in rationalizing its belief, or making a religious creed of its rationalized theory.

Hence Gandhi can, in the same breath, speak of

God as an abstract idea and believe in Him as a real force. He can also personify Him, and can understand even those who give Him a definite shape in the form of a god.

Perhaps it is necessary to give a further hint. Truth, Love, Non-violence are usually conceived of as virtues, qualities, sentiments or properties of the mind comparable to properties like red, blue, sweet bitter, etc., of ordinary substances. So when it is said that God is Truth, or Love, we are apt to think that God is the virtue of truthfulness or love. This is too meagre a conception of these words. The words do not represent certain virtues or attributes only, but the Force or Power of truth, etc.

Truth and Non-violence are as much types of Energy as Electricity and Magnetism, and must have their definite laws of action. These have not yet been fully investigated and applied in life, though un-awares they have been made use of from times immemorial, even as levers were made use of before the laws of mechanics were discovered.

When Gandhiji speaks of his experiments with Truth he seeks to know how Truth acts as a Force in the universe. As a man possessed of reasoning and discrimination and as a man of action, he carefully considers how an absolutely truthful person should act under particular circumstances, and decides to do so regardless of the pain or pleasure that might accrue to himself. He then waits to see how the force of Truth works in the world.

Perhaps he may find that his judgment about the truthfulness of a particular action was wrong *ab initio*. In that case he is not ashamed to confess his mistake, and to make amends, if he has thereby caused harm to others. I believe that no Rationalist or scientist could adopt a better attitude in his investigations. His God is Truth; that is to say, in the language of scientists, he dedicated himself to research into the Force of Truth and made it his lifelong and sole occupation. If we examine the life of any great master or saint, we shall find that their devotion to God meant but the relentless pursuit of one or another of such forces as truth, non-violence, compassion, justice, the spirit of brotherhood, etc.

I hope that this will make the subject more clear, but I am not sure if I have succeeded.

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

50 TABLETS RS.3 100 RS.5-8

At All Leading Chemists.

DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM

Himco Laboratories

231, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

The Welfare State

Brij Gopal Gupta observes in *Careers and Courses*:

"Welfare State" is the intellectual talk of the day. Even most of our reputed politicians are agreed on at least one concept—all are ardent supporters of the 'Welfare State.' Even the Indian National Congress at its Nasik Session endorsed the idea of 'Welfare State' as the definite guiding principle of the State. Above all it is also in harmony with the broad outlines of the functional basis of the State as laid down in the Indian Constitution through a number of Directive Principles of State Policy. With the sweeping victory of the Congress at the polls it is doubly imperative for all to know about the development and meaning of the concept of Welfare State.

CONCEPTION—OLD AND NEW

A good deal of misunderstanding and confusion is on account of a lot of ideas in currency about the real meaning and implications of such a state and it is therefore in the fitness of things to start by a fairly rigid definition of the Welfare State. "Essentially, it is a community where state power is deliberately used to modify the normal play of economic forces so as to obtain a more equal distribution of income," in this way ensuring for every citizen a basic minimum real income, irrespective of the market value of his work and of his property.

Such a view of the rights of the citizens and functions of the state is comparatively a radical one, and even as recently as a hundred years ago would have generally been regarded as outrageously revolutionary. In the middle of the 19th century the dominant Adam Smithian opinion among the social theorists was that society is merely an agglomeration of isolated self-regarding individuals that the greatest sum of human happiness would be achieved if the state stood aside and left individuals free to pursue their self-interest; that the only links between men which had any value were contracts which they entered into in their unhampered pursuit of self-interest; and that 'every law is an evil for every law is an infraction of liberty.' Everywhere the cry was to 'restrict the privilege to restrict.'

The owner of property was free to use his resources as he thought best and the man whose livelihood depended entirely on the wages he could earn by his labour was equally free to obtain from employers whatever he could extract from them in single-handed negotiation. The outcome, only too often, was that a minority enjoyed enormous possessions and incomes while many others spent their lives in almost unrestricted destitution and squalor.

THEORY OF THE NEW SOCIETY

The crude individualistic doctrine was attacked, breached, and finally overthrown because people experienced that people pursued self-interest to the point where they cripple the lives of their fellows and that many citizens are so hard-pressed that if left to their own resources they will be unable to resist such condition. On the ideological side came Jeremy Bentham and other utilitarians with their oft quoted slogan, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

The theoretical justification for the battle against poverty and for the use of state power to end destitution was first systematically enunciated at Oxford

There during the 'sixties' and 'seventies,' T. H. Green, Professor of Moral Philosophy, delivered his "Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation." He taught generations of students that:

"The life of the individual was absolutely dependent upon the life of the community, and that a scheme of thought which regarded the liberty of the individual as something distinct from the welfare of society, was entirely false. The individual depends on the community for all that makes life worth living; the community must therefore secure for the individual all the conditions necessary for his full spiritual development. . . . The state exists to secure 'a good life' for its members, not merely to prevent them from suffering concrete injuries. Liberty is not the absence of restraint, but a 'positive power of doing and enjoying something worth doing and worth enjoying' . . . The man who is enslaved by poverty is no more truly 'free' than the man who is locked up in prison. The true function of statesmanship is to produce a community in which all the individuals shall, so far as is possible, be capable of living and free to live, a good life."

From this doctrine it was but a short step to what Keynes, Beatrice and Sidney Webb called "guaranteeism," the "policy of securing to every individual, as the very basis of his life and work, a prescribed national minimum of the requisites for efficient parenthood and citizenship."

Then came the two world wars and depression over the next thirty five years and turned the theories of philosophers into realities. The two wars accustomed people to a state apparatus, which in the interest of society as a whole, limited and changed the rights and the obligations both of labour and property; they developed and trained an army of civil servants familiar with the arts and processes of regulating the ordinary man's life in detail; they taught all sections of the community to turn to the state for solutions and instructions.

WELFARE STATE AND SOCIALISM

The distinctive features of socialism are those of the communal ownership and control of the means of production (nationalization), and by the attempt to pursue and maintain material equality throughout the population. By contrast, the Welfare State is the attempt to provide everyone with the security of a basic minimum income; this can be provided without necessarily enforcing equality of incomes, without the nationalization of industry, and without expanding the degree of collectivism unavoidable in the day-to-day life of a community containing millions of people.

SOME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The essence of the Welfare State is almost the reverse of the 19th century individualistic economy. On the production side part of the nation's resources are used to provide every citizen with certain goods irrespective of whether or not he can (or wants to) pay for them: the criterion becomes human needs rather than purchasing power. For example, milk is produced for all children without expecting them or their parents to pay a price which will cover the cost of production. On the distribution side all citizens can depend upon a reasonable minimum of income irrespective of whether or not they work and save.

Of course, dependence on the forces of supply and demand is not entirely abandoned. Rather, what happens is that they now come into play only after

the State has provided everyone with a 'ground-floor' of material security.

It is this 'ground-floor' of material security which the commentators have in mind when they discuss the economic problems of the Welfare State. They argue that: It withdraws from the lazy worker the old spurs which formerly induced him to work diligently and regularly; it increased to a wasteful point his readiness to throw up his job and seek a new and more acceptable buyer of his skills; it reduces his readiness to learn new skills and shift to another trade when his old industry is threatened with redundancy; an unduly largely proportion of the nation's man-power has to be diverted to the administration of the Welfare benefits.

The largest amount of money required to finance the benefits of the Welfare State necessitate higher rates of taxation. Such taxation itself creates additional problems; it is said that: it deprives the worker of all incentive to earn more than his untaxed minimum; it makes it well nigh impossible for an ambitious worker to save enough to set up on his own; it leaves the middle class with no margin for saving and investment.

Additionally, the state has had to increase its revenue by strict taxes on profits; and here such taxes kill industrial initiative: no one but a fool is likely to shoulder the risks and worries of new projects when he knows that if he succeeds much of his rewards will be taken by the State; while if he fails the losses will fall on his own resources; the only sensible thing under these circumstances is to 'play safe' and carry on with the accepted routines.

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS
OF THE
SYSTEM

UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA



The second main body of defect of the Welfare State is that the taxation by which it is financed discourages the hard-working wage-earner and checks middle-class saving entrepreneurial initiative. The following U. K. figures are instructive:

Year	Net saving as percentage of personal income
1938	2.8
1939	2.0
1949	1.7

INDIA AND THE CONCEPT OF WELFARE STATE

For a hard-headed realist, with the Indian productive capacity being what it is the concept of Welfare State is only a long-term objective to be realised gradually by stages because 'Welfare' measures benefit the poorer sections of the community by a redistribution of income. The possibility of increasing national welfare through such palliative is, after all limited by the size of the cake and also by the fact that too much redistribution kills the incentive for increasing production. It does not help to argue that the numbers of pieces into which a cake can theoretically be cut is infinite—make half and there will always be half, because beyond a certain point the "half" which remains is only of academic interest. Sardar Patel was right in his wry assessment that "we have only poverty to distribute." The national salvation lies in the round increased production and that social welfare should be promoted as far as practicable, but the dangers of any precipitate policy must be coldly calculated. "The sound policy for those who believe in the Welfare State," the *Economist* declares "is that the State should seek to maintain for its citizens the highest standard of individual welfare that it can reasonably afford and does not undermine the economic efficiency or the political liberty of the citizens."

The Challenge of Communism in India

L. M. Schiff writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

Communism first began to receive notice in India towards the end of the twenties and it was primarily as an industrial movement that it gained influence. At a time when Gandhiji was inflaming the country with his peculiar brand of political idealism he more especially drew attention to the poverty of the peasant and by his dress, mode of living and constructive program expressed the feelings of the rural masses, but at that time little attention was given by the disciples of Gandhi to the cities and the first great wave of strikes and developing trade unionism rapidly led to communist leadership especially in Bombay. But the communists were still a small group talking a foreign language for the high-water mark at this time was the Meerut Conspiracy case in 1928-29. From then until the war the Government of India clamped down on communism and for long periods the party was illegal and largely underground.

Towards the end of the period before the war under the influence of the anti-fascist world outlook communists increased their influence in various 'Popular Front' movements and these were not without their influence in India. From attacking the Congress as a movement of the Indian bourgeoisie

the communists now began to enter the National Movement and were not uncordially received by some progressive leaders such as Pandit Nehru. In the National Movement of the thirties the communists began to increase their influence and there were a good many Marxists in the Secretariat of the Congress. The outbreak of war did not alter the situation until the invasion by the Nazis of the Soviet Union. At this point the Communist policy and that of the Congress diverged. The communists began to support the war effort, were given a freedom not hitherto granted by government and greatly increased their influence.

Their hostility to the movement of 1942 was used in the election campaign after the war to suggest that they had been agents of the police and enemies of freedom. This may explain the weakening of their position in the immediate post-war period. One should also mention their rather ambiguous attitude to partition and the Muslim problem generally. The Indian socialists finally crystallized out of the loose leftist groupings of the pre-war period and, as the present elections have proved, hate communism more than they do the Congress. The great influence that the communists had in the working-class areas of Bombay or Kanpur was to some extent lost, in part because of the Congress policy of putting the government behind the new INTUC Union organization. At this time the communist leadership was changed and the last vestige of involvement in the broad movement for independence or the 'bourgeois revolution' was abandoned. The able P. C. Joshi was replaced by the ultra-left Randive and the party came under the influence of adventurists and often of terrorists. But in this period the party began increasingly to pay attention to agrarian problems.

In 1951 after intense internal conflict the Randive leadership was replaced and the policy of the party is now clearly under the influence of the Chinese brand of communism. This puts great emphasis on land reform and the support of small industrialists and the middle class as against the large capitalists and foreign controlled capital. The influence of the party has increased by leaps and bounds, not so much in their old centres such as Kanpur and Bombay but in the South, where incidentally it had been most fiercely repressed. In the Telengana area of Hyderabad where the party had been virtually at war with the government and had actually redistributed land to the peasants, all fourteen communist candidates in these elections

FREE

KASHMIRI SHASTRA.

Here is the book which you needed. It contains 284 coloured photos of men and women. Write for Free copy. As. 8 to cover advertisements expenses, make haste lest you miss the chance.

PARIS ART HOUSE
HALQA. 5. (D-194) AMRITSAR



INDIAN PERIODICALS

have won seats. In Kerala (Travancore, Cochin and Malabar) they have had striking successes, and would have had many more had not the socialists split the vote. In Madras state they have also done very well, but largely due to their victories in Andhra and Malabar.

The part of their programme which concerns us here is that which deals with the agrarian problem. The party program of October 1952 writes: 'Agriculture and the peasant problem are of primary importance to the life of our country. We cannot develop agriculture to any considerable extent and provide the country with food and raw materials because the impoverished peasantry deprived of land is unable to purchase the most elementary agricultural implements and thus to improve its farming.' It proceeds to point out that in their impoverished state the peasants, constituting 80 per cent of the population, are unable to buy even a minimum of manufactured goods and are forced by poverty to go into the towns, thus 'swarming' the labour market, depressing the prices of labour, increasing unemployment and affecting the standards of the working-class also. This half-starved majority is deprived of the means to educate the children and thus contributes to conditions of cultural backwardness. The land of the landlords and the properties and incomes of the de-throned or enthroned princes are made inviolable. The landless peasant can have land, it appears, but only if he can buy it or compensate the landlord for it. But to buy land and to pay compensation capital is needed, and tens of millions of poor peasants

who live from hand to mouth have no capital therefore they have to stay without land and continue existence in poverty. The communist program suggests that to tackle this evil it is necessary to hand over landlord's land, without payment, to the peasants including agricultural labourers; and legalize this reform in the form of a special land law thus realizing abolition of landlordism without compensation.

It is necessary also to ensure a long-term and cheap credit for the peasants to enable them to purchase agricultural implements and the necessary raw materials, etc., to carry on their trade. It is further necessary to improve old and to build new irrigation systems and to cancel debts of peasant and small artisans to money-lenders. Finally it is necessary to ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers. It is obvious that such a land policy must be accompanied by a parallel policy in regard to industry, to relieve pressure on the land and to encourage indigenous industry. This involves limitation on unfair forms of competition by foreign capital. If we add to these points the emphasis on autonomous linguistic provinces, we shall get some idea of why the Communists have been so successful in elections in many parts of South India. Their influence is still very weak in the North, and, thanks to the lack of unity among the many parties of the Left, they have not done as well as might have been expected in Bengal.

Our new show room
and work shop at
167/C, 167/C/1, BOWBAZAR ST.
CALCUTTA.
AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR
ST. JUNCN
(Opposite Our Old Show Room)

**M. B. SIRKAR
& SONS**

Jewellers & Diamond merchants
Phone: B. B. 1761 Gram: BRILLIANTS
Branch--HINDUSTHAN MART
159/1/B, Rashbehari Avenue, Cal.

આવ. વિ. વિ. ૧૧૭૬
ગ્રામ બ્રિલિયન્ટ

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Gide and Santayana

Two Eminent Individualist-Humanists

Victor S. Yarros writes in *Unity*, November-December, 1951:

Our age is irreverent and distinctly skeptical. It is loath to bestow the order of merit on men or women of exceptional gifts and accomplishments. But there is no denying the uniqueness of Gide and Santayana in the realm of letters and thought. Neither founded a school, and neither had ambition or interest in popularity. Both were supremely independent, detached, far above the battles here below. Gide was not an original thinker in the last analysis. He was a man of letters rather than a philosopher, whereas Santayana is unAmerican in his philosophy, incurably Latin, and a poet rather than a logician. Both were stylists, and each created his style the better to express his unconventional ideas. Neither was ever quite satisfied with his formulations; each was full of nuances and shades of meaning beyond the comprehension of the average reader of difficult works.

I shall not pin any label on either of them. But we can consider the views they struggled with and managed to set down in advanced age for our edification.

In the first place, they were inveterate individualists, despite the collectivist trends and tides of the time. Technology did not particularly interest them. Gadgets meant nothing to them. Simple living and high thinking were their natural elements. Modern inventions left them indifferent. They had no love for mankind and professed none, though both were essentially Humanists.

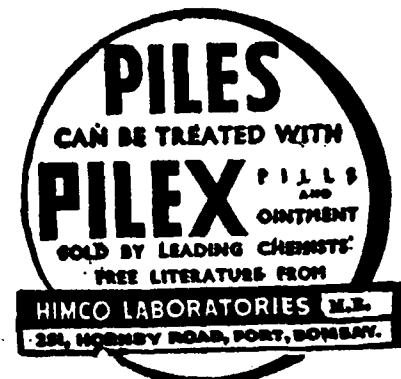
Santayana has repeatedly declared himself a materialist and a naturalist. This position, he insists, is not irreligious. The naturalist can be a poet, a musician, a lover of beauty and goodness. "Religion in essence is the recognition of the Powers on which our destiny truly depends and the art of propitiating those Powers and of living in devout harmony with them." The materialist is no foe of spirit, but of false claims in behalf of the spirit. He respects and is friendly to popular religion in so far as it exalts or serves spirit and makes for harmony.

Santayana is not a Christian and not a monotheist, if his words have any meaning. He speaks of Powers, not of a Power. He rejects what is called Revolution. If he perplexes the orthodox, he is sorry, but the style is the man, and he is, after all, a poet even in his prose. He is too subtle to be lucid, and he writes, like Stendhal, for the "happy few."

However, even the few are often perplexed by his expressions. Thus, in speaking of death he says that "it is easy, almost pleasant, to give up the world if we know what the world is, and we never die too soon if we have found something eternal to live with." This is a most enigmatic utterance. Is anything eternal? Is mankind eternal? Is the cosmos itself eternal?

If we die young, we have not "lived" with anything eternal long enough to enjoy the bliss; and being human, we cannot fail to regret the fact, unless we believe in a hereafter. Surely Santayana does not believe in the crude, naive, orthodox hereafter. It is clear that he has a nostalgic, sentimental attachment to Roman Catholicism. Reason hardly justifies that attachment, but we human beings are not always rational. Santayana is aware of that, but he is not a scientist nor a rigorous logician. Protestantism he calls "a tradesman's religion," and the ultimate Protestant ideal, he says, "is to have no outward or specific religion at all—no priests, churches, theology, scripture or Sabbath, indeed no God." This is gratuitous and arbitrary. Nothing in history warrants this inference. Nothing in logic justifies it. Catholics, too have been known to reject supernaturalism and embrace agnosticism, but not because of any peculiarity in their faith. Secularism and Humanism are steadily gaining ground at the expense of all orthodoxies and all supernaturalism. This is an irreversible trend, and all the sciences, physical and social, are contributing to it.

Santayana is no admirer of democracy, yet he is no aristocrat in principle. He sees little sense in counting heads, but even less sense in breaking them. What is the alternative—philosopher kings and presidents? Hardly! Santayana has been called a rational anarchist, but this is not really a fit label for him. He certainly is no State-ist, no collectivist, but neither does he favor class rule. Concrete issues, whether economic or political, seem not to interest him. He dwells, to repeat, in the realm of abstractions and generalizations. He has never taken part in reform movements. He is no fighter. Programs are not his forte. He is satisfied that war is not caused by human pugnacity and aggressiveness, and a ruthless world dictator, he opines, could do away with wars of strictly economic origin and nature. The other causes of war—and there are such—are apparently unpreventable as yet. The future may or may not solve that problem.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

81

Andre Gide, for years the acknowledged leader of the French literary world, was less complex and less baffling than Santayana. He, too, was first and last an individualist and Humanist. His record is less consistent than that of Santayana. Born into a strict austere Protestant and Calvinist family, he never quite freed himself from the influences of his childhood. His religious opinions underwent evolution, and at one period he was undoubtedly a theist, perhaps a Spinozist. His Catholic friends hoped at one time to convert him to their religious philosophy, but he was too critical and conscientious to commit himself to any very definite system. "Revelation," he wrote in his *Journals* shortly before his death, "what have I to do with it?" To a logical and rigorous thinker this was a strange question. What have we to do with Revelation? Why, everything. If Revelation was a fact, it was a world-shaking fact. It revolutionized human life. If it was a fiction, as rationalists hold, the recognition of that fact is equally revolutionary and world-shaking. If man must solve his own problems, without any aid from "divine" sources or powers—as the rationalists affirm—then supernaturalism in religion is worse than meaningless. If, as some theologians maintain, sinful man can never save himself and only divine grace and love can—and will—redeem him and eliminate evil from his future everlasting and abundant life in another world, then secularism and Humanism are the most dangerous delusions and snares, and our works on science and philosophy are heaps of rubbish.

Gide died an atheist, though he had used the term God in some obscure sense. He wrote in his *Journals* that God was still evolving and "becoming," and that we humans are his real creators. All gods are man-made, man-imagined, according to the rationalists. This is intelligible prose, not poetry or metaphor.

Gide was a mixture of classicism, romanticism, and impressionism. He was not a first-rate novelist, but a sincere and truth-seeking artist, given to introspection and conscious of his eccentricities—homosexuality, for example, a vice he was not ashamed of even in advanced age. He was always honest with himself. He was no superpatriot, and never pretended to be one. He admired German genius and said so. He was charged with cowardice, opportunism, and vacillation, and all he said was that he could see the other side of the questions which caused tension and discord between nations, races, and classes, and just had to be true to his own nature. Hypocrisy, dogmatism, and bigotry were utterly repugnant to him.

Socialism and Communism appealed to him as champions of social justice and equality, and he sympathized with the oppressed and exploited without ever doing much for them. Politics and economics he never studied scientifically. His half-formulated ideas in these spheres were superficial and lightly held. The spirit mattered more to Gide than any concrete program. He fervently welcomed the Bolshevik revolution, but a little experience in Russia, as a guest of the Kremlin and the "controlled" press, disillusioned and sobered him, and he repudiated the whole Soviet-Communist system. He was an anarchist in his attitude toward organized government, like Santayana. He owed his high position to his style, his versatility, his charity, and his freedom from fanaticism. On the whole, he was an attractive asset to Humanism and rationalism.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for Men and Women. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-3 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN** tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION**. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.O.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

nation's supply of meat, hides and wool by providing seasonal grazing for more than 8,000,000 head of cattle and sheep. The livestock are owned by private ranchers who pay a small fee to the U.S. Government for the privilege of grazing their herds in the national forests each summer.

National forests provide many of the finest recreational areas in the United States. Millions of Americans go to the forests each year to camp, picnic, hunt, fish, hike, swim, ski, climb mountains, ride horseback—or just to relax and enjoy the beauties of nature. The Forest Service maintains 4,500 public camping grounds and picnic areas and 230 winter sports areas. More than 50,000 miles of forest roads are used by motorists and thousands of miles of trails by hikers and horseback riders.

Hunters and fishermen may use the national forests so long as they observe state fish and game laws—the same restriction that applies to citizens who hunt or fish on private land. National forests contain one-third of the nation's big game animals such as deer, elk and moose and are the home of large numbers of small game and birds. Anglers can catch mountain trout and other fish along 90,000 miles of streams. Hundreds of lakes provide boating, fishing and swimming for Americans who want to spend holiday out-doors.

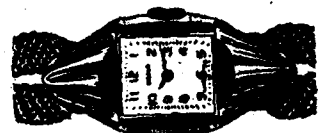
For people who enjoy forest in its original, primitive state, the U.S. Forest Service has set aside 77 wilderness and wild areas embracing 14 million acres. No roads or houses may be built in these areas, and no timber may be cut there. The idea is to leave nature undisturbed. Anyone travelling in a wilderness area must go on foot, by horseback or in a canoe. Since there are no lodges or hotels, he must carry his own bedding and food. A man who sits alone at night beside his campfire and listens to the night sounds of the wilderness is probably as far removed from civilization as it is possible to get in this age.

Although national forests provide many economic and recreational benefits for all Americans, the primary purpose of many national forests is to protect vital watersheds. Millions of Americans rely upon the high mountain forests to provide them with clean, pure water for domestic use, irrigation, generation of hydroelectric power and thousands of industrial uses. We know that floods increase and soil erodes when vegetation is stripped from watersheds. We know that the whole nation suffers when the forested areas are abused.

That is one of the reasons why the U.S. Forest Service protects national forests from fire, insects, tree diseases, unwise logging and overgrazing. It is one of the reasons why we feel that all Americans owe a debt of gratitude to pioneer conservationists who laid the foundation for the present system of national forests in the United States.

WRIST WATCH

FOR Rs. 3/- ONLY



Get a Wrist Watch for Rs. 3/- only, beauty and strength of which is guaranteed 10 years. Write today.

JAI HIND WATCH COY.
P. B. 7 (D-179/12) AMRITSAR.

Printed and published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Get your
child
used
to



TOOTH PASTE

For it has the following specialities:—

- (1) It contains all the antiseptic, germicidal and astringent properties of Neem Twigs, which are well-known for building strong healthy and bright white teeth of the Indians since ancient times.
- (2) In addition, it has all the very useful and important ingredients used in ancient and modern dental hygiene for the neutralisation of acid, prevention of pyorrhoea, caries, removing bad odour of the mouth and strengthening gums, etc.
- (3) Its use makes breath sweet and pleasant.
- (4) It does not contain any gritty substance or any injurious chemical or bleaching agents that harm the gum and enamel of the teeth.
- (5) To avoid any chance of lead contamination, it is filled in pure tin tubes.

Neem Tooth Paste is a class by itself and cannot be compared with other tooth pastes available in the market.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad visited recently an Exhibition of Orissa Arts and Crafts held in Puri



India's wealth of timber is displayed in the stall of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra-Dun

Truman Stresses U. S. Goal in Technical Co-operation Programme

Americans want the less developed countries of the world "to learn the methods of our science and our industry and use these methods to develop their own resources," President Truman declared, speaking before the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development.

Truman emphasised as the two guiding ideas of technical co-operation "first, co-operation, freely sought and freely given, and second, help to those who want to help themselves." He added: "To have peace, we must strike at the conditions of misery that envelop half the people of the earth. That is the purpose and the meaning of Point Four (technical co-operation)."

Other speakers at the privately-sponsored conference included W. Averell Harriman, director of the U.S. Mutual Security Agency; Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers; Lewis G. Hines, special representative of the American Federation of Labour; and Justice William O. Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court. All of them stressed the urgency and importance of the technical co-operation programme.

Harriman said it was important to remember that hunger and disease are a form of slavery, and that where they exist "it is folly to talk about freedom."

"It is possible for the world to have both bread and freedom," Reuter asserted.

Hines pointed out that the American Federation of Labour had always supported the technical co-operation programme. He added: "As the leading democratic country, and the nation with the highest industrial development, we have the greatest moral and material responsibility for helping the peoples of the world to harness modern technology in the service of human well-being, peaceful social progress and international harmony."

Justice Douglas told the conference that technical assistance should be accompanied by bold and dramatic economic and social reforms. He called for an extension of what he termed "the American Revolution of social justice." He said this should include representative democracy in which all men and women could vote as they choose and land reforms which would enable every farmer to cultivate his own soil.—USIS.

Progressive Educator Explains Theory of "Learning by Doing"

William Heard Kilpatrick, 80-year-old professor of education at Columbia University in New York City, is often called America's greatest teacher. His progressive educational theories have spread to all parts of the world. Students from 59 countries have attended his classes.

Core of Dr. Kilpatrick's philosophy is his belief that learning comes by doing. In a recent interview the famous educationist explained how his theory works in the classroom. He said:

"Learning comes only from experience. Children must learn all over, through thinking, feeling and bodily response. In the old formal days, school children 'learned' things in order to repeat them, to be examined on them. Those things never really became a part of their being. That is why they forgot most of them as soon as they left school."

This theory of learning by doing had already been expounded by John Dewey, leading American philosopher and teacher. Dr. Kilpatrick put it into practice with his famed project, or activity, curriculum. This method discards the formal curriculum with its emphasis on memorisation and recitation of teacher-assigned lessons. Instead, under the skilful guidance of teachers, children work on activities that they themselves have helped plan and in which they have a genuine interest. Routine classroom studies become mere tools in accomplishing the tasks they want to carry out.

"It is purpose that we want," said Dr. Kilpatrick, "worthy purpose, urgently sought. Get these and the interest will take care of itself."

The child may paint a picture, construct a motor boat, edit a newspaper, Dr. Kilpatrick continued. He may take part in community affairs. A biology class, studying about home, children and marriage, may organise a nursery for children of working mothers. An agricultural class may benefit local farmers by studying soil composition. Thinking, planning, initiating, working together, these children are developing self-reliance, independence, moral and civic responsibility.

"It is—first, last, and all the time—not subject matter which must immediately concern us," said Dr. Kilpatrick, "but life and personality and their best growth."

He was asked whether children in progressive schools learned reading, writing and arithmetic as well as in traditional schools.

"Indeed they do," said Dr. Kilpatrick. "Every survey made has shown that pupils in progressive schools do as well in every respect, and better in the creative areas, than traditional school children."

I. A. S.

1. How Mr. Mathur topped in I. P. S. competition?
2. How 125 candidates secured ranks in Asati's competition?
3. How you can also secure position?

Purchase for Rs. 4-8 only

U.P.S.C. ESSAYS

(written after 25 years coaching experience)

by Prof. N. K. Shrivastava, M.A., LL.B.

All India Competition Coach of New Delhi.

NAV-SAHITYA-MANDAL, Publishers, Subzimid, DELHI



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Dr. Kilpatrick's system has particular significance in a democracy where each person has a responsibility in local, state and national affairs. The better trained the individual to think, to plan, to find out, the greater his power to help evolve ways to national and international progress.—USIS.

Co-operatives Help Improve Farmers' Lot

Many farmers in the free world are creating better living conditions for themselves by working together in farm co-operatives. Through group action they are accomplishing much more than they could if each man worked separately.

Farm co-operatives, of course, are not new. They have had a long and successful history in Europe and the British Commonwealth, but it was not until recent years that they began springing up in many other parts of the world. Co-operatives are taking hold now in South America. They are proving helpful in India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippine Republic, Japan, Iran, Lebanon, Israel, Thailand and other nations.

In the United States, two-thirds of all farm families are served by one or more of the 20,000 farm co-operatives now in operation. Through these co-operatives U.S. farmers market their produce at fair prices. They buy petrol, oil, supplies, seed, fertilizer and machinery in lots at reduced prices. They get long-term credit at reasonable rates. Largely because of rural co-operatives, nearly 50 percent of all U.S. farmers now have electricity to light their homes, pump their water and make their daily work less burdensome.

U.S. farm co-operatives are of all sizes. Some serve only a hundred or so farmers. Others are vast and complex businesses like the California Fruit Growers Exchange, which has 15,000 citrus-fruit growers as members.

Often, it is necessary for farm co-operatives to have government aid if they are to get started and prosper.

Co-operative farming is a system of agriculture in which a number of farmers voluntarily join together to carry on all, or a part of, their farming operations. There are at least three ways to distinguish co-operative farming from collective farming.

First, membership in a co-operative is voluntary. If farmers are coerced in any way, the society ceases to be a co-operative.

Second, a co-operative is run democratically by majority vote of the members.

Third, each member of a co-operative profits according to the produce of his land and the fruits of his labour.—USIS.

The National Forests of the United States

Lyle F. Watts, Chief, U. S. Forest Service, writes in the *United States Information Service*:

The United States has 152 national forests that are owned and administered by the federal government. These forests, which embrace about 180 million acres, are located in 40 of the 48 states and in the territories of Alaska and Puerto Rico.

The Forest Service in the U.S. Department of Agriculture has the responsibility of seeing that the national forests serve the best interests of all people in the nation. As a guiding principle, we work for "the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run."

National forests have many uses. They produce timber, water for irrigation and municipal use, hydroelectric power, wildlife, grazing for livestock, minerals and recreational areas for millions of Americans. The Forest Service must weigh all of the uses of each national forest and manage the forests so that no single group is favoured above other groups.

Under U.S. Forest Service supervision, commercial loggers are now cutting around 4,500 million board feet (375 million cubic feet) of timber in the national forests each year. This is about one-tenth of all the timber harvested in the United States. National forest timber is sold at appraised value or by competitive bid to the highest bidder, who cuts only those trees that foresters have designated for cutting.

The national forests also are contributing to the

জীশিশির আচার্য্য চৌধুরী সম্পাদিত

বাংলা বর্ষলিপি নবম বর্ষ (১৩৫৯)

বাংলায় সমস্ত সাময়িক পত্রিকাসমূহ কর্তৃক উচ্চপ্রশংসিত
বাংলা ভাষার নির্ভরযোগ্য সর্বপ্রথম "ইন্টার বুক"।
১৩৫৯ সালের নতুন বই বন্ধিত কলেবরে অধিকত্তর
তথ্যসম্প্রদায় প্রকাশিত হইল।

মূল্য—২৫ টাকা ভিঃ পিঃ—৩০ টাকা

সংস্কৃতি বৈভবক

১৭, পতিতিয়া মেস, কলিকাতা-১২

DHOLE & CO.



RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT



CUTA-TONE
for CUTS • PAINS • BURNS Etc.



NEEM OINTMENT
for ITCHES & SORES

BARNAGORE • CALCUTTA



THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



1952

VOL. LXXXII.: No. 2

Whole No. 548

NOTES

The Bharat Sewak Samaj

Our sacred lore relates the story of *Siva* and *Sati*. After *Sati* had perished of sorrow at the insult offered to her Lord by her own father, *Siva* became frantic with grief and after destroying Daksha's *yajna* ceremonies he began to roam the three worlds with the lifeless body of *Sati*. *Siva* being thus bound with the chains of attachment and desire, *Dharma* the Supreme Law, became enfeebled and the worlds moved towards destruction. The gods took counsel and at their direction Vishnu cut *Sati's* body into fifty-two pieces with his *Sudarshan Chakra*. Thus freed from the source of all his bonds *Siva* again became completely *anasakta* (unattached) and tranquil ; *Dharma* again gained force in the worlds.

Our gods—that be, whatever their metal, have tied themselves up with the fetters of lust for power, *Dharma* the Supreme Law, is on the point of collapsing. It is a happy augury that a realisation of the writing on the wall has come to them—or rather it has been forced on to them by the storm of opposition from their political opponents aided by the resentful apathy of the Common Man, in the streets and the fields, towards the fate of their once chosen leaders. But where is the divine agency that will cut asunder the chains that is dragging them—and the nation—towards Nemesis?

The Bharat Sewak Samaj is born of that realisation. The official announcement runs thus :

Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, Member, Planning Commission, Government of India, said :

"The situation with which we are confronted today is that while our consumption standards and our social services stand at an exceedingly low level, even the meagre resources available for meeting the

current needs of the people are not being put to the best use and all the present opportunities for developing these resources and for increasing production are not being fully availed of. The impression is that the State at various levels is itself not setting a good example in this respect and this creates psychological resistance to any appeal to the people for greater sacrifices and an all-out effort. In this context it may be pointed out that the reputation of the administration for integrity and impartiality is of no less consequence than its standard of efficiency. The active elements find themselves in a largely negative, non-co-operative and destructive mood and as regards the masses we are still faced with their age-long ignorance and inertia. Some of the things which have produced this morbid outlook in the intelligent and active sections of the community are :

(i) Insufficient evidence of a firm and consistent social purpose in the policies and administration of the State.

(ii) Absence of substantial signs of progress and achievement and a series of unexplained and inexplicable failures and mistakes.

(iii) Confusion and demoralisation created by the play of power-politics around narrow personal or sectional ends.

(iv) The sight of too many people engaged in and thriving on selfish pursuits and unsocial acts, creating an overwhelming feeling of despair.

(v) The unsettling effect of unemployment and under-employment in the case of a large number of educated and semi-educated persons.

The most outstanding factor in the present social stalemate is the belief regarding the complacency of many of those who wield authority and bear the

responsibility for the conduct of the nation's affairs. The administration seems to have resigned itself to the deadening fact that we must curtail programmes and activities because we have not enough resources. But we seem to be oblivious of the other deadly fact that if we go on limiting life-giving social activities, we may turn the despair of the people into an incurable madness."

It will be noted that this statement does not carry any indictment of those who are either at head of affairs of the Union or are in authority in the States. We admit that it could not come from Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, placed as he is. But nonetheless the diagnosis of the ailments is incomplete thereby, and as such no cure can be hoped for.

What would be the function of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, and wherefrom will it draw the authority and power, without which it cannot possibly function for any good? These have to be clearly indicated. If it is merely designed to act as a passive barrier against the anti-social forces then the genesis and character of those have to be clearly understood by all. Such an attempt at analysis was made by Acharya Kripalani in the *Vigil* for June 28, under the caption "What is Patriotism." In that, after giving the Dictionary definition of Patriotism and giving examples of the changing of its historical connotation, from our own record, in aiding the John Company to establish the British empire and later, in the Mutiny, in attempting to re-establish Moghul empire by a joint effort of Hindu and Moslem, he gives his deductions regarding the present chaotic condition as follows:

"Patriotism in the past, as we have shown above, was quite consistent with the love and service of a foreign country or even foreign domination. Has this habit disappeared today? It has not altogether disappeared; but now-a-days it is generally rationalised. Those who indulge in this kind of love for the foreigner try to prove that ultimately it benefits the native land. Defence and support of British rule in India was for a long time considered a patriotic duty by public men including earlier Congressmen. When the Congress divided into two groups, the moderates believed that it was their patriotic duty to save the country from the extremists' desire to shake the foundations of the British Raj. That they thought would lead to chaos, and it and not slavery was the greatest danger to the country. The moderates managed to believe that the sum total of Britain's activity in India was for the benefit of India. This was the political faith in which Gandhiji himself was brought up. Before 1919 he freely gave expression to this idea. Earlier he advised Indians in South Africa to help the British in the Boer War if they aspired to be the equal citizens of the empire. In India, following the same logic, he carried on a recruiting campaign in Gujerat in 1917-18 during World War I. But the

people with their horse-sense knew better and the recruiting movement was an utter failure.

"During World War II many Indian patriots believed that national duty demanded absolute support of the British. Even those who were anti-Nazi were not averse to offer support. They only wanted their moderate demand, to give support through the agency of national leaders, to be conceded. They could not have been unaware of the fact that triumphant Allies would enslave other people as they did after World War I. They held that their demand granted, the otherwise imperial war would change its character and become a war of liberation. On the other hand, the Communists before Russia entered the war denounced it as an imperialist war. However, as soon as Russia came to be involved, the war's character by some kind of alchemy changed. It became the people's war, a war of liberation. In the pursuit of what they considered their patriotic duty the Communists denounced the 'Quit India' movement and offered their co-operation to the foreign government. Some of them, it is believed, were responsible for the arrest of underground workers. The Communists of course rationalised their attitude. They said that the defeat of Russia would mean slavery everywhere. The fight for Indian freedom was to be fought on the battle-fields of Russia! Communists are believed to hold the same view about the cold war that is going on today between the two Blocs. Their position is that if Russia is defeated in the next war it would mean the end of freedom in all countries including India. Indian freedom is again to be won by Russia and, what are called its satellite states! Common people laugh at such ideas, because they do not understand such mystical transformations. It is widely believed that if Soviet Russia were to declare the present government in India as progressive straightaway the Communists here will transfer their allegiance to Sri Nehru's government, which they oppose and denounce today!

"But it would be wrong to suppose that this extra-territorial patriotism, properly rationalised as the good of the native land, is the monopoly of the Communists. I have shown that it existed in different forms in recent and past history. Today, many undoubtedly patriotic Indians believe that it is our duty to ally ourselves with the Atlantic powers, principally with the U. K. and U.S.A. and even allow U.S.A. bases of operation in India against Soviet Russia. Like the Communists these rationalise their attitude. They believe that if Bolshevism succeeds, there will be an end to all freedom. Therefore perhaps Sri Rajagopalachari declared that Communism was his first enemy as he was the first enemy of the Communist. Had he no worse enemy! Capitalism, bribery, corruption in administration and blackmarket, though they undermine the character of the people, are less dangerous! It is

this attitude in high quarters that allows a long lease to the anti-social forces working in the country."

We may not all agree with all the arguments presented above. But it is time, beyond doubt, that we should search our hearts and decide for action. Disruption will not wait.

"To the Officials"

The following extract from *The Hindu* was printed in the *Harjan* of July 5. The directive is correct and the impulse behind it is correct as well. But the defect lies in the observance of it by the person himself who issues it. The man who loves temporal power and is drunk with the wine of autocracy, to whom adulation is life's blood, cannot very well expect that his underlings will believe, or give full value to, his words:

"The following is from a directive that the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal has issued to officers of Government:

"The governance of any country in the world today is no easy matter and the governance of a great and varied country like India is perhaps as hard a task as any in the world today.

"Any person who is associated with this governance must approach this great task with humility as well as with a measure of faith. Whether we are small men or big, we are engaged in great undertakings affecting the life and future of vast numbers of human beings. No man can say with certainty that success will come to him, but every man can determine to do his utmost to achieve success.

"The governance of a country does not merely consist in issuing orders from some high office but rather in reaching the minds and hearts of the masses of the people to bring about satisfactory human relations. Ultimately, almost every problem can be resolved into one of human relations.

"We have to deal with human beings and humanity and we can only deal with them if we always keep in view the human aspect of every problem. We are apt to forget this, living in our ivory towers of Government offices and dealing impersonally with files and papers. But behind those files and papers and the problems discussed in them, lie human beings."

Kashmir

The Kashmir tangle is again exercising the minds of all thoughtful persons. The U.N.O. too is again about to launch another effort as the following news-item, which appeared in the daily press recently would go to show:

"Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister of Defence, will represent India at the resumed mediation efforts which Dr. Graham, the U. N. Kashmir Mediator, will hold in Geneva in the third week of August, it is learned.

"Dr. Graham has been having talks with representatives of India and Pakistan at U. N. Headquarters

in New York on the demilitarisation question. It was reported that the talks had reached a stage when Dr. Graham felt it should now be held on a Cabinet level, preferably in Geneva. The Government of India had suggested New Delhi as the venue of the talks as it would not be possible to send a Cabinet Minister abroad especially when Parliament was in session.

"It is understood that the talks will now take place in the third week of August by which time both Houses of Parliament will have gone into recess."

Whether this effort will lead to anything tangible or make confusion more confounded is another matter. Judging by the choice of India's spokesman, we have little hopes of a just solution. We fear the *impasse* will continue in a still more aggravated form. We believe this very tangle is affecting the brains of Sheikh Abdullah, the Chief Minister of Kashmir.

This colorful gentleman, we believe, has begun his day-dreams afresh. The Sardar has vanished from the scene, leaving the wobbly Nehru, with his fetish of "secularism," at the mercy of the arch-plotters headed by that embodiment of mediaeval culture. So what harm if a venture is made into the realms of power-politics as shown by Machiavelli and Metternich? One need not be a king to dominate a State and all its nationals with autocratic powers, as has been demonstrated by any number of Presidents and Premiers in Central and South Americas. Nor need one form a neo-Pakistan by severing all relationships with India, in order to establish a Moslem hegemony over minority groups. Hence these feats of political legerdemain as exhibited by the adroit Sheikh Sahab.

The absurdities of his contentions are well-exposed by Acharya Kripalani in the *Vigil* for July 5. We append extracts below:

"Periodically Sheikh Abdullah, the Chief Minister of Kashmir, gives the public a peep into the working of his colourful mind. He expresses himself with such vehemence and passion that he creates an awkward situation for his and Kashmir's friends in India and delights the hearts of the enemies of Kashmir and India."

"It has been decided that Kashmir shall have its own separate flag. This is not the old flag but a new one. This privilege was not accorded to other Indian States that voluntarily joined the Indian Union or were forced by circumstances to do so. The general public and not merely the members of the Hindu communal organisations, therefore, fail to understand and appreciate the special treatment accorded to Kashmir in this matter."

"More important than the flag issue is that of the abolition of the nominal rule of the Dogra prince. Apart from consistency, it raises important constitutional issues. The question of consistency may be disposed of on the ground of political expediency. Conditions, say, in Hyderabad are quite different

from those in Kashmir. The one great difference is that in Kashmir the majority of the population is Muslim and the prince happens to be a Hindu. In Hyderabad, the majority population is Hindu and the prince happens to be a Muslim. In both States if public opinion is ascertained it would vote for the abolition of the princely order in any shape or form. In both cases there is bound to be some communal bias involved on account of the religion of the princes. In Mysore, the general opinion may be for the retention of the prince. But such an opinion will be communally unbiased. However, in the case of Kashmir if the princely order is abolished, India will not be suspected of Hindu communalism. If in Hyderabad the Nizam's constitutional rule is abolished, it will be said that Hindu communalism inspired the decision and the Government of India will be made to appear as a party to the decision. Such a suspicion cannot be allowed. It would appear that our authorities and some of our public men are suffering from some kind of communal inferiority complex. They must always be on their guard to prove to the world that theirs is a Secular State and that they have nothing to do with what may even remotely appear to be Hindu communalism, however just and equitable otherwise a particular course of action may be."

"Again, Kashmir has chosen to integrate with India only in the matter of three subjects, External Affairs, Defence, and Foreign Relations. If that is so, it stands to reason that its representatives can participate in the proceedings of the House of the People only when these subjects are under discussion. If they are allowed to participate in the debates concerning all the affairs of India and voting thereon, it will be suspected that the party in power wants to utilize Kashmir vote for further strengthening its position."

Very recently it has been announced that in addition to the three subjects there has been a further link, inasmuch as the Writ of the Supreme Court of India will obtain in Kashmir.

But at the same time the score is up on the other side too as the following news-item from the daily press of July 26 goes to show:

"Maharaja Sir Hari Singh's title to the 'rulership' of Jammu and Kashmir, with a dynastic history of 100 years, will be extinguished by a resolution of the State Constituent Assembly on August 11.

On that date the Assembly will also begin discussion on the proposal to elect Yuvraj Karan Singh as Head of the State, in accordance with decisions arrived at during the recent discussions.

Apparently, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference is still undecided about the Yuvraj's new title, but it is expected that one other than Rajpramukh or Governor will be chosen to denote his popular status. It is unlikely, however, that his emoluments will be substantially different from a State

Governor's or much lower than the net allowance he now receives from his father.

At present, the Maharaja pays to the Yuvraj Rs. 1 lakh a year out of his own privy purse of Rs. 15 lakhs, but the Yuvraj's income, it is understood, is subject to deductions by the 'ruler.'

As indicated by the Prime Minister on July 24, the Maharaja will probably continue to receive his entire privy purse, although it is doubtful if the State's share of Rs. 6 lakhs will be paid in future. Discussion in the Constituent Assembly on the resolution proposing Yuvraj Karan Singh as Head of the State, which will be moved by Sheikh Abdullah, is likely to continue for two days. No further business will be transacted by the Assembly during this brief session, but a further meeting may be called in October to discuss other details of the agreement reached in Delhi:

Addressing over 200 National Conference workers at Jammu on July 25, Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmir Premier, said that, in fact, there had never been any difference of opinion between India and Kashmir regarding their constitutional relationship which came into being five years ago. He added: 'We are against Hindu raj as much as Muslim raj. We shall continue to fight communalism everywhere in whatever shape it appears.' He accused Hindu communalists of designs to break the ties that bound India and Kashmir together but, he said, 'it was not a paper agreement but a union of hearts which no power on earth can loosen.'

Sheikh Abdullah who earlier arrived at Jammu from New Delhi accompanied by Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg, Revenue Minister, left for Srinagar by road with a car flying the Union Flag for the first time.

Pakistan has told Dr. Graham, U. N. Representative for Kashmir, that it is not averse to continuing discussion in Geneva as he has suggested, usually reliable sources said. The Pakistani Cabinet has considered Dr. Graham's latest proposals and sent a reply."

The ultimate solution lies in the lap of the gods of crooked *Welt Politik*. But there is increased dismay and resentment in the minds of all right-thinking Indians and joy, *per contra*, in the hearts of their enemies.

The Chinese Puzzle

We have been friendly with the Chinese people for over two millenniums, and our relations with the Chinese People's Government are extremely cordial even to-day. Therefore the significance of the following news-item that came into the daily press on July 29, is a bit of an enigma:

"The Chinese authorities of Tibet have now increased the number of Red troops in Yatung, it is reliably learnt. The number is estimated to be more than 2,000. It is stated that most of the houses of Tibetans in Yatung have been billeted for accom-

modating the troops. It is further stated that the Chinese have completed all preparations for constructing a road from Yatung to the Indian border and that the 'liberation' troops will begin the work this week."

Perhaps the Chinese under Mao Tse-tung, who is a realist, are taking a forward view of international affairs and preparing for all eventualities. We wonder what our Foreign Affairs department, which is guided by Pandit Nehru, who is anything but a realist and is an infant in diplomacy, is doing under the circumstances.

Railroad or Road to Ruin?

At the time when the completion of the Assam Link was announced with a great deal of fan-fare by Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, little was said about the cost. The taxpayer's money is nobody's concern these days, excepting when non-political nation-building projects are asked for. Then we hear a great deal about shortage of funds and the Central Cabinet's responsibility to the tax-payer.

The amazing financial muddle perpetrated by Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar's department, and the ruinous lack of control the Railway Board has displayed in this very same Assam Link, has been highlighted by the *Vigil* in its July 19 issue. As it is based on the Railway Audit Report 1951, there can be no challenging of facts.

We do not know the exact quantum of money wasted by this project and neither are we in a position to apportion blame, but the way the Admirable Crichton of Pandit Nehru's choice has held the reins of his department cannot but cause astonishment to all who know the ways of bureaucracy. We append a few choice extracts:

"Out of the total cost of Rs. 8.53 crores of the Assam Rail Link Project, the value of contract works was about Rs. 3.80 crores, of which contracts of the value of Rs. 83 lakhs were awarded by the Railway Board on the basis of 'Single Tender' (Rs. 51 lakhs for Bridge work and Rs. 32 lakhs for other than Bridge Work). Contract works of the value of Rs. 88 lakhs were also executed by the Engineer-in-Chief with the approval of the Railway Board either on Single Tender basis or after inviting limited or open tenders. Under the rules, all contracts for over Rs. 5,000 in value should be placed after tenders have been called for in the most open and public manner possible and with adequate notice, except where, for reasons which should be in the public interest, the Engineer-in-Chief decides that it is not practicable or advantageous to call for tenders. 371 contracts amounting to Rs. 2.09 crores, each costing more than Rs. 5,000 were given out under the powers of the Engineer-in-Chief and of these, there were about 300 works of approximate value of Rs. 1.7 crores given out otherwise than on open tender. The latter included earthwork involving

a total value of Rs. 80 lakhs approximately, which was given out on rates fixed by the Engineer-in-Chief.

"From early 1948, Audit drew the attention of the Engineer-in-Chief to the provision in the rules regarding invitation of open tenders but, even with the advantage of a break in the working season afforded by the prolonged monsoon which could profitably have been utilised for planning and for inviting open tenders, there was no change in policy."

"In regard to other works for the working seasons of 1948-49 and 1949-50 tenders were invited for 72 works through Press and for 115 works by circulation of notices to all approved contractors, Public Works Department, other Government Departments, and private bodies such as Municipalities and other institutions. The response to tenders invited through Press was poor. This unsatisfactory response appears to be due partly to the fact that the tender notices did not give adequate time as required by the rules. This aspect of want of adequate notice was also taken up by Audit since 1948."

"Audit view is that whatever justification there might have been in the earlier stages for dispensing with open tenders, there was not the same justification after the first working season. Even if the adoption of the open tender in isolated cases in the initial stage had not proved fully encouraging, partly due to adequate notice not having been given and partly due to the special conditions prevailing at the commencement of the project, it cannot be accepted that sufficiently valid grounds existed for the general disregard of the open tender system throughout."

"The irregular features of the case are:

(a) Limited tenders for the purpose of this contract were called for without furnishing complete sets of drawings showing the general dimensions of the proposed works, as required under the rules for such special types of works. Limited tenders called for thus did not serve any useful purpose for comparative study of the rates. The Administration have explained that it would have taken them not less than 6 months to complete the structural drawings and designs, etc., and that for works of this nature, it is not uncommon to take advantage of the knowledge and experience of well-known technical firms by asking them to give complete structural drawings and designs along with their quotations. This complete dependence on the outside firm was due to the delay in fixing the final location of this station and the inability of the Administration to complete structural drawings within the same time that the contracting firm was apparently able to do.

(b) Reasons for dispensing with open tenders for this work costing about Rs. 5 lakhs have been explained as due to the fact that the construction being of a special nature (earthquake proof), it could not be entrusted to firms, who were not organised or ex-

perienced in the line and were not conversant with local conditions. The explanation is not convincing to the Audit.

(c) The commencement of this work prior to the execution of the contract or settlement of rates and the failure to obtain the financial advice of the officer available on the spot, at any stage in the negotiations, were objectionable. Permitting the starting of work before finalising rates cannot but place the Administration in an embarrassing position in negotiating rates. The Administration have explained that although recorded acceptance of the rates is not forthcoming, the rates for the work in foundations were settled before the contractor was allowed to start the work."

Jute and Pakistan

Jute is the mainstay of Pakistan's trade. Indeed it is the base on which its entire present-day economic structure rests. But the world-depression has affected its jute exports vitally and further the boosting-up of India's jute production has severely affected prices. Drastic measures are being decided upon as the following news-item in the *Statesman* of July 30 would show. The news emanates from the official sources in Dacca. This news clearly shows how acutely deficit in rice East Pakistan is:

"The recent decision to reduce jute cultivation in East Bengal to 25 per cent of its present total acreage, which was confirmed by the East Pakistani Premier, Mr. Nurul Amin, is indicative of the realistic approach that is now being adopted towards the problem.

"Factors which have influenced this move include the substantial carry over from last season, amounting to about 1,300,000 bales, and a growing realization that the jute boom, caused by world stockpiling and the Korean war, may not return, at least for the present. Moreover, the reduction in jute acreage will leave more land free for growing food-crops.

"Paddy and rice are now selling at substantially higher prices than jute, a reversal of the position during the boom. The minimum Government selling price for Jat Bottoms jute is Rs. 17 per maund at *kutcha* baling centres, while at the grower's door it is Rs. 1-8 less. It is, however, difficult to assess what percentage of the growers are actually getting these prices. On the other hand, the present provincial average price for rice is Rs. 22-13 per maund. Thus the raising of food-crops would be more advantageous to the cultivator. What lends support to this view is the fact that East Bengal has an annual rice deficit of 7m tons, while the shortage in pulses and oil seeds is greater."

Coup de Etat in Egypt

There was a dramatic and sudden change in the turn of events in Egypt towards the end of July. As

yet it is too early to say what this change signifies. But the portents are not favourable towards the British.

"King Farouk, ruler of Egypt for 17 years, abdicated on July 26, on the demand of the Army which ordered him to leave Egypt before 6 o'clock.

"The ex-King sailed from Alexandria with Queen Narriman in the royal yacht, *Mahroussa*, escorted by two destroyers, punctually at 6 p.m. With them was their seven-month-old son, Prince Ahmed Fuad, in whose favour he has abdicated. His two eldest daughters by his first wife, Farida, were also on board. They were believed to be going to the Italian port of Genoa from where they may fly to the U.S.A. Mr. Caffery, the U.S. Ambassador, saw the royal exiles off. It is reported that Mr. Caffery, the only foreign diplomat to be received by Farouk between his abdication and departure, handed him a message from the U.S. Government."

The Man of the Hour, General Neguib, seems to possess a reasonable frame of mind as the following news-item would show. But the party he has put in power might not be so even-minded:

"General Neguib, Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army, in a statement published on July 29, in the daily *Sawt es-Sudan*, said: 'Unity of the Nile Valley should be the result of the Sudanese people's free choice. It should not be imposed on them.'

"The newspaper said General Neguib supported unity of the Nile Valley, but wishes it to be realized in a manner acceptable to both countries. He thought unity should be realized after British evacuation."

Mossadiq Back in Power

Persian affairs have again gone into an *impasse* with the return of Dr. Mossadiq to power. Passions are again running high and it is to be seen as to how the Premier solves the vital problem of finance. His objective of nationalisation will have the approval of the democratic world, but the methods proposed are open to question.

The following news-item cabled from Teheran gives an idea of the temper of the Persian Majlis. The reference to the International Court brings to our mind a certain misconception that has gained ground after the International Court refused to entertain the case brought in by Britain. The decision given does not affect the case as it stands, the Court merely stated that the case was beyond its jurisdiction.

"All Deputies walked out of the Majlis when an Opposition member, Mr. Ashrafi took his seat amid cries of 'You are a traitor' from the visitors' gallery.

"Mr. Ashrafi followed the Deputies as they trooped out, when they returned a few minutes later he was not with them. The Majlis overwhelmingly approved Dr. Mossadiq's programme submitted two

days ago, 68 of the 69 Deputies present voting for its acceptance.

"An independent Deputy, Mr. Damawandi, demanded the removal of the American advisers with the Persian armed forces. He recalled that the American judge had voted against Persia when the International Court recently passed judgment on the oil dispute with Britain.

"Dr. Mossadiq's programme promises widespread reforms of the electoral laws and judiciary and education systems, and betterment of the people's condition. The extra funds necessary for the programme would be found by cutting down Government spending and increasing taxes and use of country's oil resources.

"Foreign policy would be based on 'friendly relations with all nations' within the framework of the U. N. Charter."

Korea. The Aftermath of Yalu River Raid

The massive bombing of the Yalu River power stations and grid has had far-reaching repercussions. The American point of view is thus explained in the *New York Times* as quoted in the *American Reporter* of July 16. We present it without comments:

"There has been an astonishing amount of confusion and fuzzy-mindedness in the almost worldwide reaction to United Nations air raids on the Yalu River power grid in Northern Korea. The Communist Peiping radio, however, will assist in setting minds at rest. The oracle has spoken, oracularly, and this is what it says:

"Anyone with common sense knows that a hydro-electric power station is a project of peaceful construction devoid of all military significance."

"For this reason the United Nations raids are denounced by the Communists as an 'atrocious,' an act of the 'utmost barbarity' against 'beautiful and peaceful targets.' At the same time the Communists suggest the hope that earnest persons of goodwill throughout the world will deplore this 'arbitrary' attempt to upset the 'peace' negotiations at Panmun-jom.

"Of course, 'anyone with common sense' is not supposed to know that the Yalu power grid has supplied the radar network for the anti-aircraft batteries that have been shooting down American and Commonwealth fliers and guiding the Russian-built jets down MIG Alley. He is not supposed to know that those Suho generators power shore batteries that fire on United Nations ships, that they supply arsenals in which the mortar shells are fabricated to kill boys from Iowa and Gloucestershire. These installations, 'devoid of all military significance,' just happen also to supply some of the current for the Soviet naval base at Port Arthur.

"The Peiping radio, however, has left one question unanswered. Why does a United Nations air raid

against such a power station on Korean soil upset 'peace' negotiations while a Communist mass assault with infantry and armour on a United Nations ground position, also on Korean soil, presumably has no effect on that same negotiation? Apparently if one fights in the air, that is political. If he fights on the ground, that is merely coincidental. The 'peace' negotiation was undertaken when the Communists wanted it. It has been obstructed and prolonged as it suited the Communist purpose. It will end, one way or the other, when the Communists think that end to be advantageous."

Regarding the Korean truce negotiations, the *World Interpreter* of June 13 had the following comments to make:

"The Korean truce negotiations, at one and the same time, are more hopeful than they appear on the surface, and more filled with technical complexities than the average newspaper reader knows. Hard as the job may be, this column will undertake to bring certain hidden factors into the open, and show what really has to be resolved before a settlement can be expected—yet why, nevertheless, a truce is not impossible.

The one big issue remaining is that of war prisoners. In a legal sense, the North Korean and Chinese Communists have something of a case on their side. You have read about the Geneva Convention, which the U. N. spokesmen say they have faithfully observed. This Convention is a pact signed as far back as 1884 by many countries, at Geneva, Switzerland, to regulate the treatment of wounded, together with other steps for a more humane waging of war. The Convention was later expanded—in 1906, especially, when the Convention largely as we know it today was adopted. There have been subsequent additions.

Note This: As recently as 1948, in the spirit of the Geneva Convention, an agreement was signed by Russia, Britain and the United States, providing that prisoners of war should be returned to their country of origin. The Communists in Korea, therefore, on the face of it, have legality on their side when they demand the return of all their captive fighting men. After World War II, Britain brought back forcibly some of its soldiers who wanted to stay in former enemy lands, and placed them on trial. But speaking of legality, is the Korean conflict a war, or a "police action"? The North Koreans did not declare war when they invaded South Korea, and in doing so they were striking against their own country, whose government was domiciled in the area they attacked. Furthermore, the Red Chinese still insist that their troops are "volunteers," and if that is true, what claim on them has the government at Peiping?"

But despite all complexities, there is the supreme question, is this war worthwhile? Here again the

American point of view was fully demonstrated by the *Newsweek* of New York in its June 30 issue. We append an extract :

"Never had the American people waged a war that was so drearily stalemated, or talked about a truce that was so gnawingly frustrating. After two years of fighting since the North Korean Communists crossed the 38th Parallel on June 25, 1950, and after one year of talking since Jacob A. Malik of Russia orated on 'The Price of Peace' on June 23, 1951, the war seemed as unending and the peace seemed as elusive as ever.

Was the Korean war therefore a horrible mistake? This week, the topmost leaders of the U. N. Command in Tokyo and of the Defense Department in Washington took a new look at the war on its second anniversary. They came up with these replies to four loaded questions :

Is the Korean war futile? : As one ranking U. S. officer of the U. N. Command puts it, the Korean war has—

- Solidified the free world's determination to resist Red expansionism ;
- Disrupted the existing time-table of Communist aggression ;
- Awakened free and would-be free men to the deadly, implacable, and ruthless character of Communism ;
- Made the U. N. realize battles are fought not merely by military forces in the field but by ideologies in men's minds ;
- Created a mutual respect among the fighting men of those nations devoted to the cause of peace, freedom, and individual dignity ;
- Gained precious time to be used for military research, production, and above all, planning on a global scale.

Against this official GHQ view stands the personal protest of Maj.-Gen. Daniel H. Hudelson, who just returned to civilian life after commanding the 40th Infantry Division (Southern California National Guard) in Korea. Writing in the *Hearst* newspapers this week, he echoed the feelings of many Americans who were unhappy about being bogged down in a bloody but limited war in which there was no hope for victory :

"We are not fighting to win in Korea. And that is not the American way of fighting ; not the American way of doing things. I don't think the war we are fighting today . . . is a military war in any sense of the word. The opposite of military is political . . . I don't think we have accomplished one single thing by remaining in Korea . . . It resolves itself to this : We have got our foot stuck in the door. We can't get in or out. We are there. Period."

Is the U. N. effort a flop? : Pentagon leaders are not satisfied that all our allies have contributed as much as they might. They are pressing the State Department continually to obtain further commitments from U. N. laggards. But they realize that many

of the fifteen nations fighting alongside the U. S. and the Republic of Korea are also combating the Reds elsewhere, as are the French in Indo-China and the British in Malaya.

They feel that the multinational alliance has worked amazingly well. Indeed, the national differences that stood in the way of an efficient 'Shape' in Europe might not have been overcome were it not for the extraordinary example of the U. N. Command in Asia.

Is the cost too heavy? : The Korean war's cost, in the Defense Department's view, must be weighed against what it has bought. The 109,971 American casualties listed last week—19,329 of them dead and 9,684 missing—plus the \$7,000,000,000 annual cost are a frighteningly heavy price to pay for a hunk of not too strategic real estate. But the price is precious little if, by standing up to Red aggression in Korea and by girding our military loins elsewhere, we have staved off or made sure of winning a third world war.

Are the truce talks doomed? : Tokyo GHQ passes the buck on this question to the Kremlin. It depends on whether the Reds think they have gained all they can in Korea and whether they hope to offset their failure there with success elsewhere.

Washington still hopes that the POW-repatriation issue, the last roadblock in the way of peace, can be smoothed away. But it fears that the truce talks will peter out indecisively. Its best hope, in such a case, is that the retraining of the ROK Army, which is being given equal priority with combat itself, will make it possible to withdraw most American troops eventually."

The final answer is yet to come. The question still stands : is there a way-out? And likewise, was there any other way? History does not provide an answer.

Questions and Answers

Shree Basanta Kumar Das (Contai, Midnapore) is one of the star questioners in the Central Assembly. He has been its member for the last four years and a little above. During this period, this quiet and unassuming man has enabled us to learn things about the administration of India and Pakistan.

On May 22nd and 27th, he asked questions about Pakistan's treatment of the Hindus, and got answers from the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister combined in one person; the answers are not satisfactory. It could not be otherwise. Those who know something of the genesis of the Pakistani idea, of its growth and fulfilment could not expect better things. They should know by now that there were two ways of dealing with Pakistan—one, the Nehru-way of stooping to conquer,—the other need not be specified. Till then there will be witch-hunting on both sides of the border.

On the 20th June, Shree Basanta Kumar Das asked questions of the Central Food Minister, Janab Rafi Ahmed Kidwai on the food problem in West Bengal. The answers will explain the questions :

"(a) Chakdah in Nadia District and Hatgachi, Bermajur and Hasnabad in Sunderban area.

(b) Severe distress prevails in all these places particularly in three Thanas of 24-Parganas, viz., (1) Hasnabad, (2) Sandeshkhali and (3) Part of Haroa. The population affected in this area is 4.1 lakhs approximately.

(c) The prevalence of acute distress in these areas is due to (i) considerable damage caused to crops on account of breaches in the embankments in consequence of floods of September, 1950; (ii) failure of crops due to irregular rainfall in 1951; (iii) high price of rice and (iv) low purchasing power of the people.

(d) One of the reasons for the rise in prices in 24-Parganas district is that local rice is being smuggled into Calcutta. The State Government are being given extra rice for distribution in Calcutta through a chain of special shops and simultaneously measures against smuggling of rice into Calcutta will be tightened. These measures have the effect of stopping local rice from leaving the area, and the price is expected to fall. The Government are also issuing 10,000 tons of rice and 10,000 tons of wheat in the affected parts at a reduced price of Rs. 15 per maund.

(e) About 8,500 people are daily provided with work on test works and gratuitous relief has been rendered to more than 5,000 families.

Besides, 5,000 mds. of wheat and 5,000 mds. of rice are being distributed as gratuitous doles through non-official organisations.

(f) On the 15th June, 1952, the Government of West Bengal had the following stocks :

Rice	92,400 tons
Wheat	156,600 tons
	249,000 tons

(g) The present rate of distribution under modified rationing is about 2,200 tons of rice and 2,200 tons of wheat per week. At this rate the requirement for the period June to December will be roughly 66,000 tons of rice and 66,000 tons of wheat. But the population covered by modified rationing is likely to increase during the coming months. During last year the actual distribution under modified rationing for the period June to December amounted to 54,000 tons of rice and 106,000 tons of wheat or a total of 160,000 tons. Distribution this year may go up to about 75,000 tons of rice and 70,000 tons of wheat. West Bengal Government estimate that during this period they will have to distribute 95,000 tons of rice and 89,000 tons of wheat under modified rationing."

Supplementaries followed in which other members

also took part. Shri Das asked the following with their answers as below :

May I know what is the effect of the steps so far taken and how far the price of rice has fallen?

When I was in 24-Parganas and Nadia the prices were about Rs. 45 a maund. Yesterday's reports were that the prices have fallen to Rs. 30-2-0 a maund.

May I know whether these measures have been taken in other districts outside the 24-Parganas?

The measures have been taken wherever distress prevailed or the price of rice had gone up to Rs. 45 a maund.

May I know whether it is a fact that the pressure of procurement of rice from the outlying districts to Calcutta is one of the reasons of distress, so that large quantities of rice are smuggled into Calcutta and the price has gone up in the outlying areas?

It is not a case of the procured rice. The rice that is being smuggled into Calcutta are sold at high prices.

May I know what steps are being taken to stop that smuggling and whether it is a fact that the Government is going to take charge of the rationed area of Calcutta in order to reduce the pressure?

Government has undertaken to provide all that is required for the rationing of the Calcutta Industrial area so that the rice procured from different districts should be retained in those areas and be sold wherever there is distress.

May I know what has been actually sent to the Province of West Bengal by this time?

I cannot actually say 'how much.' But they have got sufficient stock to feed Calcutta for three months and I think it is more than 35,000 tons. Some of it has reached there already and other ships will be reaching Calcutta in the course of the next month.

May I know, sir, whether Government is prepared to take the responsibility for the whole quantity of rice that will be necessary as stated by the Hon. Minister in reply to part (g) of the question?

Yes.

Dr. M. M. Das : May I know whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the fact that a virulent propaganda is being carried on by some interested political parties to the effect that the consumption of wheat is detrimental to the health of the Bengalis and therefore should not be consumed by the people of the famine-stricken areas?

Of course, interested parties may say anything, but I have told them that the change of diet is doing good to the Bengalis. (Laughter).

Pandit L. K. Maitra : The Hon. Minister just now stated that as an interim measure of relief he has sanctioned 5,000 tons of wheat and rice for free distribution to people and 10,000 tons of wheat and rice for sale at Rs. 15 a maund. Do I take it, sir, that that is the final amount that he is considering, or will he go

on increasing it from time to time when necessity arises?

STATEMENT

The details of measures sanctioned by the West Bengal Government for the alleviation of distress in scarcity areas are:

Nature of relief	Amount sanctioned
1. Agricultural Loans	250,000
2. Land Improvement Loans	68,550
3. Crop Loans	507,900
4. Gratuitous Relief	120,000
5. Loans to Artisans	700
6. Test Works	60,554

The Government of West Bengal are distributing 7,160 lbs. of milk powder and 531 of multipurpose food to needy persons, they are also distributing 10,000 pieces of cloth, blankets and children's garments.

We think that arrangements so far made are all that Governments can do. The rest is for the people.

Unity of India

On March 1 last, the Prime Minister of India, visited the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works which have grown near Asansol in the district of Burdwan. He spoke to the workers on the "Unity of India," and on their being "partners" of this new enterprise. On the former topic he stressed the obvious. Our age-long history has created this unity in spite of regional rivalries and language difficulties. But he missed the central point that Indian "unity" has been built on federalism—the unity that is enriched by differences—all bringing their special richness to beautify the whole. We, however, reproduce this portion of the speech from *Chittaranjan*, a periodical, devoted to the interests of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works.

"Many people who are employed in these workshops are from Bengal, Bihar and many other Provinces. We have gathered here to make India independent in respect of her requirements of locomotive. We have got independence for the whole of India and not for any particular Province or Provinces. It is only for a proper administration that India has been divided into the different Provinces. There may be minor differences among inhabitants residing in different parts of our country, but we must not forget that we have one history, one culture and one civilisation. The Workshops established here are not for Bengal and Bihar only, but it has to meet the need of whole of India. My advice to you all, irrespective of your Provincial affiliation, is that you should work hard and put in your united and strenuous efforts to make the venture a success."

We would have been more pleased if Pandit Nehru had, in the past, taken some more interest in actively preventing the victimisation of some provincials by others. Preaching becomes meaningless after a time if it be not followed by action.

"Regional Planning"

Reading an article in the *Leader* of Allahabad, dated May 12 last from the pen of Prof. V. K. Sri-

vastava Khandwa, we are again reminded of the unreasonable attitude of the Nehru Government and the Congress Party in the matter of redistribution of Provincial boundaries. Wrote the Professor:

"The Bombay Plan assumed the existing Provincial and State boundaries, as constituting suitable regions. But the Reconstruction Planning Report, however, recognised that industrial development could not proceed according to artificial Government boundaries. It must depend upon the geography of raw materials, power and markets. The formation of the Provincial boundaries has been mostly sporadic. There is, however, a move for the fresh demarcation of the State boundaries and reconstitution of States on linguistic basis. The economic geography of the country also presses hard the need for regrouping of regions in a different way. It must naturally be related to the distribution of natural resources or some major economic factors. That the existing Provincial boundaries do not correspond to the distribution of economic resources and the need for their proper development is admitted. But a satisfactory scheme of economic regions has not yet been evolved. The scheme proposed by Professor Coupland, similar to the TVA example and based on the agricultural divisions, envisaged the four regions, namely, the Indus, the Ganges, the Delta and the Deccan. Now, after partition, this has become unworkable. Dr. R. K. Mukherji was of opinion that the deltas cannot be separated from the up-river regions. This also violates the generalisation by Mr. Lilienthal, that the regions should not be so large that they are not, in a management sense, of 'workable' size."

Prof. Srivastava is not unaware or unconscious of the Federal Constitution of our State and of the necessity of having a strong centre. He cites the example of the Soviet Union to explain his position:

"The Soviet State Planning Commission in its report of 1926 declared that the entire State system was so constructed that the frictionless course of the whole mechanism without crisis and catastrophes would be ensured, while the whole working collectivity participated consciously in the aggregate social production. In Russia, the general plan for the U.S.S.R. was drafted by the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, but each of the various republics that combined to form the Union had its own State Planning Commission which drafted a scheme for the economic development of its own area. It is necessary that in our country, there must be established Planning departments with qualified personnels in all the States. Even the local self-governing bodies, such as Municipalities, District and Taluka Boards and Panchayats, have to play their vital part. Instead of having full-fledged planning commissions for ever. State, we have development Commissioners chiefly for community projects in certain States, planning officer

have been appointed for districts. It is necessary that there should be apparent as well as underlying unity in the set-up of the administrative machinery and its working for all different regions. Making a fine Utopian blue-print of a plan is not difficult. It is the honest and efficient execution of the plan that requires great care, effort and sagacity. The sphere of work for each region should be independent of red tapism and undue interference, and yet there should be proper co-ordination and adjustments. The Central Planning Commission should invite their own plans for regional development from the regional planning authorities, since different regions have different aspirations and different resources to satisfy them. In the absence of such an appreciation, 'the steam-roller of national planning is bound to suppress the just claims of certain regions while vested interests succeed in boosting up the claims of others.' India is a vast country, made up of several territories that considerably differ from each other in respect of natural geography, geology, natural resources, human resources, language, culture and political administration. It is, therefore, in the interest of all these regions as well as of the country that Regional Planning Commissions are established in each State, with their powers and responsibilities properly defined.

"There is a need for both positive and negative methods in order to correct the regional disparities. The positive method stands for laying the foundation for development in areas where potential resources for expansion exist but have not been exploited. This would mean, in most cases, large-scale extension of irrigation, facilities for agriculture, development of adequate provision of power and transport facilities for industrial expansion. The negative method is difficult to be acted upon; it means disintegration. There are certain forces in the modern economic organisation which are making for the dispersion of industry. The cotton mill industry in India was formerly confined to the town and island of Bombay, but has now been established at several up-country centres like Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Hubli and also Nagpur, Madras and Kanpur.

"Finally, it is well to remember that democratic Planning pre-supposes an over-all unity of policy combined with proper diffusion of power and responsibility. Regional planning should be vested in the hands of local authorities. The function of the Central Government should be to evolve a co-ordinated policy and to act as an ultimate source of reference in case of conflict between local or sectional interest. The regional authorities must, however, arrange to build up the strength of administrative personnel, requiring specialised talent and experience, and as the Draft Plan said, the capacity of the administration system to be able to cope with its functions at all points, is vital to the success of planning."

Facilities of Passport System

Mr. Azizuddin Ahmad, Pakistan's Minister of State for Minorities, said in a broadcast at Lahore that the passport system between India and Pakistan would "further facilitate" the movement of traffic between the two countries. "Without the introduction of passport system," he said, "it is impossible to ascertain the number of Indian nationals who are residing in East Pakistan or that of Pakistan nationals in India." He said that Hindus in East Pakistan were free to transfer their immovable property. In 1946, a total number of 8,173 sale deeds were registered out of which 6,480 sales were by Hindus including a sum of Rs. 36,76,960. In 1951, sales were made by the Hindu involving a sum of over Rs. one crore and four lakhs, he added.

Earlier he told correspondents that the language problem in East Bengal was a "really serious issue." No amount of compulsion in regard to language issue would improve matters, he said.

He did not say why the Hindus sold so much more of their property in 1951 than in 1946. Nor did he say anything regarding the fairness of these sales.

Dalmia and Pakistan

"The great Hindu tycoon Seth Dalmia is doing a roaring business in Pakistan. In both wings of our country he has his factories and business. A clever and shrewd businessman, he has placed some Muslims and Europeans in each of his firms, so that the common man may not know who actually runs the show.

"Here, in East Pakistan, he has a mighty drum-producing plant near Dacca's airport, Tejgaon. This firm, which is known by its familiar name of Allen Berry and Company, works in a manner which makes average Pakistani suspicious of the whole thing. There is a hush hush atmosphere and no one is allowed to enter the factory. The clever Dalmia's chief Director, Mr. R. Sharma, has drafted a Nazi from Hitler's Land to rule the roost. His name: H. P. Pence. This German engineer, drawing a salary of Rs. 2,500, is as rude and crude to his visitors and workers as the machines.

"A Muslim-hater, he is determined to dismiss the Muslim workers of the factory. He has already started his campaign of hate and malice against the poor Muslim employees, many of whom are leaving their jobs in utter disgust and frustration. Pence, *Star* learns, has not got his 'de-nazification certificate.' If that is a fact, will our sleeping beauties of the Eden Buildings take legal action against him and deport him to the country of his birth. The attitude of this German Manager towards Pakistan is very unhealthy, and the sooner he is packed off the better for Pakistan.

"It is understood that he is on a three-year contract with the Company. Let Dalmia transfer him to Bharat. We, in Pakistan, cannot tolerate such people

courts. There are two Bishops and 23 priests in active ministry. The church constituency is poor and has suffered a great deal under Roman Catholics in the past. The Protestant groups in the country are the Lutherans, Reformed, Baptist, Brethren, Methodists and Adventists. These protestant churches are to be found largely in northern Yugoslavia. They are principally ethnic minorities of Hungarian, Slovak, German or Vend descent. Their priests have been usually trained abroad. One of their most acute needs is the provision of adequate ministerial leadership, there being no Evangelical Faculty in Yugoslavia."

This last quotation should have a lesson for the Nehru Government. Their handling of the "language problem" has been inept, and politically dangerous. It will destroy national solidarity.

"How Tito Woos Asia"

The following curious piece of news was given in the *New York Newsweek* for July 21. It is revealing both in the light of international stresses and in the glimpse it gives us of the American attitude towards peace-loving nations.

"India and Iran are reported to be the first targets of Belgrade's diplomatic offensive. Yugoslavia's relationship with these countries should be purely nominal since neither geography nor economic interests warrant any particular intimacy between them. Yet within the last months two of Yugoslavia's ablest diplomats have been sent to New Delhi and Teheran.

"Dr. Jozef Vilfan, who arrived in India early this year as ambassador, had been an Under-Secretary for foreign affairs. According to diplomatic reports, his instructions were to encourage neutralist psychology in India and to point to Yugoslavia's anti-Kremlin Communism as an example for India to follow. Vilfan seems to have acquitted himself well in both tasks. At a recent banquet in his honor, the newly appointed Indian Ambassador to Moscow, K. P. S. Menon, is reported to have said: 'The Soviet and American blocs are like two ships going in opposite directions headed for an inevitable collision. India and Yugoslavia are in the third ship sailing serenely in the right direction.' Similar expressions have appeared in the Indian press. During his few months in New Delhi Vilfan has also been successful in persuading the Socialist leader, Rammanohar Lohia, to pay an extensive visit to Yugoslavia and an Indian mission to study the Yugoslav organization of labor and agriculture. These visits have been engineered at the time when U. S. Ambassador Chester Bowles has been trying to organize small landowners into free American-style co-operatives as an alternative to the Communist-style collectives.

"The Yugoslavs are following a similar line in Teheran. The neutralist movement there is sparked by the Minister, Serif Sehovitch, a top Yugoslav diplomat. He is a Moslem from Bosnia and was, prior

to getting his current assignment, stationed in Greece, where he did a brilliant job improving relations between the two countries after the Tito-Cominform break. Some diplomatic reports maintain it was Sehovitch who finally persuaded Premier Mossadegh that it was not only possible but eminently profitable to accept American money and American military and Point Four missions without incurring any obligations whatsoever. On Marshal Tito's birthday, May 25, diplomats in Teheran were startled to see a full page of the semi-official French-language newspaper *Le Journal de Teheran* devoted in Yugoslavia and its leader. 'It is quite obvious,' one of the articles said, 'that outside powers have an interest in maintaining and strengthening the independence of Yugoslavia and in giving her aid for that reason. But the Yugoslavs remain strictly neutral and will not join any alliances.' This line is supposed to have made a deep impression on Premier Mossadegh."

Military Studies Association of India

Captain Liddel Hart, well-known British authority on the Science of Warfare, has agreed to become the Vice-President of the Military Studies Association of India. The Association, which has its headquarters at Baroda, has as its aims the encouragement of the study of military subjects and creation of interest in defence problems and the establishment of a military library. Captain Liddel Hart in a message to Mr. Jadhav wishing the Association success, said that there was "great need for a more scientific approach to military studies which have been neglected, compared with other branches of knowledge."

"If you wish for peace, understand war," Captain Liddel Hart said.

Mr. Jadhav is in communication with the Head of Indian Universities and Colleges for popularizing scientific studies of military problems. He said that he had already received very encouraging response from the Vice-Chancellors of some Universities and Heads of Education Institutions.

This news was given to the public on June 1949, by Sri M. G. Jadhav, Director of the Association. We commented on the news at the time as our excuse for referring to it was lack of news of the activities, and of activities of kindred nature in other States. Even the Bhonsle Military College at Nashik founded by the late Dr. B. S. Moonje, is a side matter could not be better at other centres. In West Bengal, while Sri Bhupati Mazumdar was in charge of Home Defence, there was a certain amount of activity.

So long we have armed enemies, it is useless to think in the terms of disarmament. And if we have an armed force for defence, we have to be abreast of world developments in the science of warfare. We have paid for our isolationism with

centuries of abject slavery. Need we repeat the experiment?

Israel—To Cede Territory?

On July 11 last a news from Jerusalem reported that Col. Abid Shishakly, said to be the "strong man" of Syria and its Chief of Staff, had demanded that Israel should hand over to Syria "the eastern shore of Sea of Galilee." This drew attention to his intention to have "far-reaching revision of the armistice border."

This revision consists of (a) a strip 10-kilometre wide on the eastern shore of the Sea, hitherto recognized by Syria itself as the border between these two States; (b) drainage work on the Israel side of the Huleh swamps "to cease." The latter had caused an armed dispute between Israel and Syria.

Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt are reported to have joined Syria in making the demands and a foreign State, unnamed, is reported to have put "pressure" on Israel.

We do not think that Israel, so soon after her heroic fight with her enemies, Muslim and Christian, would consent to such a revision. She would be justified in resisting such "pressure." We have always sympathized with the Zionist movement, because that small nation, fighting under heavy odds, against seven States, Yemen, Ibn Saud's Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt, has enlisted on her side the world's admiration. Any number of the *Jewish Frontier*, an organ of Israel's nationalism, can be perused to show the burning desire to make good what was achieved in 1947-48. An article published in it in February last from the pen of Abba S. Eban on the "refugee" problem would demonstrate our point. We quote the following words:

"In addition to these two reasons which endow the Arab States with special responsibility—namely, their part in the creation of the problem and the close ties of kinship which bind them to the refugees—there is a third and most important consideration. It is the consideration of capacity. They can solve the problem: they are in a position to do it. Surely they might regard this as a privileged capacity, as an honored privilege. By this I mean that the States in which the refugee population now finds itself do, in their aggregate, possess the resources of land, of water and even of finance which could, within the shortest possible time, rescue the refugees from their present plight. I do not need to contrast the vast land and water resources of the Arab States against the far more limited and meager resources of land and water which lie to Israel's hand. Nevertheless, if Israel, with these minute resources, in a relative sense has been able to absorb 700,000 refugees, it is not difficult to estimate how much more easily and with how much less cruel strain the much wider and more generously endowed Arab States could, if the spirit of kinship and responsibility moved them, assist the international community in the settlement of this problem. Day by day we read

of the vast royalties which Arab Governments and countries and territories receive for the natural resources with which they are so plentifully endowed. The most minute fraction of these assets devoted to the common cause of humanity and to the cause of refugee resettlement would make an immediate impact upon the settlement of this problem."

The Muslim and Christian States of the Middle East boast of their high principles. Add to this the vaunted Islamic solidarity. Where is it today, at least in the matter of Muslim "refugees"?

In John Gunther's *Inside Asia*, we have a picture of Caim Weizmann, the head of the State of Israel, which reveals the man and his conception of the Israel to be. He dreamt dreams as all men, great and small, do. He was a dreamer and a chemist and he came to the assistance of Lloyd George who was "searching for technical assistance in the preparation of explosives. There was an acute shortage of acetone, a substance indispensable to cordite manufacture . . . Synthetic acetone—and much else—was an imperative necessity. . . . Within some weeks Weizmann had discovered a method of manufacturing acetone . . . (p. 614)" Victory was won for Britain, and victory for "political Zionism." The Balfour declaration was its outer expression.

With such a history, it is not likely that the Syrian proposal will be easily entertained. Tension will continue. The Arab States will be responsible for it.

"Christianity and Reconciliation of Nations"

Christian leaders have been anxious to prove that the founder of their religion, "The Prince of Peace," as he was called by his message of the Fatherhood of God, paved the way for world brotherhood. Prof. Dodd of London, speaks highly of it as reconciling the Jew and the Gentile—always a difficult problem as the world has been finding today. Religion has not been able to reconcile nations. The dividing lines have increased number; economics has joined hands to add to the tensions. It is really human nature that is at fault. Today it uses religion for crusades or *jehads*; tomorrow nationalism; on the third day economic interests; and on the fourth, perhaps, the plea of preservation of peace.

Britain's Experiment in Free Litigation

Shree Sunit B. Kher writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, commends Britain's new experiment in "free litigation."

"The Legal Aid and Advice Act, which received the Royal assent on 30th July, 1949, and which came into partial operation on 2nd October, 1950, has been widely acclaimed in Britain as a revolutionary experiment in free litigation. It is a venture of great social and legal significance and formed part of the

policy of the first Socialist Government of Britain to improve the lot of the common man by extending the social services in the country.

The Act is mainly based on the report of the Rushcliffe Committee which was appointed in 1944 to inquire into the facilities existing in England and Wales for giving legal aid and assistance to poor persons and to make recommendations for the purpose of rendering such aid and assistance more effective.

The object of the act is to provide for the establishment of a scheme to afford legal aid and advice for the benefit of persons of limited means and for making legal assistance in criminal proceedings more readily available for such persons. There are five basic principles underlying the act. They are, first of all that no person ought to be deprived of legal advice or if necessary legal representation before any court in the country by reason only of lack of means. Secondly, that those who can afford to pay nothing should receive their legal aid free, but that those who can afford to contribute something towards their own costs should contribute what they can afford. Thirdly, that the legal services should be provided by the legal profession, who should receive fair and reasonable remuneration for their services. Fourthly, that the administration of the scheme should not be by a department of State or a local authority but should be by the profession itself. Finally, that in so far as it is not found from other services, the cost should be borne by the State.

The act is divided into two parts. Part I deals with (A) Legal Aid in Civil Courts and (B) Legal Advice and Preliminary Legal Aid. Part II deals with (C) Legal Aid in Criminal Courts.

As regards legal aid in Civil Courts the principle of the scheme contemplated by the act is that legal aid should be available to persons, to be called "assisted persons" whose disposable income does not exceed £420 a year and whose disposable capital does not exceed £500. Whether this is so or not will be determined by a body known as the National Assistance Board, acting through its local officers. In assessing the means of an applicant, the National Assistance Board will deduct a number of payments, such as maternity benefits, sick pay, disability pensions, an allowance in respect of each child of the marriage, income-tax, rates, interest on loans, and other payments which people have to make. This means that at the present standard rate of income-tax, there will come within the scope of the scheme persons with a gross income of up to £700 or £760 a year. It has been estimated that some 12,000 persons may qualify for legal aid under Part I of the scheme.

After the assessment of his means as aforesaid, every assisted litigant will be required to contribute or not, as the case may be, towards his own costs. Where the assisted person can afford to make a contri-

bution to the costs of his case, he will be liable to pay an amount which will be settled by the board with due regard to his financial resources. The amount of his contributions out of income will be calculated according to a formula. Any man or woman whose disposable income does not exceed £3 a week—£156 per annum—is deemed to afford nothing. Beyond that figure he will contribute half of the difference between that figure and the actual amount assessed as being his disposable income, subject in the case of a married man, to a wife's allowance of £52 a year. To illustrate this point, if a married man applies for a certificate with a disposable income of £308 a year, exclusive of his wife's allowance of £52, then his disposable income is, in fact, £256 per annum. Had it been £156 he would have paid nothing. The difference between £156 and £256 is £100. His maximum liability for his own costs is one-half of that figure that is to say, £50. If the proceedings are comparatively cheap and the bill is less than £50, he would pay the whole costs himself. If they go on appeal to the House of Lords and the costs rise, even, say £2000 or more, he will not be required to pay more than the £50 maximum and any balance will be found by the State. As regards capital, he will also be assessed and required to contribute in the case of a single man all capital over £75 and of a married man all capital over £150.

To work the scheme successfully, it is essential to make provision for ascertaining whether a prospective litigant has a reasonable cause of action, for assessing the actual contribution which he can reasonably be expected to make, and finally for conducting the litigation. In order to secure these objects the Government has placed the primary responsibility for the scheme, upon the legal profession itself. The administration of the scheme, both for legal aid in civil proceedings and for legal advice, will be in the hands of the Law Society (a body of Solicitors incorporated by Royal Charter) with the addition of representatives of the General Council of the Bar, under the general guidance of the Lord Chancellor. For purposes of administration, England and Wales are divided into 12 Areas. For each area there will be an area committee, consisting of some fifteen practising barristers and solicitors. The day-to-day working of the system is a matter for the Area Committee. Thus it will be responsible for the preparation of panels of barristers and solicitors willing to participate in the schemes; the provision of adequate facilities for legal advice in their areas; the handling of contributions; and the rendering of estimates, reports and accounts to the Law Society. In each area there will be local committees.

The key which normally opens the door to legal aid for financially eligible applicant is a "civil aid certificate." A person who wishes to receive legal aid will have to apply to a local committee for the civil

aid certificate. Legal aid will be refused unless the local committee is satisfied that the applicant for assistance has reasonable grounds for taking, defending or being a party to the proceedings and the case is one of a type which it would be reasonable for him to prosecute or defend at his own expense. By these means it is intended to secure that vexatious, frivolous or other discreditable proceedings or proceedings in which the costs are likely to be out of all proportion to the amount or importance of the claim, are not brought at the public expense. It is not intended to allow the legal aid system to become the means of furthering litigation of a trumpety or unworthy nature which the reasonable citizen would not pursue even if he had the means.

It is about time that similar provisions were made in India. Here "justice" is unobtainable to the man of moderate means.

Land for the Tiller

The *Washington Post* on July 7th editorially lauds India's latest land reforms as a "thrilling" demonstration of democracy in which the people of India themselves have set about to work out their own destiny.

The editorial says:

"The transfer of 60 million acres (24 million hectares) to peasant ownership in India the other day was one of the proudest accomplishments of Prime Minister Nehru's Government. For farmer-ownership is a symbol of human dignity; and the lack of it, is the old absentee landlord system throughout Southern Asia, which has been one of the most effective rallying cries of Communist propaganda. But there is mighty little dignity in trying to scratch a living from a tiny farm with the antiquated methods and implements that are almost universal in India. A change in land ownership will not provide one additional bushel of grain, and will not decrease India's dependence on food imports by a single dollar, unless it is accompanied by improved farming techniques and by access to cheap and easy credit.

"In the State of Uttar Pradesh, where the 60 million acres changed hands, most of the holdings are too small to be economic with the kind of equipment at the farmers' disposal. Even the freeholders, of whom there are many in this State, have found it hard to earn a subsistence living from three-acre (1.2 hectare) plots that are little more than kitchen gardens. The Indian farmer needs not only to own his land and to get out of the clutches of the moneylender, he also has to learn to rotate his crops. He must have credit facilities to buy fertilizer and steel-tipped plows; and of course he needs clean water to prevent disease and, if possible, to irrigate his field. Fortunately the Indian Government is aware of these imperatives, and the United States is helping, through the Point Four programme, to see that the basic needs are satisfied.

"Certainly the United States cannot insure

India's democratic future simply by spending dollars or sending technicians there. The Indian Government and the people themselves are the only ones who can keep free their subcontinent. But what makes the latest land reform in India so reassuring and so thrilling is that it shows the Indians themselves at work to shape their future. If every underdeveloped country showed such vision and energy, there would be fewer fears about totalitarianism finding new worlds in Asia to infiltrate and conquer."—*USIS*.

"Bapu Raj Patrika"

Mira Behn does not spare herself in the service of the poor. The "Pashu-Lok" in Dehra-Dun in the Uttar Pradesh is an institution in Animal Husbandry that is destined to be an exemplar to all India. She does not use the modern methods of fertilizers and tractors, but depends on nature to renew the fertility of her soil and on human and animal labour to do the necessary work. Her institution is not a profit-making venture. But she insists that it must pay its way as her Master, Gandhiji, intended.

The *Bapu Raj Patrika*, an English version of the Hindi Patrika "addressed to the peasantry of India," is introduced to the public, price three annas, is published from Gopal Ashram, P.O. Pilkhi in the Tehri-Garhwal. It reprints the address that Mira Behn delivered at Barhaput-Bhauri on February 12 last. Therein she briefly described Bapuji's ideal of a happy India that will ensure *Bapu Raj*.

"1. There will be self-sufficient healthy villages in which man's primary needs of life are produced, namely, food, clothing and houses.

"2. The Government will be quite simple. No people will live in palaces, and no people will burn up thousands of rupees worth of petrol. The powers of Government will rest principally in the village Panchayat, which itself will be a true guide and servant of the whole village.

"3. There will be quite simple decentralized law in which exploiting lawyers will have no place, and the poor man will not have to run to far-away law courts.

"4. There will be honourable police, strong in discipline, honesty, and a true sense of service to the people. At the same time the hugely expensive army, spending crores and crores of rupees, will be dispensed with. Aeroplanes will also be dispensed with.

"5. There will be no capitalists whose factories will be destroying our village industries."

The 6th clause speaks of there being no "foreign loans" which are having a baneful influence on India's home economy and foreign policy. Since then she had toured on horse-back through the Muzaffarnagar and Shaharanpur districts. She found "the people" in "deep discontent" regarding the "present state of affairs" (p. 7). She has made a report of these experiences and sent copies to our Rashtrapati and Prime Minister specially. The article says:

"When the time comes for distribution of the zamindari lands we must proceed on a definite plan which will be based on three main necessities: 1. Grain and fodder crops, 2. Grazing lands, and 3. Trees.

"The best lands must be kept for cultivation, some of the medium lands for grazing and the inferior lands for trees. Where grazing lands have been ploughed up they will have to be given back to the cattle. In the same way patches of land will have to be devoted to the growing of trees for fire-wood. This will not be difficult when extra lands become available out of the Zamindaris.

"The destruction of grazing land which is now taking place all over India will mean the destruction of our Mother Cow. This will mean the end of bullocks, and if there are no bullocks to plough the fields, there will be no grain, so the death of the Mother Cow means the death of us all. Therefore it is that the grazing lands have to be given back to the cattle if we do not want to be destroyed."

Ness Wadia's Services to the Poor

The Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat have in a resolution, extolled the great services of Sir Ness Wadia in the cause of the poor. The resolution says:

"The Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat have heard with the deepest regret the news of the sad demise in April last of Sir Ness Wadia and place on record their sincere appreciation of the great services rendered by him to the Parsi community, specially in the direction of housing the poor and the needy. He carried out the wishes of his revered mother in spirit and in the letter in the administration of her magnificent donations to the Parsi community. His own charities for the benefit of all classes and creeds will ever be remembered by a grateful public. The example he has set not only to the community but to the City of Bombay in industrial enterprise, Philanthropy, Industry and Integrity should be a guiding star to the youth of the community. The Trustees convey to his son and daughter their deepest sympathy in their bereavement."

The Parsi community has acquired the skill of earning money like a trader. But it spends like a prince.

Asian Students' Poor Show

The Statesman of July 25, carried the following report:

"Mr. Justice S. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, told reporters in Calcutta that Melbourne University had imposed stricter conditions for the entry of students from India and other Asian countries. This step, he said, had been taken because of the low percentage of passes among such students at various examinations of that University in 1951. Of the 93 Asian students in the first year, only 19 passed. The results of Indian students, particularly in engineering, had been disappointing. Among them were some who had failed twice in the first year

engineering examination, and, in accordance with the regulations of the University, are excluded from further studies in that subject.

The University had decided that in future only those Indian students who had passed the Intermediate examination in the first division in their country would be allowed to sit for its Matriculation examination. Hitherto, any Indian student who had passed the Intermediate examination, irrespective of any division, was allowed to sit for the Melbourne Matriculation examination. Indian students desiring to undertake post-graduate work in Melbourne University should either be first class M.A.s or have post-graduate research work to their credit.

Mr. Banerjee urged students to devote themselves to studies so that when they went abroad they might give a good account of themselves, and thereby enhance the prestige of the University to which they belonged. It was for this reason, he added, that he was trying to raise the standard of the examinations."

The recent attempts at raising "the standards of the examinations," laudable though they might be in conception, have been ridiculous in the extreme in execution. It is useless to exhort students for further efforts if the teachers and professors are not efficient and if paper-setters and examiners are allowed to follow the crankiest of methods in the examinations.

The recent slaughters of the examinees in the Intermediate and the degree examinations in Arts and Sciences in Calcutta have made it clear that Mr. Banerjee's University has become a gambling machine so far as the students are concerned. The B.A. and B.Sc. examinations were those who had passed the difficult hurdles of I.A. and I.Sc. in 1949 and 1950. We refuse to believe that only a third of them had the brains or the application to pass the examination and that after they had passed their college tests.

Heaven help the University of Calcutta if the present regime with its ludicrous ideas of "standards" remain long in charge. The Vice-Chancellor would do well to devote a part of his time in overhauling the methods of teaching and the mental faculties of the examiners.

The Cambridge Examinations

The following letter appeared in the Hindustan Standard of July 25. We agree in the main with the writer's contentions. But so long we have a gentleman at the head of the Education portfolio, who has neither knowledge about modern methods nor the capacity to gather correct advice, what else could we expect?

"Sir,—A conference of representatives of part A, B and C States under the chairmanship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has passed a resolution that the examination conducted by the Cambridge Syndicate be gradually replaced by an Indian examination which

will retain its merits but will be more suited to Indian conditions and needs.

"I consider the above resolution to be very unfortunate. What are these 'Indian conditions and needs'? I think in the matter of education a good system is good for all. And what 'needs' can India talk of until she has become a great nation with much experience? The only change that I would suggest would be to divide the subject 'Religious Knowledge' into three sections, namely, Christian, Muslim and Hindu. The conference recognised the high standard of education provided by the Cambridge examination. If so, then why meddle with it? Is it for vanity? The conference was also resolved to see that the new examination should in no way be lower in standard. But why are the Matriculation examinations (which are really School Certificate examinations just as the Cambridge School Certificate examination is) lower in standard? Why not raise their standard? Why a new examination? And why not allow the Cambridge examination to be held side by side? It would not be for the good of India if the proposed new examination fails to maintain the standard and at the same time the Cambridge examination goes.—Yours, etc., Indra N. Borra, Delhi."

Danish Fisheries

Danish News published by the Royal Danish Legation from Bombay, tells a story of Indo-Danish trade relations under new conditions:

"Denmark has an extensive coastline, and as the surrounding waters are rich in fish she has always been a fishing nation. Proximity to great markets to the West and South was a prime factor in the development of the Danish fisheries into a leading export industry.

"The Danish seine also had a considerable share. This lenient implement increased the catch while maintaining the traditional Danish quality. Fishing grounds are being pushed farther and farther afield. This has made increasing demands on the quality of the fishing vessels. They must be able to stand up to all weathers, including violent storms when hundreds of miles out in open sea.

"Modern sea-going Danish cutters, mostly over 20 gross tons, are carvel-built, of oak and beech. They have very powerful engines. They are equipped with all the latest navigational devices, which, with radio telephone and telegraph, make life on board as comfortable as is possible in the limited space available. Some cutters carry freezing plants to enable fish to be processed and preserved on board while fresh. Danish fishing vessels and Danish marine diesel engines, like Danish fish, are known and marketed throughout the world. Interested import firms may contact the Royal Danish Legation, Commercial Section, Pallonji Mansion, New Cuffe Parade, Bombay 5."

Revised Definition of "Tea"

"Tea" shall be the leaves, leaf buds and stalk of Thea Sinensis and Thea Cammelia prepared by trade processes and shall not contain any foreign matter or any tea which has been in any measure deprived of its proper quality, strength or virtue.

The Calcutta High Court has held that stalks and stems from part of tea and their mixing with tea is no adulteration.

The Court allowed the appeal preferred by a tea merchants' firm here, set aside their conviction and sentences and acquitted them. The tea which was seized and forfeited was directed to be returned to the appellants.

The appellants were charged under the Calcutta Municipal Act for storing, exposing and offering for sale tea which on analysis had been found to be adulterated with foreign matter.

Delivering judgment in the case, the learned judges observed that the leaves and buds must inevitably be accompanied by some proportion of stalks and, in their view, the stalks were really part of the leaf and bud and could not be wholly divorced from the same and regarded as matter foreign to the tea.

Several other appeals including one by a leading tea firm against the Municipal Magistrate's decision, awarding sentences for similar offences, are still pending before the High Court.

How we, the consumers, will be affected by this High Court decision has yet to be seen. We fear that more stalk than leaf and bud will be the order of the day for the planters.

Prodigies and Mathematics

Recently there has been some publicity about the feats of mental mathematics by an Indian Prodigy—an young lady—abroad. The following extract from the London Discovery for April is interesting in that context. Of course, we are drawing no parallels between the young lady in question and the cases cited in the extract.

Remembering is a mysterious human activity without a moderate amount of which social life would be impossible. It is an activity familiar to all of us. Yet very little is known about it in a general way and there is even today, after a century or so of psychology, no satisfactory theory of memory. As the Oxford experimental psychologist, O. L. Zangwill, writes: "The cerebral basis of memory remains an enigma." One thing can be asserted, however, with some assurance: remembering has the attributes of a specific skill rather than of general mental ability. It can be considerably improved on specific activities by training. It can be independent of intelligence. Furthermore, the degree of natural untrained memory is in-born and not acquired during lifetime.

All these facts are brought out in a book just published, a book written by a modest author whose only care is to present within one book the known facts about numerous 'lightning calculators' and other prodigies—*Mental Prodigies*, by Fred Barlow (London, Hutchinson's Scientific and Technical Publications, 1951, 256, pp., 12s. 6d.).

The first chapter lists nineteen calculators and gives some details of their lives and achievements. Twenty-four miscellaneous examples in brief are then mentioned. Of the nineteen, five were known to be stupid. Jedediah Buxton (1702-72), for instance, had at maturity the mind of a child of ten. Yet, when presented with the problem of calculating the number of cubic eighths of an inch in a body whose three dimensions were 23,145,789 yards, 5,642,732 yards, and 54,965 yards, he worked it all out accurately in his head. Even more remarkable is Oscar Verhaeghe, a Belgian. In 1943, he was referred to as an adolescent of seventeen with the mental age of a babe of two years. He was examined by a committee of savants, including mathematicians. He cubed 689 in six seconds, gave the fourth power of 1246 in ten seconds and raised 9,999,999 to the fifth power in a minute. Another five of the nineteen were uneducated. On the other hand, a number of the remaining nine were well-educated and achieved great things. There was Ampere, for example, and there was Gauss, who when not quite three years old followed mentally a calculation of his father's and detected a mistake in the answer. He entertained the court of the Duchy of Brunswick with his calculations when he was fourteen years old. Not intelligence or good birth or education or mature achievement was common to all the nineteen. What they had common was an interest in figures and a prodigious memory. In the case of the unintelligent ones this specialised interest was helped by their ignorance of other matters. The fact that some of them were youthful prodigies and yet lost their powers is accounted for by the extension of their interests as they matured. In fact, the author contends that many a young fellow could attain to the eminence of some of these calculators if he would start young and concentrate on numbers. All that is required is the ability to count and a memory for numbers. The author, himself a considerable performer in feats of a calculating kind, even gives the short-cuts and dodges by means of which one can answer questions like: "What day of the week was 21 October, 1805?" (It was a Monday.)

Servants of India Society

The pattern of the Bharat Sevak Samaj (Servants of India Society) is that of an *ashram*. The object is

the Service of India, and the training of national "Servants" for that purpose. Naturally, therefore, the individuals who volunteer for that service are put to a most vigorous test. The vows to be taken at the time of initiation are given in a footnote on pages 107 and 108 of this book. Everyone who has the welfare of his country at heart would do well to go through the text once everyday, and continuously endeavour to put those vows in practice. All the clauses are important but some of them are worth quoting here as specially noteworthy:

- (a) That the country shall always be the first in his thoughts and he will give to her service the best that is in him.
- (b) That in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage for himself.
- (c) That he will regard all Indians as brothers and work for the advancement of all without distinction of caste or creed.
- (d) That he will be content with such provision for him and his family, as the Society may be able to make. He will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself.
- (e) That he will lead a pure personal life.
- (f) That he will engage in no personal quarrel with anyone.

The vows quoted above indicate the principles which had animated the late G. K. Gokhale to start this Society of the Servants of India. When it was started many were the criticisms against Gokhale's belief that the connection was "providential." The critics forgot that in the *Ananda Math*, Bankim Chandra had said the same thing, expressed the same belief. He had expressed this belief through the "Physician" who had asked Satyananda not to mourn at the failure of his revolt. Before we could acquire Swaraj, we must have modern education and the modern spirit which would enable us to get over the fear of the white skin.

This history is given in details in the latest report of the Society (1951-52). Established in 1906, the Society has had record in social and political work that has been a privilege to participate in.

Mohit Lal Mazumdar

On the 19th July last death cut short the life of this poet and literary critic of Bengal. During the last years of his after retirement from the Dacca University as Reader of Bengali Literature, he revived the *Bangadarshan* started by Bankim Chandra Chatterji in 1872. That attempt failed. But his literary vocation occupied his time to the last day of his life.

Coming of a middle class family, the usual privations were his. This discipline had a healthy effect on the young poet. Our sympathy goes to his bereaved family.

SIX YEARS OF THE UNESCO

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

WITH the holding of its sixth annual General Conference at Paris in June, 1951, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation or the Unesco, the abbreviated name by which it has come to be popularly known, completed the fifty year of its existence. The Conference was attended by representatives of the fifty-nine member-nations and served to spotlight the activities of this very important adjunct to the UNO, its parent organisation. It would be useful to take stock of its achievements during the last six years of its operation.

It is one of the satellite bodies of the UNO or Specialised Agencies, as they are called, brought into existence by intergovernmental agreements negotiated by a standing committee of the Economic and Social Council, one of the principal organs of the UNO and approved by the Council and the General Assembly. The activities of all the Specialised Agencies are co-ordinated by the Social and Economic Council. The constitution of the Unesco was drawn up by a conference of delegates of the United Nations held in November, 1945, and actually came into force on November 4, 1946. This body along with the other Specialised Agencies and the Economic and Social Council of which they are the offshoots derive from the following clause in the Preamble regarding the aims of the UNO:

"To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom;

"To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples;"

and the following extract from the Article I of the Charter embodying the purposes and principles of the Organisation:

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends."

This was further elaborated in Articles 55 to 60 of the Charter.

The authors of the United Nations were wiser than those of its predecessor, the League of Nations. They realised that a simple organisation for voluntary arbitration and conciliation of international disputes would not avert war as it did not in the past, that the deeper causes of war were as much social as political and economic. In order to banish war, we have to fight and eradicate these deeper causes of economic and social maladjustment, to fight poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance, fear and so on through international co-operation. The Economic and Social Council and the Specialised

Agencies like the Unesco, WHO, are based on this realisation. The Security Council deals with the immediate problem, the problem of keeping the peace today by resolving international disputes and tensions that have arisen, while the Unesco deals with the problem of peace tomorrow by means of long-range programme for removing the causes of such disputes and tensions and for creating conditions in which there would be no occasion for nations to resort to war to gain ends which they covet. The one is concerned with fighting the forces released by narrow and bigoted nationalism and the other with harnessing the resources of the ideals of internationalism and universal brotherhood to liquidate those forces at their origin. The Unesco of all the organs of the UNO spotlights the things that unite peoples, pointing to the innate and fundamental unity of mankind such as art, literature, science, ideals of truth, justice, freedom, etc., in short, things that make for one world instead of those that divide peoples epitomised in the spirit of narrow, misguided nationalism or chauvinism that has been responsible for the miseries of humanity and the crisis in human civilisation of the present century and that threatens *homo sapiens* with even total extinction. The Unesco brings to afflicted humanity sitting on the brink of a precipice a new message of hope and relief from all fear that besets it, if only it is allowed to function on the lines intended.

What we have said above will be evident if we analyse the constitution, functions, aims and purposes of the organisation as well as the programmes pursued by it during these years. Needless to say, attempt has been made to bring as many of the member-nations of the present organisation within its fold as possible, for its effectiveness would depend on its approach towards universality of membership as in the case of the parent body.

The purpose of the Unesco as defined in its constitution is to contribute to international peace and security and the common welfare of mankind by promoting "collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms for all." To realise this purpose three distinct lines of activity are laid down for it:

1. "To collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understandings of peoples, through all means of mass communication," and in this connection it has the special duty of recommending such "international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image." This is directly related to preservation of peace, the foremost object of the UNO.

(2) "To give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture," by three distinct methods, viz: (a) by collaborating with member-

States, at their request, in the development of educational activities; (b) by instituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity, without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social; (c) by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom.

(3) "To maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge," again by three methods, viz., (a) by assuring the conservation of the world's inheritance of books, works of art, and monuments of history and science and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions; (b) by encouraging co-operation among nations in all branches of intellectual activity; (c) by initiating methods of international co-operation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.

The first General Conference of the Unesco, a body consisting of the representatives of all the member-nations and meeting annually to determine the policies and main lines of work of the organisation, held in Paris in 1946 adopted an extensive programme of work for the organisation. On its scrutiny with a view to determining priorities, a general plan for the activities of the organisation for 1947 was adopted, divided in three parts: (1) Overall projects, (2) sectional projects and (3) continuing projects. The first part included projects for, (a) Educational Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, (b) International Understanding, and (c) Fundamental Education. Its activities under Educational Reconstruction and Rehabilitation were directed to help rehabilitation of educational, scientific, and cultural institutions in war-devastated areas. Those under International Understanding covered, for instance, revision of text-books, formation of international study centres, etc. Those under Fundamental Education included such matters as primary education, work with adult illiterates, education for health, for economic and cultural development, international understanding, etc.

The second part, that is, sectional projects, included such activities as promotion of Libraries, Sciences, Arts and Letters and mass communication.

The third part, that is, continuing projects, included such matters as co-operation with governmental and non-governmental organisations, collection, analysis, and distribution of information essential to developing more effective communication between peoples in specific branches of educational, scientific and cultural knowledge and removal of barriers to such communication, preparation of lists of research-resources, establishment of clearing houses of information, etc. These offer quite an extensive field of activities and therefore a selection has to be made, out of it, of what can be practically attempted at a particular time. This was done subsequently by the General Conference of the organisation in 1950 held at Florence. In doing this the Conference found it useful to distinguish between the Unesco's basic programme on the one hand and the annual programme on the other. While the basic programme represents a long-range overall plan covering the policies and main

lines of work of the Organisation over a number of years, the annual programme varies from year to year adjusted to the needs of the situation. The programme is formulated and executed in close co-operation with the parent body, viz., the United Nations and other Specialised Agencies, with the member-States and governmental and non-governmental organisations furthering the same ends. For instance, the member-States have undertaken "to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purpose of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of one another's lives." The member-States are required to co-ordinate the activities of their principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with those of the Unesco through their National Commissions on which these bodies are represented. Thus the basic programme of the Unesco is designed to guide and assist the activities of the member-States in their pursuit of its ends and purposes. At the same time the Unesco is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction so as to preserve the independence and diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the member-States. The basic programme therefore deals with those activities in the fields of education, culture and science which lend themselves to co-operative action on the international plane and in the present-day world with the advance of science such matters are daily on the increase. For instance, the universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the U. N. in December, 1948, has added to the objectives of the Unesco by proclaiming the right of everyone to education, and "freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits."

The principal planks in the programme set before itself by the Unesco are as follows:

- (1) To eliminate illiteracy and encourage fundamental education;
- (2) To obtain for each person an education conforming to his aptitudes and to the needs of society, including technological training and higher education;
- (3) To promote through education respect for Human Rights throughout all nations;
- (4) To overcome the obstacles to the free flow of persons, ideas and knowledge between the countries of the world;
- (5) To promote the progress and utilization of science for mankind;
- (6) To study the causes of tensions that may lead to war and to fight them through education;
- (7) To demonstrate world cultural interdependence;
- (8) To advance through the press, radio and motion pictures the cause of truth, freedom and peace;
- (9) To bring about better understanding among the peoples of the world and to convince them of the necessity of co-operating loyally with one another in the framework of the United Nations;
- (10) To render clearing-house and exchange services in all its fields of action, together with services in reconstruction and relief assistance. The basic programme as adopted by the Fifth General Conference at Florence in 1950 consists of a number of resolutions grouped under the following heads:

I. Education, II. Natural Sciences, III. Social Sciences, IV. Cultural Activities, V. Exchange of persons, VI. Mass Communication, VII. Relief Assistance Services.

Under each of these heads concrete proposals for furtherance of these objectives were set forth into which we need not go. It will be enough to note that in formulating them regard is had to the basic fact that they contribute directly or indirectly to the preservation and promotion of international peace and security, the *sine qua non* for the existence of the parent body, the UNO.

But even this programme for 1951 appeared to be too ambitious and the Executive Board of the Unesco for the last session of the General Conference held in Paris in June, 1951 took up a more realistic attitude in recommending a much more modest and therefore more practical Draft programme for the consideration of the Conference. The programme was conceived not in academic terms of what fell theoretically within the jurisdiction of the organisation, but what could actually be achieved by it in the light of practical experience of past years and concentrated on a limited number of crying major problems in the field of education, culture and science facing the world of the present day having regard of course to their relevance to the cause of world peace and removal of tensions.

For instance, it is patent that ignorance and low-living standards are the potent causes of international tension and war. So a £20-million twelve-year project for a drive against ignorance and low standards of living was placed before the Conference. Similarly, care for the workers, children and women and schemes for their amelioration also figure prominently in the programme of the last Conference. The programme for 1951 adopted in the previous year at Florence contained as many as 294 resolutions, whereas the programme for 1952 has been scaled down to half the number rendering it much more businesslike and workable within the limitations of time and resources with greater emphasis on the urgent requirements of the moment.

From a study of the nature of programme of the work set to itself by the Unesco over the last six years it will be evident that although it has confined itself to non-political problems nonetheless these cannot but have deep political repercussion, touching as they do the very moral and spiritual basis of the fabric of civilisation. It is true that their effect measured in terms of influencing the course of international politics must necessarily be slow and therefore not so spectacular as perhaps the activities of the Security Council, but not the less valuable for that reason, if we consider them over a number of years. If the programme with suitable modifications necessitated by the efflux of time is worked in all seriousness and in the true spirit of the organisation there is no doubt that it will develop a habit of co-operative effort and a spirit of mutual accommodation and goodwill through it which in the long run will neutralise the spirit of mutual suspicion, distrust and ill-will that beset inter-

national relations today and is breeding tensions and creating fissures between the nations.

It stands to the credit of the authors of the United Nations Charter in contrast with their predecessors in the same field that, to use the words of its Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, in a message to India on the 15th of August, 1950, they "saw clearly that peace is not merely the absence of war, but a dynamic movement for economic progress and social justice. Never before had an international organisation laid such stress on the constructive tasks of peace as the United Nations has done in the last five years." Or again to quote from the address of Mr. J. D. Bodet, the Director-General of Unesco, given to the 11th Session of the Economic and Social Council in presenting the annual report of the Unesco for the year 1949-50:

"Peace has been defined as unending creation. It is in the hours of difficulty that it is most important to remember this. It is then above all that humanity must be made to understand that agencies such as . . . the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation were not created to knock together a jerry-built world of tomorrow during an uneasy truce, but to pave the way, despite tensions or even wars, for the dawn of the economic and social justice without which there is no truce." (Italics our own).

In this view of the matter it would not perhaps be wrong to say that in a sense the efficacy of the non-political bodies of the UNO like the Economic and Social Council and the Specialised Agencies, such as the Unesco, WHO, FAO, etc., is even greater than its political organ the Security Council in so far as they create those conditions of stability, well-being and progress by promoting higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and international co-operation in cultural and educational fields on which alone the foundations of lasting peace can be laid in the present-day world. Because permanent peace can never become a reality merely by temporising with international conflicts and disputes as and when they arise, without attacking their root causes and it is towards the latter objective that the Unesco in common with the other non-political bodies of the UNO have addressed themselves and it must also be admitted that their achievement so far in these fields where men's interests are more united than divided, are quite creditable of which the authors of the U.N. Charter can feel proud. It is these bodies that have reached the common man and woman all over the world and those who are economically and educationally backward and under-developed, offering them a helping hand for their material, moral and spiritual upliftment and it is these who will keep the peace of the world of tomorrow. We share the feelings of Moulana Azad that found expression in his speech before the last annual General Conference of the Unesco when he said that in the course of the last two years his hope in the Unesco and his apprehensions about U.N. had increased and further that the U.N. founded for the achievements of peace and unity had in fact resulted in the division of the world into two warring camps so unlike the Unesco.

TASKS BEFORE THE NEW PARLIAMENT

By PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

THE first democratic Parliament of Free India elected on adult franchise met in Delhi on the 15th of May. It was, indeed, an historic day in the annals of our glorious fight for freedom. It was a memorable day in the history of the world because the new Indian Parliament embarked on one of the greatest experiments in democracy in the history of mankind. Members of the new Parliament are, therefore, faced with heavy responsibilities and hazardous tasks. They can either make or mar the destinies of this ancient land towards which many countries of the world look with hope and expectation.

The first important task before the new Parliament is to prove worthy of the people who have elected it. It was feared that the illiterate and semi-naked masses of this country who had been suddenly conferred the precious right of franchise would be found unworthy of the task. But the sense of great discipline, civic responsibilities and robust commonsense evinced by the toiling millions of our country, and more especially the women-folk, clearly vindicates the faith of the Father of our Nation in the sound democratic traditions of the Indian people. It is now for their chosen representatives to prove by their day-to-day actions and the high level of discussions of national problems that they are worthy of their masters. The way in which some of the State Assemblies have opened their democratic life during the last few weeks has been rather disappointing. Let us earnestly hope that the new Parliament of India would succeed in setting up very high standards of democracy and co-operative endeavour.

India has now attained full political freedom. But she has yet to achieve economic and social freedom. This can be achieved either through a bloody revolution or through a non-violent and democratic process. It is incumbent on the new Parliament to demonstrate to the world that a socio-economic revolution can be brought about quickly through parliamentary democracy. Time is of the essence. The Indian people have been waiting patiently long enough; they cannot be expected to wait endlessly for their economic and social amelioration. They must soon feel that something good is being done for them by the new Government. This, therefore, is the second great task that faces the new Parliament. Unless a sense of urgency constantly inspires every member of the Parliament as well as the new Government, it may be extremely difficult to brave the gushing tide of violent upheaval in our country as in other countries of Asia and Europe.

The future economic structure of India must be such as would make the masses feel the "glow" of freedom and equality. It should be clear-cut and well-defined. It must promote the welfare of the masses who

have been so long exploited by the classes. I am afraid, a plan of "mixed economy" which attempts to please everybody ends by pleasing nobody. Our National Plan should give the highest priority to the problem of unemployment and, what is more, under-employment. Totalitarianism has tried to solve such problems by resorting to War-Economy, and Imperialism. In India, we must solve the unemployment question within the limits of national self-sufficiency and international harmony. These considerations inevitably lead us towards a decentralized and small-scale economy as visualised by Mahatma Gandhi. Without spreading a country-wide net-work of small-scale and cottage industries, which are labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive, and which provide subsidiary work to the agriculturists in their own villages, it will be impossible to improve the economic condition of the masses with speed and efficiency. Big and large-scale projects, with their centralized administration and highly mechanized structure, neither enthuse the millions nor solve their intrinsic problems. The villagers desire that something concrete should be done for their welfare before their very eyes in their own locality or immediate neighbourhood. They are prepared to contribute their humble quota of money, materials or manual labour provided the schemes are executed within their purview. I hope the final shape of our Five-Year Plan would be more inspiring, bold and constructive from the villager's point of view. If it is not, it is the duty of the Parliament to make it so.

The third urgent task that awaits the new Parliament is the problem of rooting out corruption and inefficiency in administration. My tour of more than a dozen countries of the world has convinced me that the people of a country with newly-won political freedom can tolerate many inevitable economic hardships while facing the tasks of national reconstruction. But they cannot, and should not, tolerate corruption and inefficiency in their own popular government. Unfortunately for us, everybody today believes that the existing administration has become more corrupt and inefficient after August 15, 1947. This is, indeed, a very serious matter and the new Parliament and the Government must resolve, almost religiously, to face this problem with boldness and firmness. Corwala's Report on Public Administration is a valuable document and most of its recommendations ought to be implemented without undue delay. With a corrupt and inefficient administrative machinery all our National Plans, however inspiring they may be, would be sordid mud. Even the highest officials, including the Ministers, should not be spared from public trials and severest punishments if they are suspected and found to be guilty.

The fourth task that the new Parliament must face boldly is the question of revolutionizing Public Finance in this country. So far, our budgets have been setting in motion the forces that drain money from the villages to the cities. This process must be reversed now and money should flow from the cities to the rural areas. To begin with, our Budget should ensure that at least a substantial portion of the revenues raised from villages are spent for the economic welfare of the rural folk. For the last several years, our Budgets have been matter-of-fact and orthodox; they have cared more for the criticism of the industrialists than of the common people. Our new Budget must be recognised by the masses as a "People's Budget." It should promote economic equality and justice. Budgets of progressive nations can become very important sources of economic planning. I earnestly hope that the new Parliament will not be asked only to "ditto" the previous Interim Budget presented by the Finance Minister last March. Our Budget for the year 1952-53 ought to be, in the real sense of the word, a National Budget of Free India. It is needless to mention here the detailed implications of such a Budget.

Relating to our Public Expenditure, National Defence presents a very tough problem. About 50 per cent of the annual revenues are, at present, spent on the Armed Forces of the Indian Union. How could this enormous drain on our national economy be substantially reduced? Firstly, the strength of the standing army may be reduced to some extent by creating the second line of defence in the form of a bigger Territorial Force. For example, in Switzerland all adults are given Military training for some months every year. They are kept ready for national emergencies; but the strength of the Swiss Standing Army is not at all imposing. Secondly, the Indian Military could be harnessed to multifarious nation-building activities during peace time. It could be profitably employed for reclaiming waste lands, check-

ing soil erosion, sinking surface and tube-wells, improving minor irrigation works, buildings, roads, bridges, etc. The training that is imparted to the future soldiers and their officers should be such as would prepare them for undertaking all these constructive work items. These are some of the ways in which the burden of Military expenditure on Indian economy might be reduced at least to some extent.

Above all, the existing system of education in the country has to be radically overhauled if quick and lasting results in the work of national reconstruction are to be achieved. This, therefore, is the fifth main task that awaits the new Parliament of India. Although Education is not a Union subject, the Government of India can bring several kinds of healthy pressure on the State Governments in effecting far-reaching changes in the educational set-up. If the nation is to attain self-sufficiency in food, cloth and other necessities of life, our youngmen must be trained through hard and productive work. They should be fit, physically and mentally, to undertake nation-building activities after passing out of schools and colleges. This will be possible only if Gandhiji's system of Basic education becomes the very basis of our educational structure throughout the country. It is not enough to have only a few experimental Basic schools in each State. All our educational institutions should be soon transformed in accordance with the fundamental principles of Basic education.

These are some of the important tasks that the new Parliament will be required to face and solve. There is no time to be lost. Five years is a very long period in these fast-changing times. Substantial good must be done to the people within a year or two. May the new members have the requisite strength to be equal to the onerous tasks!

—:O:—

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY A Hotch-Potch of Worn-out Platitudes

By C. L. R. SASTRI

Under the chapter-heading, "Snakes in Iceland," Dr. Johnson writes: "There are no snakes in Iceland."—*A History of Iceland*.

THERE are some jokes that are no laughing matter. That is because they provoke more tears than smiles. They remind us that life is real and that life is earnest. One of these relates to our beloved Panditji's foreign policy. I have put it that way advisedly. India, as must be evident even to the babe unborn, has no foreign policy apart from his: for is he not by way of being our only acknowledged expert on foreign affairs? It is not, let me interpolate, that anyone has gone to the trouble of conferring that unique distinction on him. It would not have been so deplorable if that had been the case. What

makes it the heart-rending tragedy that it is, is that, doubtless with the best of intentions, he has conferred it on himself. He has long since convinced himself that he is the apex, apogee, and apotheosis of internationalism. One can imagine him saying to himself:

"Others abide our question: I am free."

AUTO-SUGGESTION

By intuition, as it were, he is aware of "what the Swede intends and what the French" more than anyone else in our hapless country. What is going to happen in Tunisia he knows, instinctively, before ever it happens

and on Korea he is as much certain, though he flaunts his "neutrality" in the face of everyone, of the North Korean aggression on the innocent and innocuous South as those vaunted "democrats," the Americans themselves. An extremist to the manner born he reads instructive, if infructuous, lectures on moderation and the golden mean to others less fortunately circumstanced. At a moment's notice he will discourse, at six-columns' length, equally illuminatingly (or otherwise) on the Anglo-Egyptian impasse and on the Arab-Jewish imbroglio. If (Heaven forbid!) India were, in any foreseeable future, to be deprived of his expertise on world problems there might be no one, search we never so diligently, to succeed him in the onerous portfolio that he has made so peculiarly his own. The more he ponders over this disheartening eventuality the more he becomes certain of the truth of the saying: *Après moi le deluge*. Who says that auto-suggestion has no value? More things are wrought by auto-suggestion, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy!

PASSING THE BUCK

The first thing, then, that the student of Indian politics will do well to learn if he wishes to be thorough in his subject is that it is a terminological inexactitude to talk of "India's foreign policy." Poor India has no hand in its foreign policy. Whatever foreign policy it can be said to possess is that of its Prime Minister-cum-Foreign Minister. It is his and his alone. It is as much his own as the "secularism" that he preaches to his countrymen and countrywomen day in and day out. Excogitating his theme he arrives at certain (inchoate) decisions and, with characteristic modesty, gives them the compendious title of "India's foreign policy." With a generosity all his own he lets the country take the blame for his "Himalayan blunders." It was remarked of Pitt (the Younger) that he used to drink the wine and that the Clerk of the House of Commons used to get the headache. This curious dichotomy is flourishing amidst us now. It is flourishing like the proverbial green bay tree. Pandit Nehru, in his capacity of Foreign Minister, has done things for which the countless millions of our thrice-wretched Motherland have had to pay very, very heavily, indeed. They have been paying heavily ever since he catapulted himself into power after the withdrawal of our alien rulers from the scene of their complex labours. Sensing with an unerring instinct how imperative it was for him to preside over our inscrutable destinies he has, from that evil moment, been enjoying himself hugely at their expense, giving full rein to every fad and fancy of his on the international plane. It would, however, be folly to believe that if it is madness there is no method in it. On the contrary, there is a good deal of method in it. The method lies in this—that, not to put too fine a point upon it, it is all to the greater glory of himself. He must hit the headlines as often as possible. Not to be able to do so would be to stagnate, "... to lie in cold

obstruction and to rot," as Claudio in *Measure for Measure* puts it beautifully.

ANALOGY WITH CLEOPATRA'S NOSE

Sometimes one is led to suspect that it is not so much the foreign policy (whatever that may happen to be) as the fact that he is expounding it that has counted with him. Nor have even his fervid admirers (and they are as multitudinous as the sand on the seashore) ever ventured to assert that he does not love the sound of his own voice. Far from that being the case he appears to have no use for any other sound, in or out of Parliament. We know from what small acorns giant oaks grow; and we are in a position now to deduce from what trivial causes events of far-reaching importance can arise. It was Pascal who, if I remember rightly, first posed the question of how vastly different the fate of the world might have been if Cleopatra's nose had been slightly longer—or shorter. By the same token, India's foreign policy might well have been other than it is (and has been these several years) had our distinguished Prime Minister been less given to hearing himself speak from a thousand pulpits and platforms. For one thing India, then, might have had a share in its foreign policy. But the fates have decreed otherwise and its foreign policy has been, since the memorable August 15, 1947, anything but its own; it has evolved from, and revolved round, the personality of Pandit Nehru.

THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE

A few weeks ago there was an interesting debate in our Parliament on foreign affairs. I wonder whether I should be laying myself open to the heinous crime of *lese majeste* if I were to suggest that the interest of that debate would have been appreciably enhanced if we had been furnished with longer reports of the Opposition speeches of the two Mukherjees (Dr. Shyamaprasad and Prof. Hirendranath) and a shorter one of our Foreign Minister. This matter needs looking into a little. Even a "secular democracy" should not be merely "secular": it should be democratic as well. If it were only "secular" and not democratic it would be like the Cheshire cat that was all grin and not enough of cat. The more redeeming feature of a "secular democracy" is its democratic, not its "secularistic," character. As things have transpired, however, while the latter has been stressed almost to tiresomeness the former has not been stressed at all. Certainly the spirit of democracy is nowhere to be discerned in the reportage of the speeches in Parliament. In any debate the Minister in charge of his portfolio replies to speeches of members of the Opposition. Those speeches are delivered first and the replies come only afterwards. But if one did not attend Parliament but read the speeches as reported in our estimable dailies one would arrive at a different conclusion: one would be inclined to think that the Minister concerned replied first and that the Opposition members made their complaints subsequently. It is a vicious practice and deserves to be censured ruthlessly.

It is not journalism: it is propaganda—and propaganda with a stamping iron heel. It might be better left for the Government's Information Bureau.

A DISCREPANCY

My other grievance relates to the discrepancy between the space allotted to Opposition speeches and the space earmarked for the speeches of our Prime Minister. No one is more cognisant than myself of the fact that our Prime Minister makes longer speeches than all the Opposition members put together. But, then, no one is more cognisant than myself of the equally important fact that his speeches, however long they may be, often contain less "meat" than those of the Opposition members. Their thought-content is hardly commensurate with their length. Their thought-content, in relation to their inordinate length, is comparable rather to Falstaff's celebrated "half-pennyworth of bread to an intolerable deal of sack." The public desires to know what the Opposition members had to say. What it gets, however, is what the Prime Minister said—perhaps for the umpteenth time. This is tantamount to stifling the voice of the Opposition. There has, to date, been remarkably little opposition to Pandit Nehru's myriad policies and programmes. If, in addition, a rigorous censorship even of that little is instituted the results (for democracy) can better be imagined than described. I was, for instance, astounded to find nearly a whole page of the Pandit's reply to the Opposition speeches of the two Mukherjees and just a couple of paragraphs apiece of those speeches; yet it cannot be denied that the latter provided far better reading matter than the former. I maintain that what the *intelligentsia* crave for is more discerning criticism of the Pandit's foreign policy than sickening justification of it by the Pandit at enormous length every other week. It is a pity that journalistic standards should have fallen so low after the advent of independence.

THE FROG AND THE BULL

As for the debate itself I shall touch on but two or three points. Now-a-days the Pandit takes infinite pains in the matter of soft-peddalling what for so long he has been pleased to call India's "neutrality" in international affairs. Public memory is notoriously short and it is perhaps possible to fool some of the people some of the time. But it cannot be that all of us have forgotten the hullabaloo that the Pandit had once been wont to make in regard to it. Doubtless, it is infinitely easier to be wiser after the event. But, surely, seasoned politicians—or those alleged to be seasoned—are expected to be wise even before the event. The Pandit should have known better at the very start. The trouble with him was that he wanted to loom large in the public eye and to strut the international scene in the manner of a proved veteran. In this case, however, it has been our poor country that has come to grief as a result of the Pandit's bloating himself to the dimensions of an international Colossus. Water, according to scientists, eventually finds its own level; and so, if I am not mistaken, do politicians.

But, meanwhile, the mischief done cannot be underrated. The Pandit's "neutrality" has had a severe shaking at the hands of fate. At long last he has awakened to the tragic realisation that, in international, no less than in other, affairs, the earthenware pot suffers a severe concussion on its head when it collides, by accident or by design, with an iron pot. India is not such a great country that it can really stand as a buffer between the two "blocs," the Eastern and the Western.

RINGING INTERMINABLE CHANGES

If, however, Pandit Nehru did indeed once lay the flattering unction to his soul that it was such a great country he should not have developed cold feet to the extent of succumbing to second thoughts on the subject as, of late, he has given ample evidence of doing. India is neutral or it is not. There is no sense—and less sensibility—in trying to ring interminable changes on that point. Adjectives affixed to that neutrality cannot, in the circumstances, be expected to alter its essential nature. A "dynamic" neutrality is still neutrality. A "divine" madness is still madness. A neutrality that impels India to vote for the Western bloc nearly seven times out of ten and not to vote for any bloc on the remaining occasions is not neutrality properly so called. What it amounts to, if the naked truth is to be told, is that India, in practice, has decided to cast its lot with one of the two blocs, however loudly it may protest to high heaven that it has not. It may be to its interest so to cast its lot. Opinion may well differ on that issue. But where interest—enlightened or otherwise—comes in at the door neutrality flies out of the window. Pandit Nehru has only lately begun to sense that the essential interests of India are bound up more with the Western bloc than with the Eastern. A man of his reputed profundity ought to have sensed it much earlier. He now finds it expedient to stress the historical and economic ties of India with Britain and, stemming from that age-long association, with the United States. A historian of his distinction should not, all this while, have been living in an "Alice in Wonderland" world. It is not as though his advertisement of his neutrality policy had been just a flash in the pan. It had gone on long enough to bring incalculable disaster to the country.

SEEING THE LIGHT

Pandit Nehru is in the position of a person who has at last seen the light. That being so he should learn to talk soberly and not to attempt to browbeat the other fellow. He appears to be a wiser, but not a sadder, man. The Western nations' treatment of the issues of Kashmir and of Korea, not to speak of their inexcusable bolstering up of outdated colonial regimes, has not, in any sense, predisposed me in their favour. On the contrary, it has induced in me a violent revulsion to them, and only Time, the great healer, can eradicate from my mind the memory of their heinous crimes in the plausible name of "containing" Communism. Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds, as Shakespeare so beautifully puts it, and "democracies" that go wrong can be far

worse than the Communistic regimes that they so vociferously condemn. I am, therefore, not to be understood as holding a candle, so to speak, to the Western bloc. Far from it. But I had never contrived to forget that historic association between Britain and India which, it would appear, has only recently come to the notice of our beloved Panditji.

HIS AMERICAN VISIT

It is necessary, in this connection, to recall his 1949 American visit. That was one of the high-lights of his eventful career. The red carpets (if one may employ that ominous adjective even to carpets in America) were liberally (nay, lavishly) spread for him. He was lionised by the American citizenry as, perhaps, no one from Asia had ever been lionised before. His every word was listened to with rapt attention. People literally hung on his lips. I am not suggesting that he should, on that account, have lost his head and lapped all that adulation up like milk. But there was a distinct danger the other way also; and that he did not even attempt to avoid. Wherever he was greeted he did not fail to "give notice" to his audience that India would never (oh, never) swerve from the path of neutrality that it had laid down for itself after great deliberation. That was the refrain of his song; that was the one thread that ran through all his discourses there. It must have irked his hearers to no small extent.

THE SEQUEL

In the sequel he tipped the fat into the fire. To be an American is not to be less human than others and the Americans got disgusted with him to a man. Some even went to the length of asking openly why red carpets were being spread for him, and why hosannas were being sung before him. But even these portentous winks were not noticed by the illustrious guest; and he blithely went on putting his foot in it whenever he opened his mouth. The result was that we did not get the promised gift of the two million tons of wheat. Later we had to go down before them on our bended knees for the same two million tons of wheat as a loan. Nor did that abject posture of ours melt the hearts of the Americans; and when they did agree to give the wheat to us as a loan they took their own time in doing so. That was one of the effects of the Pandit's incessant iteration of the charmed words which he has made so peculiarly his own. Mrs. Pandit deemed it her duty to come over to India to acquaint her distinguished brother of the irreparable harm he had done to the country by that parrot-like iteration. She was instructed to return to America and to assure its citizens that her brother, in effect, did not mean what he had said. By then, of course, the damage had become irreparable.

THOSE LOANS FROM AMERICA

Since the wheat loan we have been receiving other loans also from America; and the American Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles, has been going to his country every now and then to persuade the President to give some-

thing more to us. In the process he has been laying it on with a trowel as regards praise of India and of the Pandit is concerned. It ought to be evident even to the meanest intelligence that more is here than meets the eye. It cannot all have been unadulterated generosity. Mr. Bowles has been warning his countrymen that, if the financial aid he wishes them to give to India is not forthcoming, that greatest bastion of democracy in Asia, as he loves to call it, will be lost to Communism. He may, or may not, be right. That, however, is not the point. The point is that this financial aid is not completely disinterested: it is part of a global plan to "contain" Communism. No price, evidently, is too high to pay for it; and the Americans, it is notorious, can pay any price for anything. There is no question but that we require that financial aid; but, then, there is no question either that we had been in sore need of those two million tons of wheat gift, or loan, a couple of years ago. But that did not materialise until Pandit Nehru practically retracted what he said, in his unrestrained exuberance, while he was in America. That retraction started a new era in India's foreign policy; and with the innovation of that era we have, off and on, been receiving further American loans. The Americans must have some reason to feel convinced that India has now aligned itself with the Western bloc.

THE COMMONWEALTH LINK

Now I come to the Pandit's defence of India's retaining the link with the British Commonwealth. I am at the end of my space and shall, therefore, be very brief about it. The old Liberals always insisted that they would be perfectly content with dominion status; and, after the passing of the Statute of Westminster, dominion status lost whatever sting of inferiority it might originally have possessed. Congressmen, including our beloved Panditji, never lost any opportunity of flinging abuse at their devoted heads. They called them cowards and impotent politicians. They themselves (that is, Congressmen) would be satisfied with nothing less than *Poorna Swaraj*. The point to be remarked in this connection is that if the Liberals had had their way they would have got dominion status for a united India. What Congressmen did (in especial, what a particular Congressman, named Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, did) was to obtain for our beloved Motherland dominion status in a *partitioned* India. For the retention of the link with the Commonwealth is nothing more, nor less, than dominion status. Both the partition and the retention of the link with the Commonwealth have been the Pandit's doing. He had, at one time, been loudest in his denunciation of the Liberals for what he was pleased to call their low political ambitions. But what his high political ambitions have brought for our country is the same dominion status which the poor old Liberals would have brought, too, in a *partitioned* India. Let him put that in his pipe and smoke it!

THE ROLE OF THE INDIAN SPEAKER

By D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

MR. SPEAKER MAVLANKAR has been reported¹ by the Parliamentary Correspondent of *The Statesman* at New Delhi to have stated in the House of the People on 15th May, 1952, that the British convention about the Speakership of the House of Commons "could not be imported into India in isolation"; that the Indians "had to evolve their own conventions, based on the background and genius of their national character, history and culture"; that "parliamentary democracy was new to India and required careful handling and nursing"; that "conditions in India were different"; that "it was not possible under the present circumstances of political life in this country, for the Speaker to remain in the same position as a Speaker of the House of Commons"; that "while the Indian Speaker must be a non-party man, in the sense that he must keep aloof from party deliberations and decisions, he did not cease to be a politician merely because he was a Speaker"; that "from this point of view and also in view of his past associations, he could not 'remain out of the great national organization, the Congress, which' he had had the opportunity of serving for the past 40 years; and that he would, therefore, 'continue to be a Congressman'; and that, 'though a Congressman,' it would be his 'duty to deal with all sections of the House with justice and impartiality and remain above all considerations of a party or political career.'"

With all due deference to Mr. Speaker Mavlankar, I am constrained to say, in the interest of the future of our Parliamentary Democracy which, to quote his own words, is "new to India" and, therefore, requires a "careful handling and nursing," that it would have been very well, indeed, if he had not made some of the statements referred to above. I am afraid that some of his views, as noted above, will not help to set up a very healthy precedent in our country. It seems to me highly desirable that our Speakership, both at the Centre and in the States, should be modelled upon the British Speakership, the outstanding qualities of which are its detachment from any party affiliation, independence, impartiality, and authority.² The office of Speaker in England has, indeed, become, to quote the words of a foreign observer like Professor Josef Redlich,³ a "synonym for

dignity and impartiality." Our Speakers should follow this British model. There is no special, convincing reason in India why they should not do so. On their election they should, like the Speaker in England, cease to belong to any political party. This price they should pay for their exalted office if they want to command the genuine respect and the unstinted confidence of their respective legislative bodies. If a Speaker in India does not, on his election, cease to belong to a political party, his impartiality may sometimes run the risk of being adversely commented upon, particularly when there occurs a "clash of wills and tempers" in his Legislature. "Confidence in the impartiality of the Speaker," rightly says Sir Erskine May⁴ in connexion with the British Speakership, "is an indispensable condition of the successful working of procedure, and many conventions exist which have as their object not only to ensure the impartiality of the Speaker but also to ensure that his impartiality is generally recognized." To my mind, one of these conventions is that the Speaker in England must cease to belong to any political party on his election to the Chair. The Speaker in England is, it is true, "chosen by a party because a majority means in England a party. But," says Bryce,⁵ "on his way from his place on the benches to the Chair he is expected to shake off and leave behind all party ties and sympathies. Once invested with the wig and gown of office he has no longer any political opinions." Even such a staunch party politician as the late Mr. V. J. Patel declared⁶ in 1925 on his first election as the President of the (Indian) Legislative Assembly:

"From this moment I cease to be a party man. I belong to no party. I belong to all parties."

In view of what has been stated above and also in view of what I have said before in this journal on the role of the Indian Speaker,⁷ I earnestly hope and trust that, as "the mouth or the representative" of the House of the People as a whole, Mr. Speaker Mavlankar will very kindly reconsider the position he has taken and cease to belong to the Indian National Congress so long as he continues to be the Speaker. Thus doffing off, altogether, his Party colours and wearing, instead, "the white flower of a neutral political life," he will set up a very good precedent for all our Speakers and others occupying a similar position in this country.

1. See *The Statesman*, Calcutta Edition, of 16th May, 1952.

2. See, in this connexion, my article entitled, "Should the Indian Speaker Follow the British or the American Model?", in *The Modern Review* for June, 1938. As I have dealt with this question in detail there, I do not propose to repeat my arguments here. In spite of the political changes in India since then, I adhere to my views expressed in my previous article, on the role of the Indian Speaker.

3. See his *Procedure of the House of Commons*, Vol. II, p. 131.

4. See his *Parliamentary Practice*, 14th Edition, 1946, p. 234.

5. See his *American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, 1928, p. 140.

6. See *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. VI, 1925, pp. 36-37.

7. See my article referred to in foot-note 2 above.

GETTING BACK TO THE GOLD STANDARD—IN EDUCATION

By ALFRED S. SCHENKMAN,

Lately Teaching Fellow, Harvard University

STORY has it that a "help-wanted" advertisement in a New York newspaper stipulated "only Harvard graduate or equivalent need apply." One interested person asked, "Does this mean that two Yale men or one-half a Princeton student would be eligible?" The intending applicant amuses us; and that is good. He shows insight as well; that is even better. For does he not hit here on the very kernel of the "equivalence problem," that bane of educationists—and of society?

What are "equivalences"? Seldom do university students, or professors, have a chance to find out for themselves. They too seldom are able to meet their equivalents in other countries, or in other institutions. To be sure, several countries are doing something to enable students to be imported and temporarily to export themselves. The new International Association of Universities is now to help in bringing about further exchanges of professors. (If only the plan does not get bogged down by Yale saying that its professors are each equal to two Cambridge teachers!). But university people as a whole have relied on book definitions here, and not on experience.

In academic language, equivalences might be formally defined as standards or levels of attainment equal to other standards or levels. The problem of "determining equivalence" becomes the problem of finding out how an individual (or a group of individuals from one institution) "shows up" in comparison with the standard we use. So far so good.

But the equivalence is neither more nor less meaningful or significant than the standard chosen. University standards are by long tradition artificial. It is difficult to measure the truly important characteristics of the "educated man." University labels refer, therefore, to the more tangible, though somewhat inconsequential, "academic attainments."

The university world is a prestige-ridden world. University degrees have a market value, and the "learned ignoramus" sells himself in terms of the current market. There is profiteering and a "black market" in universities just as there is in financial circles. But isn't there "speculation" in "academic attainments"? Is there no way to get back to the gold standard in education? Must we continually concern ourselves with sham and superficialities and ignore underlying realities?

To be educated is more than a mere labelling process. For students who go to universities or colleges there is more to be absorbed than makes the degree. When professors are truly teachers they have more to give and to take than is involved in the salary transaction alone. Students and professors both, when they have a chance to visit their colleagues in other countries should observe and undergo education and not merely be over-awed by "requirements" or by the equivalence bug.

Let us probe beneath the academic surface. Some things are "more equivalent than others." There are significant movements going on in education today. Few people know about them because people don't read. Non-professionals are convinced that they already know everything there is to know about education. The professional workers, professors and teachers (of history and chemistry and so on) are just as certain that they are equally "experts" in education. So, though much is written about education, little is read.

One does not have to visit new places and see things at first hand to know what is going on. The written word is a good substitute—if it is read. What we have here is a report on an educational experiment. This was an experiment in so-called General Education. It is reported here in writing because there is something basic to be learned from it.

We know full well, however, that an experiment successfully carried out in one country or in one institution is not automatically transplanted with success to another country or to another institution. What works in the United States may have limited applicability to India or to Belgium; just as what succeeds in Harvard College may have limited relevance to the City College of New York. But despite differences in details, which may be great, there is an underlying relevance in all educational experience. Good teachers will be quick to see the similarity of problems, and will draw sustenance from any significant results anywhere. That is why this is reported here.

Now, writing about General Education is currently very popular in the United States. Many seem to have succumbed to the enthusiasm for a movement. We are not so much hypnotized by labels. But that the evils of specialization have to be counteracted—of this we have no doubt. Specialization,

though in large measure inevitable, is part of the reason for our having gone off the educational gold standard.

The movement towards General Education, at least the title, started in mass-produced fashion, in America. But the evils of specialization, once sufficiently noticed anywhere, were bound to be apparent everywhere. The disease is not one which can be kept endemic in any one country—or in any one continent.

For these reasons, India, as well as the United States and Sweden and Britain and Holland and other countries, has its own General Education movement. It is given status in the Radhakrishnan Report and elsewhere:

"The first of the objectives of higher education should be General Education."

For definition:

"A general education should open windows in many directions, so that most of the varied experiences of (a person's) life, and most elements of his environment shall have meaning and interest to him."

The University Education Commission clarifies further that

"It is the business of General Education to make available to the student, and to inspire him to master, wisely selected information as to facts and principles, so that he will have representative and useful data on which to base his thought, judgment and action, and will be aware of fields of interest and importance."

But in discussing these ideas the Radhakrishnan Commission stresses content too much and method not enough:

"The concept of all-round education requires rigorous and discriminating examination of the contents of every project, and of the course as a whole, to see that the more important elements are included and the less important eliminated. Such examination will radically change the contents of many courses now given in our universities, will eliminate some courses entirely, and will introduce others."

There is no question that this is so, in all countries and not only in India. There is no question too that

"In a live society that process of revision will never be complete. It is one of the most exacting in higher education and requires live interest, creative thinking, and much freedom of exploration."

And we underline that

"It is greatly handicapped by such regimentation of teaching as now exists in our universities."

Here too this state of affairs is unfortunately universal.

If only these same comments had been made about *methods of teaching*! Regimentation of teaching involves method almost more than content. To be sure, there are some mild suggestions that lectures could be

improved. The Oxford-Cambridge tutorials are highly recommended, although it is recognized that an undiluted English tutorial is an impossibility at the moment. But the Radhakrishnan Report in actual fact brings little new to bear on the problems of teaching methods.

Yet "the universities as the makers of the future cannot persist in the old patterns, however valid they may have been in their own day. With the increasing complexity of society and its shifting pattern, universities have to change their objectives and methods, if they are to function effectively in our national life."

This excellent Report is written in a framework for the development of "a comprehensive positive policy within the limits of which there should be ample scope for *pioneering and experimentation*." (Italics ours).

THE EXPERIMENT

We come now to report on that experiment, on that experiment in General Education. It involved both content and method of teaching. The writer planned and organized a series of "Workshops" designed to supplement the usual lectures of a college "course." (He was until recently Teaching Fellow in General Education at Harvard College, and the course was "The Impact of Science on Modern Life." The main professor was Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Retiring President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science—so that there was a guarantee that the lectures would be of high quality).

The methods and the accompanying experiences of the course will be described here rather than the content in too much detail. Just one quotation for the flavour.

The Catalogue description of this General Education course (Harvard, Social Sciences, Spring term) tells how the course is concerned with "the relations between the social and economic aspects of modern life and the increase in scientific knowledge and its technologic application . . . Included in the subject-matter will be a critical examination of the function of science in society and its implications for human welfare in the social transformation of the twentieth century." Certainly a novel college course!

There is not space for more about the contents.

The "workshop method" attempted to do something about the lecture "system." It was an attempt to remedy some of the serious faults about this system, some of the serious faults of "education" as usually "given" in colleges. For education is usually conceived to be something to be presented to students; and the state of *being educated* is ordinarily regarded (apparently) as a passive state.

We have already criticized the lecture system, by implication. Lectures very rarely permit active participation of students. But without this no matter how

good the lectures, no matter how many the "section meetings," is there real educational experience? We think not. As put by the great Dutch Professor of Education, M. J. Langeveld (Utrecht):

"No magic trick will help, no scientific explanation will mean anything unless sprung from the analysis of real experience with real community and in a real encounter with the child. (We read *student* here). For only in the real-life encounter we meet the child that can be educated and no artificial situation in the laboratory atmosphere can take the place of this encounter, which is a fundamental category of human existence."

President Conant of Harvard, in his *President's Report, 1950-51*, also writes with insight about the importance of meaningful experiences for students. (We are all students):

"Centuries of academic history have shown that it is not primarily through the curriculum that a student learns a worthwhile way of life. Tolerance, honesty, intellectual integrity, courage, friendliness are virtues not to be learned out of a printed volume but from the book of experience; and the content of this book for a youth is largely determined by the mode of his association with contemporaries. So, too, are those attitudes so essential for the survival of a modern democracy."

These Conant lists as "co-operation, humility, respect for the will of the majority, loyalty, and political leadership." It will be seen below that the workshops seem to meet the stipulations as regards the development of such attitudes.

The students themselves can describe these workshops.

"Groups of seven to fifteen students are given topics generally related to the course idea but not explicitly contained in the lecture material. Meeting for a two-hour period each week, the group has first to define and narrow the topic according to its own interests, then to plan a systematic attack on the problem. In the course of the early meetings the group elects its own chairman and parcels out work to its members. The faculty member present asserts himself no more than is necessary for moderately efficient operation of the meeting."

The quotation is taken from a report of the Committee on Education of the Harvard University Student Council. The official representatives of the Harvard students thought that what was going on here was important enough to investigate!

Actually the description is much over-simplified. The groups were small. They were "student-centered" or, perhaps better, "learner-centered." (That is the key to their success; the learners themselves decided what they were going to learn). But students were not *forced* to take these workshops, as the above description might imply.

The problem of assignments to workshops was not an easy one to solve. The writer attempted it by drawing inspiration from the organization of legislative committees. Congressmen after being assigned

to committees are expected to tackle subjects of which they may know nothing. Selection of Congressional members for committees is not made in any scientific manner. But because Congressmen have significant things to decide they generally go seriously about learning.

The learners in this course were assigned to workshops in a manner almost as haphazard and unscientific as the legislative maneuver. They had the option of doing their own independent work, to be sure. But it was hoped that just because they had (or could have) significant problems to tackle that here too the committee members would assume their assignment with intelligence and enthusiasm. In the majority of cases the students were not experts (at the start) in their workshop topics; they were not even especially interested in these topics. But the members of the different groups had jointly to decide on how to use a good opportunity. They did not fail—because they would have had only themselves to blame for failure.

Bear in mind, then, that it was for the students themselves to decide how to go about arranging their business in their different groups. The writer was the Faculty "representative" but served more as an Executive Secretary than as a leader of the traditional type. This was almost inevitable, even ignoring philosophies of education, because one person could not be an expert in all of the workshop topics.

The philosophy behind this experiment, incidentally, is a modern educational philosophy. As C. R. Rogers has put it when discussing such attempts to apply "learner-centered procedures" to university courses, "It is very clear that such an approach can have extremely vital results. It means largely giving up the attempt to *teach*, and attempting instead to create conditions which facilitate *learning*." This is a very different thing. And as this well-known University of Chicago professor continues:

"When the leader is genuinely a catalyst and not a mentor the group shows remarkable capacity for coming to grips with the real issues, for self-initiated learning, for intellectual and emotional growth."

The workshop topics have not yet been named. We need not be complete in our listing but at Harvard there were such titles (over several years) as "The Impact of Science on the Health of the Nation," "Science and Propaganda," "The Role of the Scientist in Modern Society," and so on. For purposes of sampling, the Health groups in two years decided to narrow their topics to a consideration of the advisability of compulsory health insurance. An Underdeveloped Areas group in 1949 concentrated on India and China as examples of highly populated countries, and on Africa as a region that offered totally different types of problems. In 1950, the comparable group decided to concentrate more thoroughly on the Indian

sub-continent; the members of this group, girl students at Radcliffe College, were fortunate in having Indian students in Massachusetts as their main "source material" and they now probably know more about India than most American professors. The group working on "The Status of the Worker in Industry" took a field problem, the closing down of the Waltham Watch Factory (in Waltham, Massachusetts) and studied what this closing did to the workers of that town. And so forth.

But we need not worry now about the topics of any particular groups of the past. Each teacher, and each student almost, will have his own ideas as to suitable problems. Let the students, rather, pick out the *essence* of the workshops in their own words. That Committee on Education of the Harvard Student Council asked certain questions of all the students who were in the workshops, and here are some of the replies.

First, some short excerpts (in quick succession) will give an over-all idea of student reactions:

1. "The workshop is to me the highest form of educational practice. It cannot alone serve to present the facts; this is the function of the lectures. But as a vehicle for getting people to think through the problems confronting them, i.e., problems raised by the facts presented, it is unsurpassed."

2. "An understanding of the knowledge is acquired without a conscious effort to learn."

3. "Through somewhat doubtful motives I found one of the most absorbing activities in Harvard College."

Second, criticisms of the current system are given in the following samples (of quotations from three more students):

1. "I dislike the constant emphasis on pure book-learning that permeates Harvard" (and every other university!, *Ed.*).

2. "The workshop allows us to investigate by ourselves. There are no yes or no type questions, no beaten paths to go through carrying with us a bored instructor."

3. "Instead of the instructor sitting at the head of the class and firing questions for a show of hands, students and instructors were able to get together on a common subject and do some real work. Furthermore, it provided for the first field-work in social sciences I have encountered in four years at Harvard."

It is obvious that even at the best universities students think that there is much to be criticized about the "education."

Third, we give some of the remarks which specifically point up good aspects of the workshops. These here stress the desirability of group work:

1. "Workshops are valuable because of the common project each member participates in—apart from the course under consideration. Here the students feel the work is their own, the ideas are their own—and they are. So they work more, think more."

2. "Group work is a good idea. One gets familiar with the colleagues in his group, then together they go after information that interests them. Whenever one feels himself loafing, he gets the urge to put in a few hours extra work for the group—a spirit that, unfortunately, prevails only too little at Harvard, both on intellectual and other planes." (Here too, the criticism can be directed at more than one university).

3. "There is a closer relationship between student and instructor. The group has significance aside from the study."

4. "The workshop is a good method of learning and the main advantage it has over the conventional section meeting lies in the fact that discussion and debate are not directed at a stuffed-shirt instructor, but flows freely between members of the group, with the chairman of the group merely channeling the discussion and the workshop director serving primarily to prevent open bloodshed when debate gets too hot. Ideas are thrashed out, x-rayed, and rewardingly assimilated."

There are many comments which point up the value of visitors coming to the workshop "Hearings." The idea of having these was inspired by the legislative hearings. The similarities were there through the workshop members had to do their own work. (They had no paid staff—as do Congressional committee!)

Discussing these visiting experts, one student felt that "outside speakers are invaluable. They save a lot of time and serve to inspire the group. They provide attitudes and contrasts in attitudes that are almost impossible for a group to get from printed material." And another wrote of outside experts: "Great value; we had an opportunity to meet, listen to, and unreservedly question (and even 'put-on-the-spot') various well-known professors, professional men, public servants, etc., whom, under ordinary circumstances, we could only have become familiar with by attending a formal lecture or reading their publications. It's truly an enlightening experience to sit near a famous man, with his coat off and a cigar drooping from his mouth, while he calmly answers challenging questions."

On the questionnaire one of the questions was, "Do you feel that the workshop method is a good method of learning?" Space was left for the respondents to check Excellent, good, fair, or poor. A bright student gave the following answer, which summarizes much:

"Good (nothing is excellent).

"This method allows:

1. Chance for personal expression through discussion and projects.
2. Contact with present-day issues and problems in the flesh, rather than only on a given abstraction level.
3. Chance to develop a sense of teamwork and action on all levels. We can see for ourselves that a given attitude leads to a given policy, and vice versa.

4. Chance to see groups in action—your own workshop as well as others.
5. Chance to develop a sense of teamwork which is needed at this place."

But we cannot go on summarizing summaries. We shall end these student views by quoting one more which penetrates. Then we must see where they have brought us.

The question: "What is your reaction to the emphasis on *group work* and *group spirit*?"

The answer: "The best organizations—business or otherwise—are those in which ideas are permitted to flow upward and horizontally as well as downward through the hierarchy. That is a fact of the modern world—it is an integral part of democracy. Hence I think that more and more emphasis should be placed by colleges on teaching men how to adjust themselves into such work patterns."

(This particular bit of insight we shall return to later; but the fact that a new rather peculiar sense of social responsibility took over in a college "course" is due in no small measure, we think, to the possibility of ideas flowing upward and horizontally.)

WIDE APPLICABILITY

"All these comments are very good," some readers may be thinking, "but what relevance do they have for us?" We must take stock: Granted that some countries are rich and others poor; education does not depend solely on money. There are guiding attitudes which may be of equal or greater importance than finances. We claim that the workshop method is widely applicable, if these public attitudes could be changed.

To find "raised eye-brows" at this statement would not surprise us. University administrators and other educators will probably say, as say the non-professional "experts," "this workshop experiment may work as an experiment in a few rich American colleges. We just don't have the money or the manpower. In education, as in everything else, it pays to be realistic."

Our answer is first that we had better define realism and what it means for a nation. Second, that the adopting of new methods in universities is more strongly influenced by prejudices than by finances.

The lecture system does not help students to learn how to live together. Yet even if money were available, this system would be continued with its stranglehold because too many administrators and "people" can't conceive of any alternative. To too many people "lines of communication" in education must be downward. To too many people these lines must continue to be from old to young, or from the prestige of "labels" to the usual student status of next-to-nothingness because—"What was good enough for my father" (in education, if not in other areas) "is good enough for me."

It would be pointless to detail here the sad state of education, and the sad status of teachers, in practi-

cally every country on this earth. Deplorable conditions in schools, which waste so many lives and which ruin so many nations, stare directly at us. What do we do? We stare right back and mumble "Terrible," to be sure, but continue it with "where is the money to improve the situation?"

We could use money. We are not averse as teachers, even as lecturers, to having decent salaries! But in the last analysis it is not the absence of money that holds back progress in education. It is rather the presence of parents steeped in educational prejudices ("The way I was taught at dear old X college is the way I want my boy to become a man"); and it is the power of children brewed and brewing in similar prejudices. (Despite their very recent "sweating out" of meaningless verbal examinations, yesterday's children can come out collectively today with veritable educational gems: "We need more discipline in universities." "The standards are being lowered." "Our education meant something".)

If we could manage to extract from people all previously held educational prejudices and to instill into them the notion that a group has more wisdom than a single individual (no matter how wise)—then we would have made a real start on the road to improvement. We must specify that the very wise individual here is a member of the group, and that the lines of communication must be free and clear and upward and horizontal as well as downward. If we don't have free communication between members of a group, or the possibility of working for this, then we have a crowd or an artificial "class" rather than a true group.

We shall skip over here the difficult recipes for creating groups and group spirit. In the case of the workshops, students were given the chance to develop significant projects. This "freedom for being useful" is a most important ingredient. We make as our first recommendation the suggestion that university students must be freed from their curricular chains, and that they must be permitted the "luxury" of doing something almost immediately useful. Learning for the sake of learning alone or for the sake of passing examinations has no real appeal in the kind of world this has become.

Universities too long have been considered as some sort of playgrounds for the young, as playgrounds set apart from the fields of real life. It may be true that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton. But no artificial playground, no matter how stiff the "rules of the game" or how bare the fields themselves on which the youngsters are learning the "game," can be more than an artificial society. When we say that students should be given the conditions where they can almost immediately do something useful, we mean just this *almost immediately*. We are concentrating on the immediate short run because, as

Keynes has pointed out and also Shakespeare, in the long run we shall all be dead.

Our second recommendation, obviously related to the first and a requirement also for the short run, is that teachers and professors should be more humble in their teaching. Some teachers are very eminent experts; they should always consider themselves *when they teach* to be humble members of the groups to which they happen to belong. If they cannot do this, then all the money in the world will not help in providing "the conditions which facilitate learning."

A corollary to this commandment requires that teachers give up some of their power. Much less stress should be laid on examinations. Of course, to whisk away an ages-long tradition, bound by strong umbilical cords both to East and West, is an impossibility. But teachers' false ideas of the uses of their power are bolstered by this archaic labelling device.

That there would be problems raised by reducing the emphasis on competition we know full well. Yet we cannot afford to worry so much about how many Harvard students go to make a Princeton man, and similarly about Calcutta and Madras "equivalences." Because we cannot justify our emphasis on group spirit and quest for knowledge for its own sake if we go back on it when it comes to grading . . . The whole case for examinations should be re-opened and re-argued. In most of the Harvard workshops the groups were graded and not the individual members.

What might the picture be if these recommendations are put into operation . . . Let us assume a state of sensible compromise. The lecture system would make certain concessions to the "new methods." And the workshops would move in their development within the framework of the traditional "course."

We have the workshops. Astronomical numbers of students at hundreds of universities are given a chance to develop themselves and not merely their verbal and mathematical memories. The groups work moderately well. And the members are learning to feel a sense of responsibility for the welfare of their groups.

This we see in our mind's eye. Now we must look for some way of developing a sense of group responsibility which transcends the small committees and includes ever larger bodies. Why not have workshops report their findings to the parent class? This could be done through round-table discussion, with all or the greater number of the members of a group taking part. There could be inter- or intra-workshop debates. And other similar projects which would be effective in fostering a much-needed sense of belongingness, could also be carried out with not too great difficulty.

It is conceivable that many courses could be built around series of six or eight workshops. In the social sciences, where this system would be most

simply put into practice, the topics could be selected from many fields. Each student would enroll in a workshop. Each workshop would report to the entire class, using probably several of the hours now given over to lectures. And the lectures might be used to raise "outrageous hypotheses" or questions, but not necessarily in an attempt to cover the whole field or subject-matter.

Under such a plan the lecturer would spend perhaps three weeks at the beginning of the term shocking his students with startling and controversial facts and opinions. Then, say, each of the workshops would give preliminary reports to the entire class. These could be given as panel discussions, debates, formal reports, etc . . . The lecturer would have perhaps one lecture hour for each workshop topic. And the remaining weeks, except for the last two or so, would be used for final workshop reports and possibly for inter-workshop debates and other sessions of such nature.

This plan has advantages. We are assuming the state of compromise with the older and established teaching structure. Not only are the workshops operating here within the traditional course system. It is completely feasible for them to exist side by side with the most conventional of lectures—if (and it is a big if) some less conventional lecturers accept them.

In other words, if some professors can't change old ways, the workshops method can still be used by other teachers. The workshops idea can make a start, at least, under "conservative auspices." There is no question as to which system will win out in the end. The need today is to make that start.

We shall not give prescriptions here as to how to effect the necessary "change of heart" in professors and administrators. How much that change of attitude is needed is by now obvious. But in closing we can do no better than to paraphrase one of the comments which we have already quoted. This expresses succinctly the desires and hopes of wide-awake students everywhere.

The workshop method is a good method (nothing is excellent) because it allows for personal expression through discussion and projects. (If we do not have this, we do not have education, "leading out"). It also permits direct contact with issues and real-life problems. (This is more meaningful than the dilute contact usually found in universities). The workshop method makes it easier to see the relationship between thought and action on all levels. Last but not least, it offers a chance to students to learn how to live with others and encourages teamwork. This is needed more today than ever before. If only a few older persons would recognize that students are social beings! Not before this is recognized again will there be a getting back to the gold standard in Education—in India, just as in every country on this earth.

AGRICULTURAL COST A Study in Its Methodological Approach

By D. C. BISWAS, M.A.

Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

THIS paper is in continuation of the author's contribution on the critical study of the methodological approach to agricultural cost analysis which appeared in *The Modern Review* of January, 1951. That paper sought to review the principles of agricultural cost analysis from the practical standpoint of cost-price relationship under conditions of increasing cost or diminishing return and varying elasticities of demand. In this said context, was examined the problem as to which of the three types of cost, namely, the average, the representative (i.e., the modal value) or the marginal cost, should be taken as the basis for agricultural price-fixing. The conclusion arrived at was that in a competitive economy in which no control over the market supply or production was contemplated and production was left free to equate supply to demand under the interaction of the forces of demand and supply, marginal cost would be the appropriate basis for the price-fixing purpose. And this would be true particularly when the demand was more or less inelastic. The purpose of the present paper is to elucidate certain other problems as presented by the ordinary or popular way of studying cost-yield relationship which is peculiar to agricultural production and indicate tentatively a methodological procedure presumed to be more appropriate, to the study of the correlation as generally believed to exist between agricultural cost and yield. The subject has been treated under four different (but related) topics, namely, (1) Inflated nature of cost as obtained by the ordinary cost accounting method, (2) Relative significance of the different field operations, (3) Cost-yield relationship, and (4) Forecasting cost and yield. The cost-yield relationship is the central theme and the others are merely offshoots incidentally springing from it in course of exposition of the central theme.

The exposition begins with a critical examination of the main results obtained by the ordinary (or which for convenience may be termed 'traditional') way of calculating agricultural cost. The most important of these results is the inflated nature of the cost of cultivation which has been considered first and a substitute method for, and justifiability

of, eliminating this inflation from the usually calculated cost have also been discussed in this connection. Next in order has been taken up the relative significance of different field operations as well as the possible lines of effecting economy in them. The main theme—the cost-yield relationship—which has gradually unfolded itself in course of the above discussion, has been specifically treated at the third stage and a method of ascertaining the degree of correlation between cost and yield suggested in this connection. And last of all the problem of forecasting both cost and yield well in advance of the harvesting season has been taken up.

Before going straight to the subject proper it will be convenient, however, to get acquainted at the outset with the usual method of agricultural cost analysis and presentation of data along with the tentatively suggested substitute model thereof. An example is given below from common experience to illustrate the tentative model as suggested above side by side with the traditional practice. The data used here relate to the real human labour cost, instead of money cost, expressed in terms of man-days worked per bigha of jute land on three typical jute-growing farms situate in three different agricultural zones. Human labour is taken because it has been experienced that it alone accounts for more than 85 per cent of the total cost and is therefore the most determining factor in the cost of jute cultivation. Moreover, the advantage of taking physical labour in preference to money cost is that the latter is subject to wide fluctuation which is ascribable more to the unsteady character of the value of money than to any real difference in the intensiveness of cultivation. Real variations in cost of cultivation between different agricultural zones or years are better estimated from the physical labour actually consumed than from money cost. The unstable money obscures the difference in real cost and all that matters in cost-yield relationship. So, hereinafter by cost will be meant only human labour expressed in terms of man-days worked and nothing else.

Case—I. Traditional Method

Table 1

(Operation-wise distribution of man-days yield per sown bigha)

Operations	Farm No. 1		Farm No. 2		Farm No. 3	
	1st year	2nd year	1st year	2nd year	1st year	2nd year
	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent
Ploughing	3.7	13.9	3.5	15.9	2.8	11.5
Manuring	0.6	2.2	0.9	4.1	1.6	6.6
Sowing	0.4	1.5	0.2	0.9	0.8	3.3
Inter-culture	9.3	34.8	9.1	41.4	11.6	47.7
Cutting	3.8	14.3	2.4	10.9	2.0	8.2
Steeping	2.9	10.9	2.0	9.1	1.9	7.8
Stripping	4.6	17.2	3.1	14.1	2.7	11.1
Drying	1.4	5.2	0.8	3.6	0.9	3.8
Total	26.7	100	22.0	100	24.3	100
Yield per bigha	2.9 mds.		2.0 mds.		2.0 mds.	

Case—II. Suggested Method

Table 2

(Operation-wise distribution of man-days per sown bigha)

Operations	Farm No. 1		Farm No. 2		Farm No. 3	
	1st year	2nd year	1st year	2nd year	1st year	2nd year
	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent	Man- days	per cent
Ploughing	3.7	26.4	3.5	25.5	2.8	16.7
Manuring	0.6	4.3	0.9	6.6	1.6	9.5
Sowing	0.4	2.9	0.2	1.5	0.8	4.8
Inter-culture	9.3	66.4	9.1	66.4	11.6	69.0
Total pre-harvest cost	14.0	100	13.7	100	16.8	100
Cutting	3.8	30.0	2.4	28.9	2.0	26.7
Steeping	2.9	22.9	2.0	24.1	1.9	25.3
Stripping	4.6	36.1	3.1	37.3	2.7	36.0
Drying	1.4	11.0	0.8	9.6	0.9	12.0
Post-harvest total cost	12.7	100	8.3	100	7.5	100

The data given in the above tables represent the average man-days per bigha of jute land and are presented in an operation-wise distribution. The averages have been calculated on the basis of the total cost actually incurred by each farm on its total jute-sown acreage. Case I demonstrates the traditional method and Case II the substitute model as suggested tentatively. Both the methods are almost same in so far as the distribution of absolute cost is concerned except for the fact that in the latter case two sub-totals have been struck—one for the pre-harvest group and another for the post-harvest group of field operations. The main distinction between the two is in respect of the way the proportions have been calculated in the two cases. In Case I the proportions are percentages to the overall total operational cost whereas in Case II these are related to their respective group-wise sub-totals of the operational costs. The facts about the data are: (1) there has been a complete failure of crop on certain portions of the sown land on the first two farms, as it appears from the comparative yield figures in the two years, being 2.9 and 2.0 maunds in the first farm and 2.0 and 4.4 maunds in the second farm; (2) the operational stage at which the crop has been destroyed on the first farm is after the completion of all pre-harvest operations and on the second farm during the inter-cultural operations. This fact is borne out by the comparative pre-harvest cost figures in the two years, which are nearly equal in Farm No. 1 being 14.0 and 13.7 man-days and widely divergent in Farm No. 2 being 16.8 and 21.2 man-days. The comparative cost figures for inter-cultural operations in the two years in Farm No. 2 are 11.6 and 16.4 man-days and bear testimony to the fact that inter-cultural operations could not be finished in the first

year on all the sown land before the crop failed; (3) usual crop has been reaped in both the years on the third farm.

Now let us pass on to the main topics in the order as proposed above.

(1) INFLATED NATURE OF AGRICULTURAL COST

Agricultural production has its own peculiarities as distinguished from industrial production. Unlike the latter the former is full of risks of varied kinds and the cultivator's ability to face them is limited as they are largely beyond his control. Risks considered here are mainly crop hazards. Yields of crops are influenced by a variety of factors mostly meteorological in character, viz., shortage, excess or maldistribution of rains, hails, frosts and storms. Plant diseases and pest's attack are also not insignificant sometimes in their adverse effects upon the crop. Mr. Thirumala Rao, Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture, stated in his address to the conference, held on the 15th April, 1952, at New Delhi, of State officers engaged on locust control and plant protection work that pests and plant diseases were causing a heavy damage to the extent of 10 per cent to our food and other valuable crops, such as cotton and jute (*P.T.I.*'s report published in the *Statesman* of 16th April, 1952). As a result the cultivator's lot is full of uncertainties and, as such, he does not know what will be the exact return in yield to his investment; far to speak of monetary returns. His expectations are often belied by events following investment. So, in order to support him in his distress a loud cry is often raised from sympathetic quarters to fix agricultural prices, especially when a downward trend is noticeable in the agricultural price series, at a level that may cover up all his costs. On the other hand, hue and cry is raised by consumers of agricultural commodities to fix the ceiling prices, when the price trend swings upward, at a level consistent with their safe profit margins. Signs of public recognition of these rival claims are also evident from the recent initiation of agricultural cost enquiries. From the cultivator's point of view, however, the issue is not quite clear whether he should be reimbursed through higher pricing of his crop for all the cost incurred by him on his total sown acreage irrespective of any damage to crop or for the cost incurred only on the land from which alone he could reap a harvest. If the former is intended then the price must have to be inflated and pegged at a much higher level than is justified by the market condition. The cost, too, becomes similarly inflated when calculated as a price-fixing base on the basis of the total cost as incurred on the total sown acreage and taking no notice of the destruction of crops. What exactly is wanted and how exactly the cost is to be calculated for the price-fixing purposes are controversial issues and, therefore, left for

discussion at a later stage after examining here the true nature of agricultural cost behaviour.

Agricultural cost, as usually calculated, is in this sense an inflated cost except of course when no damage occurs to crops. According to the general principles of costing, the cost of unit production is the quotient of the total cost divided by the total number of units of production. Apparently application of this principle in agriculture as in other fields of production would have been quite logical and appropriate had not the cultivator's expectations of return (in yield) to his investment been belied by subsequent crop hazards. This principle holds good in industrial costing. But in agricultural costing application of this principle renders the cost of unit production widely fluctuating in close correspondence with fluctuations in the yield rate. A thorough analysis of agricultural costing has revealed certain important aspects, an examination of which will help arrive at a fairly useful estimate of the effects on farm cost of applying this method in calculation of agricultural cost. Industrial cost at a certain stage of development of the industry is related to output, that is, the cost varies with the aggregate volume of output produced. Agricultural cost, though expected to have a similar bearing on output, does not, as a matter of fact, appear to be so related; at least in the manner in which it is taken to be in the cultivator's or popular way of agricultural cost accounting. The relationship that exists between agricultural cost and output is of a quite different order which is often missed to be grasped by investigators of agricultural cost as is evidenced from the traditional method of cost analysis as shown in Case I. The fundamental defect of this usual practice is that in this system the real relationship which exists between cost and yield is obscured on the one hand by the way in which the cost and yield data are presented and on the other by the way in which is taken into account the effect of interference by disturbing factors like climatic conditions, pests, etc., on the growth and development of the crop. Even if it be assumed that other disturbing factors are absent yet the traditional method of analysis and presentation of the data hides the real relationship rather than reveals it. For adequacy of the costing method it is necessary to bring out the exact relationship by an alteration of the traditional analytical procedure, as illustrated in Case II.

In industrial costing, all costs from the beginning to the end of the productive process, are added together in appropriate proportions to get at the total cost as against the total output produced. Similar methods in agricultural costing cannot be logically worked out, the reason being that after a certain stage of field operations the cost ceases to have any influence on yield; that is to say, the cost from the harvest stage onward has got nothing to do with the

AGRICULTURAL COST

growth of the crop and hence with the yield rate. Correlation between cost and yield ceases after the marginal dose of labour and capital is applied to land, and the marginal dose is not the last dose in point of time. Marshall has also stated the same thing in his exposition of the Law of Diminishing Return.

Any cost incurred in aiding the development and growth of the crop can be said to have a direct relation to yield. From the preparatory tillage right up to harvesting all pre-harvest operations are done to aid the growth and development of the standing crop and a statistically significant correlation may be expected between cost and yield up to this stage provided, of course, other factors affecting the yield remain constant. The operations from harvest down to storing have no such bearing upon the development of the crop. It is, therefore, necessary to divide the total cost structure into two segments, namely, the pre-harvest cost and the rest, i.e., the harvest and post-harvest cost, as shown in Case II, in order to study the effect of cost, or more accurately, the pre-harvest cost, on yield. What is yield? Yield is the average quantity of the output reaped from a unit of land, say, a bigha (being equal to one-third of an acre). Similarly there is a corresponding average pre-harvest cost per unit of land. Yield and pre-harvest cost per bigha may be considered in relation to either sown or harvested land. There may be, and often is, some difference between the sown and the harvested acreage as it will appear from the Table 3 below, and crop failure is responsible for all this difference. When such a situation arises, that is, harvested acreage falls short of the sown acreage, both yield and cost per unit of land will be lower when calculated with reference to the sown acreage than when calculated on the basis of the harvested acreage. If the cost incurred on that portion of the land on which the crop has been destroyed be eliminated from the total pre-harvest cost and if account be taken of the cost incurred only on the land from which crop could be harvested, as shown in Table 5 below, then the pre-harvest cost per unit of harvested acreage will be higher and the yield calculated on this same basis much higher (i.e., more in proportion to the increase in cost) as corroborated by the figures in Table 5, than in the former method of calculation on the basis of sown acreage with the result that the pre-harvest part of the cost per unit production will be much less and cause reduction to the same extent in the final cost per unit produced.

tion as the second part of the cost per unit remains constant in both methods (as illustrated in Tables 4 and 5 below). The extent of this reduction in cost per unit thus effected in Table 5 (i.e., by elimination of that portion of the pre-harvest cost which has been incurred on the portion of land the crop on which has been entirely destroyed) is the measure of the extent of inflation of the total cost per unit as calculated (in Table 4 below) on the basis of the actual cost incurred on the total sown acreage irrespective of the damage to crop. The results obtained by calculation in the process indicated are given below with relevant interpretations.

Table 3

		Jute acreage and output damaged					
Farm No.	Year	Total acreage sown	Acreage damaged	Acreage harvested	Total output lost		
		(bigha)	bigha	p.c.	bigha	p.c.	Maunds p.c.
1.	2nd.	15	5	33.3	10	66.7	15 33.3
2.	1st.	12	6	50.0	6	50.0	24 50.0

The acreage damaged as shown in this table is taken to mean the portion of jute land from which no crop could be harvested. No account has, however, been taken of the slight damage done to the standing crop by plant diseases and pest attack. In the first farm 33.3 per cent of the sown acreage has been destroyed and in the second farm as much as 50 per cent destroyed. The total loss of output estimated on the basis of actual yield reaped per bigha of the harvested acreage is 15 maunds in the first and 24 maunds in the second farm. This shows that the total loss in terms of output is proportionate to the acreage damaged. This is of course true on the implied assumption that the average standard of the land, the crop on which is destroyed, is on par with the average quality of the land from which crop is harvested.

Table 4

		(Cost and yield per bigha of sown acreage)					
Farm No.	Year	Cost per bigha (man-days)			Yield per bigha		
		Pre-harvest	Post-harvest	Total	Pre-harvest	Post-harvest	Total
1.	2nd.	13.7	8.3	22.0	2.0	6.9	4.1 11.0
2.	1st.	16.8	7.5	24.3	2.0	8.4	3.8 12.2

Both cost and yield per bigha shown in the above table are calculated on the basis of the total sown acreage and the total cost incurred and no part of cost has been eliminated from the total cost on account of failure of crop.

Table 5

Table 3 (Cost and yield per bigha as related to the harvested acreage)										
Farm No.	Year	Cost per bigha (man-days)			Yield per bigha (maund)	Cost per unit production (man-days)			Inflation per unit (maund)	
		Pre-harvest	Post-harvest	Total		Pre-harvest	Post-harvest	Total	Man-days	p.c.
1.	2nd	13.7	12.4	26.1	3.0	4.6	4.1	8.7	2.3	26.4
2.	1st	21.8	15.2	37.0	4.0	5.5	3.8	10.3	1.9	18.4

Inflation per unit (maund)
Man-days p.c.
2.3 26.4
1.9 18.4

In this table the average cost and yield per bigha have been calculated with reference to the harvested acreage only and the cost incurred on that part of the sown land which yielded no crop has been completely eliminated. This has been done in order to ascertain the degree to which the cost becomes inflated when calculated in the usual process shown in Table 4. Thus calculated the inflation of cost, as shown in Table 5, is 26.4 per cent or 2.3 man-days per unit production in Farm No. 1 with 33.3 per cent of the sown acreage destroyed as against 18.4 per cent or 1.9 man-days per maund in Farm No. 2 with 50 per cent destruction of the acreage. The reason for this anomaly (i.e., higher percentage of inflation of cost being associated with a lower percentage of acreage destroyed in Farm No. 1 and lower percentage of inflation of cost associated with higher percentage of acreage destruction in Farm No. 2) as explained above is that the crop was damaged in the former farm after the completion of the pre-harvest operations and in the latter during the intercultural operations and, therefore, the pre-harvest cost was greater in the former and lower in the latter farm as compared to their respective pre-harvest costs in the corresponding years. An important inference can, therefore, be drawn from this fact that the degree of inflation of agricultural cost calculated in the former method varies with the operational stages at which the crop is destroyed.

Now the question arises: What is the justification for such elimination of the pre-harvest cost on the land from which no crop could be harvested? Justification lies in the simple fact that the cost which ought to be written off as a mere loss should not be sought to be reimbursed, especially in a more or less planned economy, by higher pricing of the harvested crop on the illogical plea of increased cost of production. Loss should be accounted for separately from cost and the two should not be confused. If, for example, a jute manufacturing concern loses a huge quantity of its raw material due to an accidental fire, should it then seek to compensate itself for the loss thus suffered by raising the price of its manufactured goods on the plea of higher cost of production? Certainly not. (From the business point of view it may do so if the market in a competitive set-up justifies it, otherwise not. Even then it may not be a wise policy). This principle should also govern agricultural costing. How then to compensate for the crop failure? However, apart from artificial rise in price there are other more suitable and ingenious devices which may be adopted for the purpose. As in the U.S.A. an integrated scheme of crop insurance may be introduced into the agrarian economy of India with a price support programme as a safeguard against both crop hazards and price hazards.

As against this view it may be contended that the full inflationary effect of crop failure on cost cannot

be eliminated by crop insurance because of the fact that the annual premium will have to be included in the cost. Yes, the truth of this contention cannot be refuted. Even then it cannot be gainsaid that the cost situation will immensely improve by the introduction of crop insurance. (1) It will secure a great measure of stability in the cost as the incidence of crop failure will be spread over a longer period and the cost will not have to bear, therefore, the full impact of the failure. (2) The premium rate, which is a constituent element of cost, may not be too high if the occurrence of crop failure be not too frequent in the same region. (3) The nature of the risk, i.e., frequency and magnitude, will be studied with more care and, in consequence, there may be on foot efforts to control it with surer knowledge. (4) The crop insurance will smooth out the incidence of large annual variations in the effect of crop failure on the cost curve.

3. THE RELATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF FIELD OPERATIONS, AND 4. COST-YIELD RELATIONSHIP

These two topics are inextricably intertwined as warp and weft and have, therefore, been treated together. They may be studied on either of the two bases, viz., (1) the total sown acreage and the total cost incurred irrespective of any destruction of the sown acreage as shown in the summarised Table 6 below or (2) the actually harvested acreage, in case of any considerable destruction of crop, and the expenses made in respect of the harvested acreage only as shown in Table 7. The results obtained in both these methods have been compared in Table 8 and are likely to be of absorbing interest both to the cost analyst and to the planner of agricultural economy.

The importance of presenting the cost in an operation-wise distribution with reference to the unit of land, a bigha (as in Case I, Table 1 above) is to assess the relative significance as well as its variation from year to year as indicated by the proportions of Table 1. But this variation in the relative significance can be correctly and conveniently assessed only in case of constancy in the total operational cost. But the total cost (per bigha) is essentially a variable quantity, depending as it does on non-compensating variable components—the pre-harvest part of the total cost being influenced by vagaries of nature and the post-harvest part by fluctuations in the yield rate. The vagaries of nature are at the root of all variations no matter whether these be in respect of the pre-harvest cost or in respect of the yield rate. But the fluctuation in the yield rate in its turn brings about fluctuation in the post-harvest cost. One thing that needs to be borne in mind is that vagaries of nature may affect only the yield rate without affecting the pre-harvest operations or for that matter the pre-harvest cost. Such a situation occurs, as in case of Farm No. 1, in the second year, only as a result of

crop failure after completion of all the pre-harvest operations.

It, therefore, appears from what have been said above that two factors are mainly operative and influence cost, one at a time, in two successive operational stages, resulting in variation in the total cost per bigha, and the total cost varying as a result of a change in any of the itemised operational costs means an automatic but disproportionate change in the proportions of all the items of operational cost, even though the absolute costs of some of the operations may not change at all. Take for instance, the case of Farm No. 1 as shown in Table 6 below in which the pre-harvest cost in the second year remaining almost unchanged there has occurred a great change in the post-harvest cost being brought about by a variation in yield. What has happened? The proportion of the unchanged pre-harvest cost has also greatly changed being 62.3 per cent in the 2nd year as against 52.4 per cent in the 1st year. In Farm No. 2, the cost of intercultural operation in the two years are 11.6 and 16.4 man-days which constitute respectively 47.7 per cent and 40.6 per cent of their respective total costs (Table 1). The point of interest in this comparison is to prove that the year-to-year changes in the same items of absolute costs do not reflect proportionately in the year-to-year variation in the distribution pattern of the operational costs as indicated by the proportions worked out in Table 1. This fact of disproportionate change in the proportions (if read without reference to the absolute costs) is apt to be misinterpreted as involving a fundamental change in the system of cultivation and in the distribution pattern of operational cost. In such a situation (that is, when the total cost is subject to change being under the influence of two factors operating exclusively one at a time) the individual proportions of the different operational costs to the total operational cost per bigha, as shown in Case I, provide us with an erroneous and confusing idea, instead of any logical basis of assessment, of their relative significance. As a result the relative significance of each operational cost in a particular year cannot be logically compared to that in another year and therefore loses its comparability and utility. Such an analysis and presentation of operational cost as shown in Case I consequently defeats its own purpose. So, in order to remove, partially at least, this anomaly and make useful this operation-wise distributional process of cost analysis on the basis of total sown acreage and total cost, the entire operational cost structure needs to be bifurcated (as in Case II) into two segments, one comprising the pre-harvest operations and the other the harvest and post-harvest operations, on the basis of the two above-named factors influencing cost; and each item of cost should be studied in relation to its group cost. Such a study will give a fair picture of the

relative importance of the individual operations and make it easier to fix more directly the cause of variation in their relative significance; and from the standpoint of cost accounting, too, this will be more useful being both interpretative of the inherent characteristics of the data and suggestive of the possible lines of economy in the operation-wise distribution of the real labour cost.

The proportion of cost (i.e., man-days) per bigha for each individual operation to its group total as shown in Case II does not as a matter of fact fluctuate widely except under rare circumstances, and its year-to-year variation is not as much unrelated to the yearly variation in the corresponding absolute cost as it is in Case I. This is true, particularly of the second group of operational costs and, generally, under certain assumed conditions, also of the pre-harvest group of costs. The proportions in the post-harvest group as shown in Table 2 have varied between the two years only within very narrow limits in respect of all the farms though the corresponding variations in absolute costs are comparatively wide as between the two years. This point is highly significant in so far as it points to the fact that the post-harvest cost per unit production must have remained almost same in the two years, otherwise the proportions cannot remain fairly constant or within a very narrow range of variation. The pre-harvest cost is affected, as stated above, only if abnormal weather conditions intervene the successive pre-harvest operations, otherwise not under the prevailing circumstances. It has not been infrequently experienced that severe damage to crop occurs due to flood or pest attack only after all the pre-harvest operations are completed as in the case of Farm No. 1. This in effect means that with all the pre-harvest cost being incurred and the proportions of all the different operational items of cost within the group remaining constant, there occurs a considerable reduction in the yield rate due to destruction of crops as in the case of Farm No. 1 in the second year (Table 2) and for that matter also in the post-harvest cost per bigha.

What is the function of harvest and post-harvest cost? Harvest and post-harvest cost is for processing the crop and, as such, has got nothing to do with the growth and development of the standing crop. So, land as a thing of reference is eliminated from the harvest stage of cost analysis. The unit of land as a thing of reference is necessary to study the correlation as commonly assumed to exist between cost and yield. But such a study should be made not for all the cost from the beginning to the end but for the cost incurred on the land only up to the pre-harvest stage for reasons already stated. It may, therefore, be concluded from the foregoing considerations (as substantiated by the corroborating evidence furnished by the data of the first two farms as shown in the summarised Table 6 below) that the total cost (i.e., man-days) per

higha fluctuates between the two years within a comparatively narrow amplitude as in Farm No. 1 when the fluctuation in the first group of cost, which generally accounts for more than 60 per cent of the total cost, is nil even though in the second group of cost it closely follows fluctuations in the yield rate and may, for this reason, be very violent and wide because of the extreme uncertainty of the yield rate, than when the fluctuation in the pre-harvest cost being occasioned by interference of disturbing factors is great as in the case of Farm No. 2.

If the fluctuation in the pre-harvest cost be occasioned by better cultivation in one year than in another and the yield, uninterrupted by any of the destructive elements, responds favourably, though less than proportionately to the increase in pre-harvest cost (required for better cultivation) because of the operation of the Law of Diminishing Return, as illustrated by the cost and yield figures of Farm No. 3 in the second year, then both the post-harvest and the total costs will also vary, and that in the same direction—the former (the post-harvest cost) almost proportionately as explained above and the latter (the total cost), like (and because of) the pre-harvest cost, more than proportionately to the yield variation. Though this inference is not cent per cent corroborated yet its irresistibility is proved, by the evidence furnished by the percentage changes in the operational costs and in the yield rate in Farm No. 3, which are 10.1 per cent, 7.0 per cent, 9.0 per cent, and 3.4 per cent respectively for the pre-harvest, post-harvest and total costs and the yield rate.

These important facts are revealed candidly by the suggested method of presentation and obscured by the traditional or common method as illustrated in Case I (Table 1). In Case II (Table 2) the data are presented in their true functional relationship. The function of the pre-harvest cost is causative in the sense that pre-harvest operations help the crop to grow and develop whereas the second group of costs is the function of the yield rate, that is, in statistical terminology, the first group of cost per bigha is the independent and the yield the dependent variable, and the second group of cost the dependent and the yield the independent variable. This point goes unnoticed in the traditional method and, as a result, attempts are not infrequently made to discover the wrongly supposed correlation between the total cost per bigha as the independent variable and the yield as the dependent variable, which is quite illogical. The character of the variable must be known beforehand in order to interpret the correlation otherwise even the high degree of correlation loses all meaning and no inference can be drawn from it. In the study of a single correlation between yield and the total cost (man-days) per bigha the true character of the variables remains undisclosed and the correlation ratio

admits of no logical interpretation. So, a separate study should be made of the correlation either between the pre-harvest cost and the yield or between the post-harvest cost and the yield for drawing valid conclusions regarding cost-yield relationship. This analytical procedure is perfectly interpretative of the internal characteristics of the data and reflects withal the level to which the margin of cultivation has been pushed as a result of population pressure on land. It may be mentioned here that from a separate study of this kind as shown in Case II it has been found that no significant correlation can exist between the pre-harvest cost and the yield in a year marked by abnormal features either intervening, or occurring after, the pre-harvest operations, whereas a fairly good correlation is found between the second group of cost and yield. This is also corroborated by the like changes in both post-harvest cost and yield in all the three farms as shown in Table 6 above. This latter relationship cannot, however, be distorted to an appreciable extent by any disturbing factor; but it is of no great value from practical standpoint except in so far as it has got a bearing on the question of forecasting of post-harvest cost, which has been discussed below in its relevant context.

A better picture of the relative significance as well as of the cost-yield relationship can be obtained if the study be confined to the harvested acreage only, as illustrated in Table 7, because in this case the yearly fluctuations in cost or yield are much less wide and more comparable as it will appear from the comparative fluctuation figures as extracted from Tables 6 and 7 and shown in Table 8 below.

(The percentage variations in cost and yield calculated as in Table 7 appear to be mutually related whereas those in Table 6 do not show such relationship.

(4) FORECASTING OF COST AND YIELD

Cost enquiries to bear fruit should yield results that can be utilised to forecast both cost and yield within a reasonable margin of error and well in advance of the harvesting season. If the purpose underlying these cost enquiries be to support prices to keep on par with cost, the cost must be known beforehand. The major part (i.e., the pre-harvest part which generally accounts for 60 per cent) of the total cost is of course known at the time when the forecast needs to be made, because the pre-harvest operations are completed by that time. So, the only estimate that requires to be made to forecast the total cost per bigha is of the post-harvest cost. As we have already seen in connection with the analysis of the cost-yield relationship, the post-harvest cost per bigha is essentially a function of the yield rate and, as such, dependent upon it; consequently the post-harvest cost per unit production cannot vary beyond a very small range of variation. Yield therefore requires to be forecast first

Proportion of Pre-harvest and Post-harvest Group															
		Farm No. 1			Farm No. 2			Farm No. 3							
Per sown bigha	1st year Man- days	p.c.	2nd year Man- days	Variation Actual p.c.	1st year Man- days	p.c.	2nd year Man- days	Variation Actual p.c.	1st year Man- days	p.c.	2nd year Man- days	Variation Actual p.c.			
Pre-harvest	14.0	52.4	13.7	62.3	16.8	69.1	21.2	52.5	15.8	64.7	17.4	65.4	(+)	1.6	10.1
Post-harvest	12.7	47.6	8.3	37.7	7.5	30.9	19.2	47.5	8.6	35.3	9.2	34.6	(+)	0.6	7.0
Total cost	26.7	100	22.0	100	24.3	100	40.4	100	24.4	100	26.6	100	(+)	2.2	9.0
Yield per sown bigha	2.9	mds.	2.0	mds.	2.0	mds.	4.4	mds.	2.9	mds.	3.0	mds.	(+)	0.1	3.4
			(-)	0.9	31.0										
			(+)	2.1	43.8								(-)	0.4	7.4
Pre-harvest	4.8		6.9		8.4		4.8		5.4		5.8		(+)	0.1	3.3
Post-harvest	4.4		4.1		3.8		4.4		3.0		3.1		(+)	0.1	3.3
Total	9.2		11.0		12.2		9.2		8.4		8.9		(+)	0.5	5.9

Table 7									
Proportion of pre-harvest and post-harvest group costs and yield per bigha of harvested acreage									
Cost per harvested bigha	Farm No. 1			Farm No. 2			Farm No. 3		
	1st year Man- days	2nd year Man- p.c.	Variation Actual p.c.	1st year Man- p.c.	2nd year Man- p.c.	Variation Actual p.c.	1st year Man- p.c.	2nd year Man- p.c.	Variation Actual p.c.
Pre-harvest	14.0	52.4	(-) 0.3	21.8	59.0	(-) 0.6	21.2	55.0	(-) 0.6
Post-harvest	12.7	47.6	(-) 0.3	15.2	41.0	(+) 4.0	19.2	45.0	(+) 4.0
Total	26.7	100	(-) 0.6	37.0	100	(+) 3.4	40.4	100	(+) 3.4
Per harvested bigha :									
Yield (mds.)	2.0		(+) 0.1	4.0		(+) 0.4	4.4		(+) 0.4
Cost per maund :									
Pre-harvest	4.8		(-) 0.2	5.5		(-) 0.7	4.8		(-) 0.7
Post harvest	4.4		(-) 0.3	3.8		(+) 0.6	4.4		(+) 0.6
Total	9.2		(-) 0.5	9.3		(-) 0.1	9.2		(-) 0.1

Table 8									
Comparative variations between the two years in cost and yield per bigha and per unit production (extracted from Tables 6 and 7)									
Farm No. 1					Farm No. 2				
Variations					Variations				
Table 6		Table 7		p.c.	Table 6		Table 7		p.c.
Man-days	p.c.	Man-days	p.c.		Man-days	p.c.	Man-days	p.c.	
Cost per bigha :									
Pre-harvest	(-) 0.3	2.1	(-) 0.3	2.1	(+) 4.4	26.2	(-) 0.6	2.7	
Post-harvest	(-) 4.4	34.6	(-) 0.3	2.4	(+) 11.7	150.0	(+) 4.0	26.3	
Total	(-) 4.7	17.6	(-) 0.6	2.2	(+) 16.1	66.2	(+) 3.4	9.0	
Per bigha :									
Yield (mnds.)	(-) 0.9	31.0	(+) 0.1	3.4	(+) 2.4	120.0	(+) 0.4	10.0	
Cost per 1 mound :									
Pre-harvest	(+) 2.1	43.8	(-) 0.2	4.2	(-) 3.6	42.8	(-) 0.7	12.4	
Post-harvest	(-) 0.3	7.0	(-) 0.3	7.0	(+) 0.6	15.8	(+) 0.6	15.8	
Total	(+) 1.8	20.0	(-) 0.5	5.4	(-) 0.3	24.6	(-) 0.1	1.1	

and on the basis of this forecast a fair estimate of the post-harvest cost can easily be worked out with the help of the previous year's relevant ratio. Yield can be estimated independently of cost with a fair degree of reliability by the well-known method of crop-cutting experiments or by the use of the regression analysis of the crop-weather relations if the climate be equable otherwise not. Thus a fair estimate of the yield being made, estimation of the post-harvest cost is simply a step more in the calculation process. The small error that may creep into the estimate thus arrived at due to a slight variation in the ratio of the post-harvest cost to yield can be greatly reduced, if not completely eliminated, by introducing into the calculation process a measure of the 'condition factor' which is responsible for this variation. The actual pre-harvest cost and the estimated post-harvest cost being added together will give a highly reliable estimate of the total cost.

This method may be applied either in respect of the sown acreage when no part of it is destroyed or in respect of the harvested acreage in case the latter falls short of the former due to destruction of crop on some portion of the sown land. Thus calculated the estimates will be fairly reliable and free from the inflationary effects of the crop failure on cost as calculated in the traditional way.

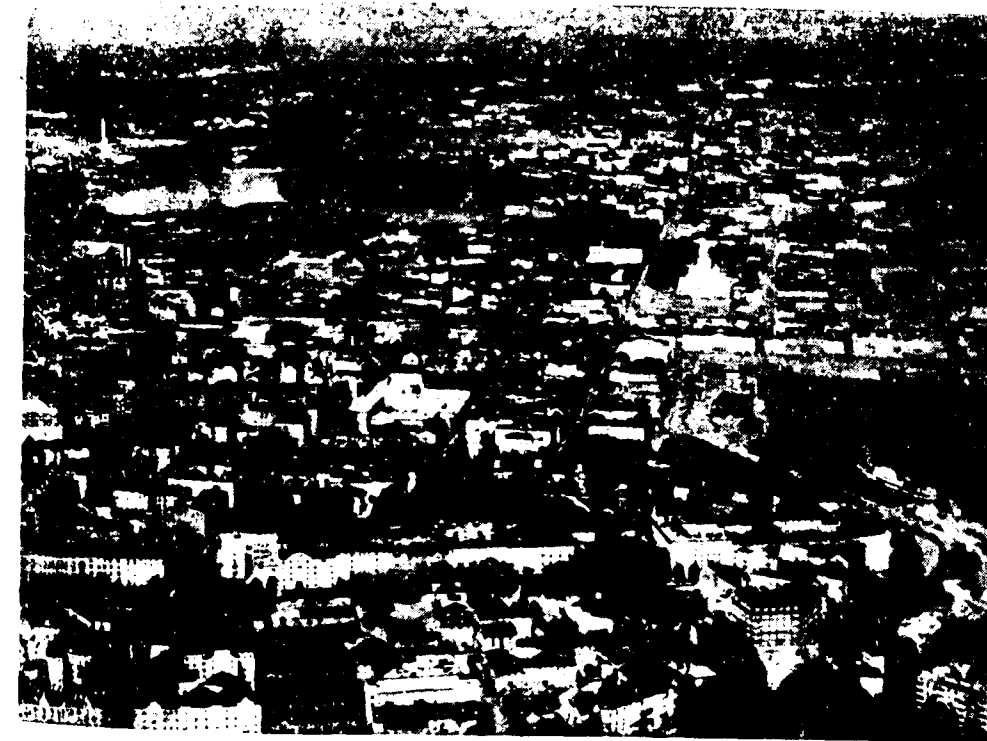
The ratios with the help of which the estimates are to be made may be taken either in respect of one base year that can be regarded, to all intents and purposes, as normal, or in respect of each preceding year for estimation of cost in the year following; or it may be an average of the several years' ratios if the enquiry be continued for a number of years. The second one is likely to be more useful and convenient for estimation purposes because the variation in the 'condition factor' can be rightly ascertained by comparing its behaviour in the two consecutive years. Categorically speaking, the method, as suggested above, consists of three steps, namely, 1. The components in the ratio, i.e., cost and yield per bigha, should be related to the harvested acreage when it falls short

of the sown acreage; 2. Yield should be estimated by crop-cutting experiments independently of cost; 3. The estimates should be made on the basis of cost-yield relationships as obtained in each preceding year.

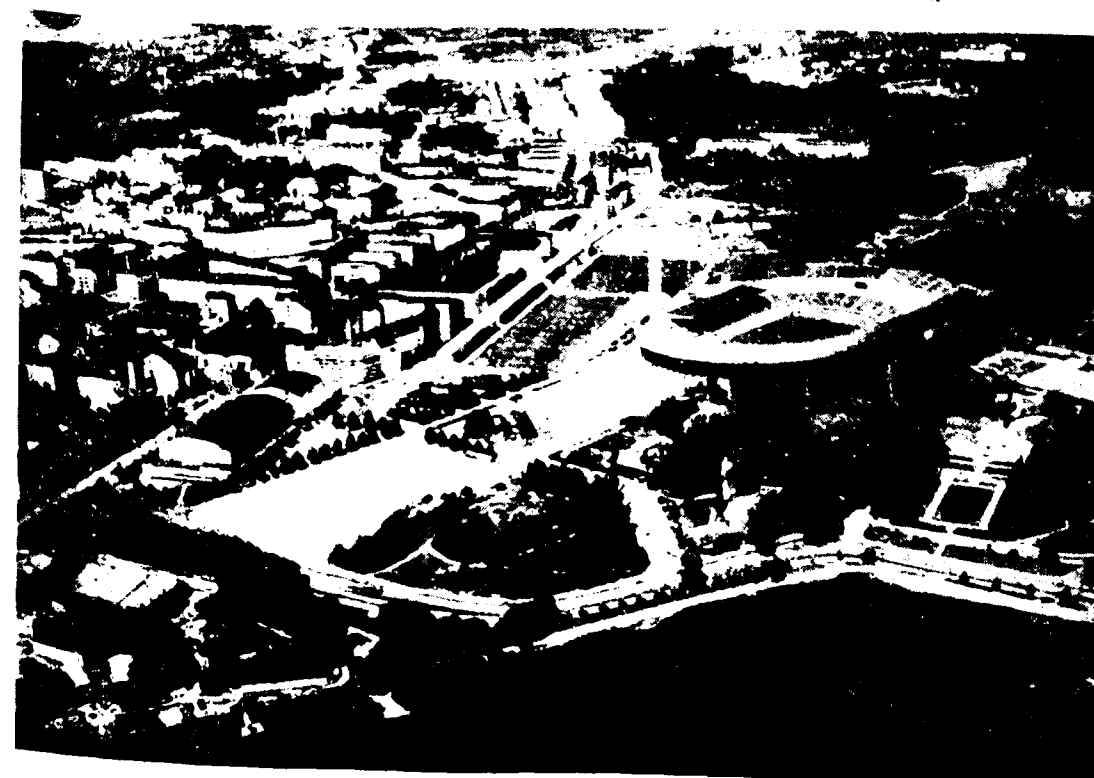
A question may, however, be asked as to whether it is not possible to forecast both cost and yield with the several relationships as discovered in course of the analysis of the behaviour of cost on yield and of yield on cost without going in for a crop-cutting experiment for yield estimation. Let us see if these relationships offer us any guidance in this direction. It has been noticed that under ordinary circumstances post-harvest and total costs stand in a particular relation to the pre-harvest cost and the yield to the total cost. If these relations can be expected to remain constant or near about that (which is very unlikely because of the variable 'condition factor') then these relations as expressed in ratios (see Table 9) may be used to construct a rough and ready empirical formula to estimate the unknown variates, viz., the post-harvest cost, the total cost and the yield in other years. The pre-harvest cost in those years, of course, must be known already. The factors involved in this formula are therefore the actual pre-harvest cost of the year in which estimates are to be made, the ratios of the post-harvest cost to the pre-harvest cost, of the total cost to the pre-harvest cost and of the yield to the total cost of the base year chosen for the purpose. →

With the help of these three empirical formulae both cost and yield per bigha can be estimated without going in for a separate crop-cutting experiment, over and above cost enquiries. But one serious difficulty underlies this procedure which vitiates the results thus obtained. These equations hold good only so long as the ratios remain constant. This is a very hard condition and goes unfulfilled more often than not. They are subject to wide variation due to the 'condition factor' as it appears from Table 9 below. ← Exact mathematical procedure may be illustrated as follows :

Post-harvest cost of the base year	×	Actual Pre-harvest cost of the year	= the estimated post-	(1)
Pre-harvest cost of the base year		in which estimates are to be made.	harvest cost.	
The actual pre-harvest cost + the		estimated post-harvest cost	= the estimated total	(2)
			cost.	
Or The total cost of the base year	×	The actual pre-harvest cost of	= the estimated	(2a)
The pre-harvest cost of the base		the year in which estimate is	total cost	
year		to be made		
The yield of the base year	×	The estimated total	= estimated yield	(3)
Total cost of the base year		cost		



A general view of Helsinki, the sports-minded capital of Finland



The Helsinki Stadium where the 1952 Olympic Games are being played

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE U.S.A.



This voting machine is used for elections in many parts of the United States. It saves time in counting and eliminates errors in tabulation.



A scene of the recent primary election in Ohio.

ANOTHER SHEAF OF BOOKS ON ART

199

Table 9

	Type of Ratio	
	Post-harvest cost	Yield
Farm No. 1:		
1st year	0.90716	0.10861
2nd year	0.60584	0.09091
Farm No. 2:		
1st year	0.4464	0.08230
2nd year	0.9057	0.10891
Farm No. 3:		
1st year	0.5443	0.11885
2nd year	0.5237	0.11278

So, any estimate made with the help of these ratios cannot be reliable and is often likely to be far from truth unless modified by some correction factor designed to eliminate the effects of the variable 'condition factor' upon these ratios. A suitable objective measure of this condition factor should then have to be evolved by a prolonged investigation into its behaviour over a number of years to provide the correction factor. Even then the formulae thus corrected may not yield results that can be accepted without suspicion about their reliability.

Moreover, the process will be a very cumbersome one and require investigation over a long period knowing not with what results and, as such, may not find favour with the authorities. This difficulty of unlimited variation in the ratios can be somewhat got rid of if the component factors in the ratios be taken in respect of the acreage actually harvested. The ratios thus calculated will remain within a very negligible range of variation, and the estimates made therewith may not deviate far from the true values. The ratios calculated

on this basis are given in Table 10 below. It will appear from this table that the ratios in the two years are fairly in the neighbourhood of each other. The slight variation that occurs will not materially vitiate the estimates.

Table 10

Ratio of post-harvest to pre-harvest cost and of yield to total cost.

Type of Ratios	Farm No. 1		Farm No. 2	
	1st yr.	2nd yr.	1st yr.	2nd yr.
Post-harvest	0.90716	0.90511	0.69725	0.9057
Pre-harvest				
Yield	0.10861	0.11494	0.10811	0.10891
Total cost				

In conclusion it should, however, be pointed out that this isolated approach to cost study of an individual crop separately from other crops grown on the farm may not be above criticism. The Indian system of farming still partakes of the nature of family farming, and as such, may be classed in the category of mixed farming or a joint-product industry. It may, therefore, be argued that farm cost should as well be regarded as joint cost and studied as such according to the principles laid down by the classical economists. Logically, of course, the advisability of this procedure cannot be refuted, rather it was advocated in the author's earlier contribution on the subject, but it is not practicable at present in India because of both organisational and financial difficulties. That is why the authorities are more in favour of investigation into the cost of individual crops separately.

ANOTHER SHEAF OF BOOKS ON ART

By KAUNDINYA

SOMEWHAT lamentable indifference, at the centres of Indian learning, to many phases of Indian culture, particularly, the important subject of art-history, of which adequate provisions are made in all European and American Universities, has left a gaping void in our University studies, not even covered by the Radhakrishnan Report. This hiatus in the study of Indian Art in one of our Universities is the subject of a recent Resolution of the Indian Institute of Culture at Bangalore, in which it has been recommended that the University of Mysore should introduce the study of Indian Fine Arts as a subject of major study. Though directed against one of our Indian Universities, it easily provides the cap to fit, perhaps, all our Universities, except perhaps, the much-maligned

University of Calcutta. Anyhow this persistent boycott of this important branch of the Humanities has afforded important opportunities to European savants and critics to contribute richly to the recent literature on Indian art, which should make our Indian scholars pale with shame, if not, green with envy. The valuable finds of a rich load of documents of Rajasthani painting discovered by Dr. Goetz, curator of the Baroda Museum, have opened a new vista in the study of Rajput art, through which Dr. Goetz has looked at the history of this important school from a new angle of vision. In his excellently produced and richly illustrated monograph *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State* (published by Bruno Cassirer, Oxford, 1950, for the Government of Bikaner State, 10 colour

plates, and 95 half-tone illustrations, pp. 140, price Rs. 59), Dr. Goetz has been able to reveal the unique contributions of Bikaner in the development of Rajput art with an abundance of hitherto unknown data which have revolutionized our accepted view of the evolution of this unique phase of Indian culture. His monograph is of special value in emphasizing the individuality of the different schools of Rajputana art. "He has brought to bear on it the results of wide research on Indian art-history, a mind trained to art-criticism and an immense amount of knowledge based on many years of labour in different parts of India. Apart from its value as an interpretation of the art-traditions of Rajputana, the book also opens up many new fields and raises some major issues of Indian history on which further research may produce important results." The author has ably analysed the historical and political background of Rajasthan in order to present the data of art-history in their proper perspective. For without historical background any approach to art-history and appreciation is impossible. "As Rajput history has been over-shadowed by contemporary Indo-Muslim history, Rajput art, standing between traditional Hindu and Indo-Muslim art, has likewise been neglected." After sketching in firm outlines the political and culture-history of Bikaner State the author reveals the many processes through which the art of Bikaner reached its characteristic phases. At first this new Rajput art found expression in crude idols and a clumsy, rustic architecture but towards the end of the 14th century Rajput princes summoned architects and masons from Gujarat and during the first half of the 15th century a conscious Renaissance of high mediaeval art was in full swing. This reached its zenith in the immense building activities of Rana Kumbha, which show Chauhan and Gujarati Hindu-Jain motifs in religious, Hindu-Muslim in secular and Muslim with Hindu decorative motifs in military architecture; folk-Rajput and Jain types mixed in sculpture and Gujarati and Jaina in painting. According to the author, this new Rajput art, beginning to develop in the middle of the 15th century, flourished through the whole of the 16th and part of the 17th century, when it was "absorbed" by the Mughal art to reappear after the middle of the 18th century. As a matter of fact this "absorption" by Mughal art meant not the destruction but a further enrichment of Rajput art. For Mughal art was able to "absorb" Rajput art, merely because it was itself half Rajput art. This is a brilliant thesis, though this is not clearly established by adequate confirmatory documents. For instance, it is not made quite clear, how the Deccani miniatures from Ahmadnagar (1565-69), represented by two wonderful illustrations of Raginis (plates II, IV) of astonishing primitive qualities in their awkward grace and sincerity, made any contribution to the building up of the Rajput style, nor is

the valuable data offered by the *Rasika-priya* illustration (Udaipur?) (Plate VII) related to the Bundela primitive Raginis cited by Coomaraswamy. The *Gilagovinda* is much more instructive in demonstrating the absorption of Mughal elements in Rajput painting not traceable in the 18th century miniatures. The so-called Amber (?) *Rasika-priya* (Plate IX) (end of 16th century) is very closely related to the well-known Ragini primitives in all details of technique and type. The *Danlila* (Figure 91) from a Bhagavata is another instructive document. The author presents in a very learned and critical manner the various phases of Bikaner school of painting in its "early Rajput," in its Indo-Muslim features, and under the "impact of Mughal art," late Rajput painting and the end of the Mughal school. In answering the query, if Rajput art was so much indebted to other styles with what justification and in what sense may we regard it as an individual national style? The author asserts that Rajput art though accepting all these elements from outside has always interpreted them independently and in its own spirit, selecting, changing, modifying, and intensifying all these elements to make it serve as an expression of an individual identical ideal of life and of beauty. Apart from the new materials for the history of Rajput painting the author has put forth many unique documents of early architecture and sculpture, which help us to visualize the steps which led to the development of Rajput architecture. Dr. Goetz has made a very valuable contribution to a valuable phase of Indian culture, which will challenge the researches of Indian scholars for some time to come. Another phase of Indian painting received an intensive and incisive analysis from a famous anthropologist, W. G. Archer (*Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Victoria Albert Museum, London, 1952, pp. 98, one colour plate, 70 half-tones, price 8s. 6d.), who brings under focus a large number of Pahari paintings, many not published before, classifying them in three sections, Guler, Jammu and Punch. The author puts forward accurate historical data to arrange his rich materials in a clear historical perspective, which will not only help towards a clear understanding of the mutual relations of the different Pahari schools, but a more precise presentation of the interesting stages of evolution of this last but brilliant phase of Indian painting so justly prized for its beauty and charm. The author's researches to establish the basis of the style of painting in Jammu is the most original part of the study. As he points out, "For Jammu painting, key to style are still entirely wanting and it is only by taxing our ingenuity to the utmost that we can hope to rehabilitate it as a school of art." His next important thesis is the discovery of the local "school" in Punch, north of Jammu, at the westernmost extremity of all the Punjab hills. Very strenuous effort has been made on inadequate materials "to isolate

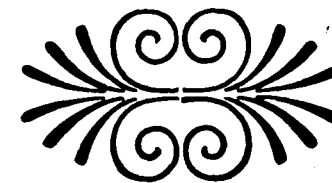
the elements peculiar to Punch," but the recognition of a Punch school as a separate type of Pahari art has not been firmly established, though very valuable clues have been discovered and discussed. But in spite of the tentative results of this brilliant piece of research, the small treatise will be welcomed as a stimulating study which will surely fertilize new researches and enquiries. From another point of view, the inactivity of Indian scholars is assaulted by a sumptuous Album produced by a French savant, Raymond Burnier, who with the help of the Indian Archaeological Department has specialized in photographing the masterpieces of mediaeval Hindu sculpture in remarkable presentations of lights and shadows which reveal the astonishing beauty, and the profound spiritual expressions of Indian plastic art (*Hindu Mediaeval Sculpture*, reproducing 79 photographs in large-size Photogravure Plates executed by Bobigny, published in 1950 by La Palme, Rue Beaujon, Paris, with three pages of letterpress, price Rs. 90). The beauty and magnificence of the reproductions pay a valuable tribute to the peculiar creativeness of Indian mythical sculpture and the astounding originality of the treatment of form, the "uncreated possibilities" which constitute India's unique contribution to the plastic art of the world. That the examples chosen are confined to only two mediaeval temples (Khajuraho and Bhuvaneshwara), will help to correct the superstitions of our archaeological scholars, many of whom still believe that the art of Indian sculpture attained its perfection and zenith in the evolution of the Gupta Period. The fallacy was long ago pointed out by Havell in his famous little essay *The Zenith of Indian Art* (Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Jahrg I, Heft. 1). The photographs taken by Burnier have been several times exhibited here and abroad and excited the admiration and envy of scholars and photographers and the secret of the process by which Burnier derives his exaggerated effects of lights and shadows has been the subject of keen controversy among professional photographers. Whatever may be the secret of the process Burnier has rendered signal service to the interpretation of Indian sculpture which has earned the admiration of art-lovers throughout the world. One is inclined to enquire why this task of photographically interpreting the beauties of India plastics could not be undertaken by our Department of Archaeology, exclusively confining itself to excavations of raw materials, coins, and inscriptions. It is to be

hoped that other Indian photographers and lovers of Indian art will turn to this valuable national duty to interpret in adequate forms of reproduction the many phases of the masterpieces of Indian art.

Two years ago the Central Ministry of Indian Education threatened to patronize the publication of typical masterpieces of old and modern Indian painting to stimulate the study of Indian art in Indian schools and colleges, through the collaboration of an expert committee of Indian connoisseurs. But apparently these projected aids to appreciation of Indian art appear to be beyond the responsibility of the Indian Education Department. On somewhat similar line as that of the excellent Burnier Album is a less ambitious Album produced by Madanjeet Singh with a subsidy from the Government of India and enriched by an illuminating and stimulating Introduction by Dr. G. Tucci, the famous Italian Indologist of encyclopaedic erudition (*Indian Sculpture in Bronze and Stone*, with 20 Photogravure Plates executed by Industrie Grafiche Amilcari Pizzi, Milan, Italy, price Rs. 30, obtainable from the Press and Publicity Service, 40 McLeod Street, Calcutta). Though less ambitious than the Burnier Album, this publication in 20 plates reproduces a few little-known masterpieces—Shiva (III), Sita (IV), Upasaka (XII), and Nartaki (XIX), which will excite the interest of connoisseurs and scholars. Some uninteresting and second-rate pieces (VII and VIII) should have been omitted to emphasize on the merits of the finest pieces. It is a pity that the photographer Mr. Singh did not invite the collaboration of a competent scholar to provide descriptive and iconographic notes on the plates. This is, however, very amply compensated by the brilliant introduction contributed by Dr. Tucci, an extract from which we cite here:

"On closest examination one discovers something more in these masterpieces of Indian sculpture: one notices a blending of exuberant feminine forms and masculine strength or the tempering of the sexual differences that are plastically expressed in Ardha-Narishvara's type which is significant of the compensation of these two essential elements Saktiman and Sakti, possessor of power by means of which the rhythm of cosmic evolution is developed."

The example set by Sri Madanjeet Singh to explore the beauties of Indian national art deserves emulation by other Indian nationals.



DUKE OF RICHELIEU

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

THE Duke of Richelieu, a Marshal of France and scion of the French nobility, died on May 30, 1952, at the age of seventy-six. As a young man, the Duke, who was the last to bear his illustrious title, had been a great admirer of Swami Vivekananda, whom he had known rather intimately. He cherished his admiration for the Swamiji till the end of his life.

The full name of the Duke was Marie Odet Jean Armand de Chapelle de Jumilhac, Duc de Richelieu. The title was first conferred upon Cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis by Louis XIII. Before the Cardinal died he obtained permission to bequeath the title to his grand-nephew, Jean de Vignerot, an ancestor of the Marshal. Another of the Duke's ancestor served in the Russian army under Empress Catherine and founded the city of Odessa in the early nineteenth century, subsequently returning to France to serve as Premier under Louis XVIII.

The Duke of Richelieu, born in Paris, was the son of the second Duc Armand de Richelieu and the former Marie Alice Heine, who after her first husband's death married Prince Albert of Monaco. He studied at a Jesuit school in France and graduated from the University of Aix-en-Provence. In 1913, he married Miss Elinor Douglas Wise, of Baltimore. The ceremony was performed by the late Cardinal Gibbons, who gave the opening benediction at the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893. The Duchess, who studied voice in France with Mme. Emma Eames, the noted American singer, gave many concerts for the benefit of tubercular French soldiers.

In 1930, the Duke presented his chateau and its park of more than one thousand acres, which originally belonged to Cardinal Richelieu, to the University of Paris as a place of rest for French professors and a guest-house for visiting foreign professors. The Duke travelled extensively in Europe and America and was regarded as an authority on eighteenth century English literature. He could speak fluently in several European languages and was brilliant in conversation. Even in casual talk he was able to draw striking comparisons not only between modern writing and that of the past, but between historical developments of today and yesterday. The Duke was a keen student of politics. I spent many hours with him in political and cultural discussions and thoroughly enjoyed his penetrating wit. He never indulged in small or cheap talk.

I first met the Duke in 1934 when I was crossing over to France. Immediately after the ship had left the pier in New York, I was told by Princess Matchabelli

that the Duke of Richelieu earnestly wanted to speak to me. We met after dinner on the deck of the tourist class, by which I was travelling. He said to me that he had known Swami Vivekananda. They had met in Paris in 1900, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Francis H. Leggett, devoted disciples of the Swamiji. It was the time of the Paris Exposition, in connection with which the late Sir J. C. Bose was the Indian representative at the Congress of Scientists. The Leggetts used to invite notables to their house and entertained them lavishly.

About Swami Vivekananda the Duke said that he was a singularly handsome man. At first he had taken the Swamiji for one of the Indian yogis known in Europe as performers of tricks. But soon he came under the spell of the Swamiji's personality and visited him regularly for several weeks. One day Swami Vivekananda said to the Duke that he was leaving for India the next day and wanted to know if the Duke would give up the world and become his disciple. The Duke asked what he would receive in return. "I shall give you the desire for death," the Swamiji replied. The Duke laughed, thinking that the Swamiji was being silly. He had just graduated from the University and was about to enter upon a career—what would he do with death? He asked the Swamiji to offer something more tempting. The Swamiji said, gravely, "If you become my disciple, I shall give you a state of mind such that when death comes you will laugh at it." The Duke thought that the Swamiji was teasing. The next day Swami Vivekananda left and they never met again.

The Duke of Richelieu told me that for thirty years he had completely forgotten Swami Vivekananda. Two years prior to our meeting, however, he had passed through a certain crisis and a great change had come over his life. Suddenly one day every word Swami Vivekananda had said to him came back to his mind, and he became very eager to know where the Swamiji was or what had become of him. He inquired about the Swamiji in Paris, New York, and London, but could obtain no information about him. When he saw my name on the passengers' list on board ship, he thought I might be able to tell him about Swami Vivekananda. We had ten delightful days together on the ship, holding stimulating conversations in the evening after dinner. The Duke gave me a letter of introduction to the President of the Sorbonne and said that we must meet again in New York. He told me that he had a house in New York City not very far from the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center.

We saw each other many times in New York. Both

the Duke and Duchess became fond of me and often invited me to their house for dinner or luncheon, where I met noted men in politics and public life. On several occasions the Duke and Duchess came to the Center for dinner. The last time I saw the Duke was in Miami, Florida, in April, 1952. We had lunch together and he discussed the present world tension from a philosophical standpoint. He looked very fragile. But as usual he was very animated and excited in conversation. After returning to New York he caught pneumonia, which proved fatal to him.

The Duke was full of respect for Swami Vivekananda and bore toward him sincere affection. In the Duke's opinion the Swamiji stressed the value of the individual as against the group. The individual can effectively influence the group by remaining distinct from it, and not, like a labor leader, by identifying himself with it. Further, the individual need not cut himself away from the group for his own benefit, as asserted by medieval Christianity. According to Swami Vivekananda, the Duke thought, the true worth of the individual lay in his being universal, and that of the universal in its being individual. He further said that in Vivekananda, the confusion of life was resolved into distinctness of consciousness, as in art the obscurity of sentiment and feeling is transformed into the lucidity of representation, because it itself creates the image—the unity of the image. The Duke learnt from the Swamiji that God is near Truth but is not Truth.

"After learning not to be disturbed by evil, we must learn not to be made happy by good. We must go beyond evil and good and see that both are necessary."

Swami Vivekananda said to the Duke that love is higher than work, yoga, and knowledge. In the Duke's opinion, man is not passive, but is an active agent; and history seemed to him to be the story not of man's evolution, but of his creation, of his conscious effort to bring

about change both in himself and in his surroundings.

On January 10, 1952, the Duke of Richelieu paid his last visit to the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, on the occasion of the unveiling of the alabaster bust of Sri Ramakrishna made by Malvina Hoffman. He had just come from the hospital. At my request he addressed the audience for a few minutes. Among other things, he said:

"I would just like to say one word, which came to me as I was coming here, and which may convey some idea to you, as you are Americans. The characteristic of the Constitution of this country has been to establish, affirm, and demand the physical independence of man—but merely the physical independence. It had to come from another land, from the land of the oldest civilization, that it was the moral independence, the spiritual independence, which was the important thing. And we see this irony of fate, that whereas the physical independence of man had led to wars, to subjugation, and to the most intolerable malfeasance, the moral independence—as has been shown by the example of Gandhi's non-resistance—has bred the greatest transformation that has occurred in the last three centuries."

During the past few years the Duke of Richelieu was in indifferent health. He knew that he was living on borrowed time. We saw his slight body wearing out day by day from an incurable illness. But his power of mind remained unimpaired till the very last. In conversation he often towered high over the intellects of others. Courtesy and culture radiated from every pore of his skin. Whenever he came to our Center for dinner, he would go to the kitchen, after the meal was over, to thank the cook and the maid personally for the food.

With the passing away of the Duke of Richelieu a link with the past has been severed. I felt highly honored when the Duchess requested me to be one of the honorary pall-bearers at his funeral.

—O—

GLIMPSES OF BANKING LEGISLATION IN INDIA

By PROF. K. B. SAKSENA, M.COM.

DURING the last century no sincere attempt was made to frame a separate Banking Act for India which could embody the consolidated provisions relating to banks and banking. During the British period, the Government of India did not care to realize the importance and necessity of creating a separate Banking Act. Legislative measures have been taken in the past in stray form by the passing of several Acts. Bills of Exchange Act, Indian Negotiable Instrument Act, etc., are a few instances. Indian Companies Act of 1860 accepted the principle of limited liability which gave a fillip to the growth of joint stock banks. The number of banks in the country was thin,

up to the year 1906. There was no Act which could govern the activities and resources of banks as a whole. Hence, it was found necessary to insert a few provisions relating to banks in the Indian Companies Act, 1913. But the dose was not satisfactory, as the provisions in the Indian Companies Act, 1913, were mainly aimed at locating distinction between a banking company and an ordinary trading company.

Several banks which were dominated and governed by the Peoples' Bank of India and the Specie Bank, met the fate of liquidation. During the first world war, and, even in its aftermath, about 161 banks in India failed.

The gigantic failure of banks obviated the inadequacy of banking legislation, but proved its importance in persuading the Government to codify the Banking Act. Again appeared the ghost of world-wide economic depression which hit the banking machinery very hard. These repeated set-backs threatened the proper organisation of the banks in the country. Still the Government thought it fit to stick to its laissez faire policy as some foreign experts opined for modifications in the provisions relating to banks in the Indian Companies Act, 1913, instead of having a special Banking Act. They pleaded that special banking legislation was not a guarantee of safety and quoted the instances of U.S.A. where, they said, numerous banks failed in spite of a separate legislation. Hence, the Government of India and the Central legislature did not accede to the recommendations of the Central Committee for a special Banking Act, but agreed with the foreign experts and added a few provisions relating to banks in the Indian Companies Amendments Act, 1935. But these amendments could not balance the trouble, and the year 1938 witnessed a minor set-back in the field of banking and the Travancore National and the Quilon Bank Ltd. were closed.

Now the Reserve Bank stepped in, as due to the loopholes in the Indian Companies Act, 1913 as amended in 1936, a majority of non-scheduled banks neither sent the required returns nor they kept the required cash balance; and the Act did not provide for help to those banks which were in real difficulty. The Reserve Bank peeped into the problem of amendment of some of the provisions in the Indian Companies Act relating to banks which were very badly indulged in the war-operations, and submitted its proposals to the Government but did not take any material action.

The Government of India insisted to keep pending the question of banking legislation till the end of the war, and opined to pass in the meanwhile the most necessary interim measures. In 1942, the Government secured the approval of the legislature to amend the Indian Companies Act and Section 277F was added providing that every banking company must use the word 'bank,' 'banker' or 'banking' as a part of its name. In 1950 there were 31 companies whose names did not contain these words and hence they were advised to conform to the requirements.

A little later, the Government realized the urgency of banking legislation and consequently a Banking Bill was drafted in the year 1944. The main object of this Bill was to introduce a more rigid control than was proposed in 1939 by the Reserve Bank. This Bill of 1944 was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in the month of November, 1944, which was referred to a Select Committee, but alas, it died in embryo owing to the dissolution of the Legislature. Sir Archibald Rowlands, the then Finance Member, reintroduced the Bill in March, 1946. This bill was fully revised and was sent to a Select Committee on 11th April, 1946, which finished its work on

8th February, 1947. But still it was postponed, and in this way the long-desired need again faced a blow.

During this period three main banking measures were enacted which may be held responsible for the postponement of the consideration of the 1946 bill. A large number of anomalies crept into the banking system, the mania of branch expansion became the order of the day. A bill for the licensing of branches of banking companies was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on 4th November, 1946. The Bill was approved by the legislature under the style the Banking Companies (Restriction of Branches) Act, 1946, which received the assent of the Governor-General on 22nd November, 1946, and came into force immediately. The main point in this Act was the prohibition of opening a new branch or change the location of an existing branch without obtaining prior written permission of the Reserve Bank of India. The following table shows the number of applications received by the Reserve Bank together with the number allowed :

Applications for New Branches

Year	Requested	Allowed
1947	292	184
1948	204	131
1949	126	80
1950	120	91

The third important banking measure of 1946 was the Banking Companies Inspection Ordinance empowering the Reserve Bank, with the previous approval of the Central Government, to make an inspection of the books of account of any bank whose working soundness was doubted. It was later suggested that the inspection of banks by the Reserve Bank should not be confined to only those institutions which were suspected to be working on unsound principles, but it should be extended to all banks. The following table indicates, according to areas, the number of banking companies inspected by the Reserve Bank during the year 1950 :

No. of Banking Companies Inspected by Reserve Bank

	Bombay	Cal-	Delhi	Kan-	Mad-	Total
	cutta		pur	ras		
Scheduled Banks	2	12	2	..	1	17
Non-scheduled Banks	10	15	5	4	10	44
Total	12	27	7	4	11	61

The catastrophic partition of the country in the year 1947 compelled many banks, especially middle-sized and small-sized banks to transfer their offices from Western Pakistan to Indian Union. Almost all such banks transferred their offices chiefly either to Delhi or East Punjab, but they could not bring their assets, while they retained with them their own liabilities. They were held in a fix how to arrange for meeting the immediate calls. In majority of cases, the records were also left in Pakistan. To assist these migrated banks, and to avoid the disaster to the banking system itself, an Ordinance known as Banking Companies (East Punjab and Delhi) Ordinance, 1947, was promulgated by

the Government of India on 27th September, 1947. In accordance with this Ordinance, the migrated banks in East Punjab and Delhi were required to make payments to their depositors of amounts, not exceeding 10 per cent of the total amount of the current and fixed deposits at each branch in India or Rs. 250, whichever was less. The banks were also prohibited from accepting fresh deposits for a period of three months and from disposing of their assets. This Ordinance lasted up to 27th March, 1948.

In order to give powers to the Reserve Bank to regulate the banking system in the country Banking Companies (Control) Ordinance, 1948 was passed which contained some of the provisions of the Banking Bill which was at the anvil of the Select Committee. It provided for qualitative control as well as quantitative control on banking operations. The Reserve Bank was also empowered to call for periodic returns from the banks. Under this Ordinance the Reserve Bank was allowed to provide the banks with advances in emergency against such securities as it considered fit.

The Indian Banking Companies Bill which was introduced in March, 1948, was referred to a Select Committee on Aug. 9, 1948, and was passed by the Indian Parliament on February 17, 1949. This Act came into force from 16th March, 1949. This Act attempts to consolidate, with certain modifications, the relevant provisions concerning banking companies contained in the Indian Companies Act, 1913, and various *ad hoc* measures like the Banking Companies (Inspection) Ordinance, 1946, the Banking Companies (Restriction of Branches) Ordinance, 1946, and the Banking Companies (Control) Ordinance, 1948, which were subsequently repealed. In addition to this, the new Act also embodies several new provisions for banking regulation.

Besides giving a comprehensive definition of 'banking,' the new Act prohibits the non-banking companies to accept deposits payable on demand and thus safeguards the position of the depositors. To avoid the mushroom growth of banks with inadequate capital, the Act has introduced different capital standards to suit the conditions and has also provided for the licensing of the banks and their branches. To strengthen the working of the banks, provisions have been inserted for limitation of dividends and also for forbidding the banking companies from undertaking trading business thereby impairing the non-banking risk. The Act prohibits the inter-locking of

directors among companies in order to make their services of some substantial use for the banks. It restricts the employment of managing agents. The Imperial Bank of India has not escaped from the purview of the Act. To strengthen the controlling power, the Reserve Bank has been empowered to call for periodical returns and it can inspect the books of account of any bank at any time whenever it feels it necessary. To rescue the banking companies in emergency, the powers of the Reserve Bank have been widened so as to include the power of controlling the entire machinery of joint stock banking in the Indian Union.

This Act was not to be applicable for a period of six months to all the banking companies in the Indian Union, with a view to give a sufficient margin of time to make proper adjustments.

Necessity for the amendment in the Indian Banking Act, 1949, was felt within one year from the passing of the Act. Consequently the Banking Companies (Amendment) Bill 1949, was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on 20th December, 1949, and which was referred to a Select Committee on 23rd December, 1949. The Bill was passed by the Parliament on 10th March, 1950 and it came into operation from 18th March, 1950. Its main provisions are related to the amalgamation and winding up of banking companies. By virtue of this Act, Reserve Bank was also empowered to regulate the opening of branches by Indian banks in foreign countries.

Even after the amendments in the Act there still remain some weak points. Indigenous bankers and banks having their capital and reserve less than 5 lakhs of rupees have altogether escaped from the span of the Act. Importance of such bankers may be seen as they fulfil about 75 per cent of the need of our country and meet approximately 90 per cent of our rural credit needs. Hence, even in the presence of the existing amendments one important part of the Indian money market has not been controlled. Prof. K. T. Shah has also criticised the Act due to the absence of clauses to secure socialisation of banking business.

On the whole, the Banking Companies Act of 1949 and subsequent amendments are the outcome of a long and detailed consideration by several expert committees. Our most urgent needs have been met and it is expected to strengthen the Indian banking system by its support. It is the foundation on which the whole Indian banking system is to be built.



TREATY-MAKING POWERS IN INDIA

A Critical Commentary

PROF. N. B. DE, M.A.

A treaty is an agreement between two or more sovereign States and the treaty-making power of a country is one of the final expressions of its sovereign status as a political unit in the international community.

Item (3) of the Federal Legislative list of the Seventh schedule of the Government of India Act, 1935 was as follows: "Implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries." In the executive sphere this power would be construed as belonging to the province of "external affairs" and consequently this power was to be exercised by the Governor-General in his discretion. Such a system was undoubtedly undemocratic in nature. But for the implementation of such treaties entered into by the Governor-General in his discretion, it was constitutionally necessary that laws were to be passed by the Federal Legislature under section 106. The effect of this particular section of the Government of India Act, 1935 was that while it would be perfectly competent for the Federal Legislature to enact legislation to implement obligations undertaken by the Indian Federation under treaties or agreements entered into by it with other countries, so long as such legislation related to a topic or topics within the federal power, it would be necessary for Federal Legislature to secure the previous consent of the Governor or the Ruler of the Federated State before it could validly enact legislation which trench upon the legislative field of the province or federated state.

"But this provision might well prevent uniformity of legislation upon matters which are of vital importance to the country as a whole, if any of the units prove refractory in the matter of the adoption of uniform laws."

This section was necessitated by the federal structure of the 1935 constitution to prevent the imposition of any unilateral action by the Federal Government upon the constituent units without their prior consent. Section 106 of the Government of India Act, 1935 might be compared with section 132 of the British North America Act, 1867, the interpretation of which came up before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in re The Regulation and Control of Aeronautics in Canada and in re Regulation and Control of Radio Communication in Canada.

In Attorney General for Canada vs Attorney General for Ontario and others it was observed by Lord Atkin that regarding a treaty:

"It will be essential to keep in mind the distinction between (1) the formation and (2) the performance of the obligations constituted by a treaty."

1. Ramaswamy : *The Law of the Indian Constitution*, p. 238.

In the Constitution of India treaty-making is a Union power (item 14 in the Union List of the Seventh Schedule). This item is: "Entering into treaties and agreements with foreign countries and implementing of treaties, agreements and conventions with foreign countries." It is evident from the study of the Constitution of India that India has followed the British practice, namely, that the making of a treaty is an executive act while the performance of its obligations if they entail alteration of the existing domestic law, requires legislative action. So far as England is concerned:

"There is no doubt that the Crown has full power to negotiate and conclude treaties with foreign states and that the making of a treaty being an 'Act of State,' treaty obligations cannot be enforced in a municipal court."

But the Crown cannot legislate and it cannot tax without the concurrence of Parliament.

"Much must be brought under the cognizance of Parliament even when no legal powers are necessary. Secret treaties, for instance, can be made. But there are limits to the effective powers of the government. It is well settled that important treaties must be laid before Parliament."

"It is worth noting that," says Laski, "the most successful of our foreign secretaries in modern times, Mr. Henderson, decided to submit all treaties for approval of the House of Commons."

"It must not be thought, however, that Parliamentary control weakens the Government. The Government that desires to make its policy open and secure the support of the elected representatives of the people is strengthened in the international arena."

Reference to the performance of treaty obligations in India at present is mentioned in Article 51 and it is considered to be one of the Directive Principles of State Policy, but the actual performance of treaty obligations is governed by Article 253 which runs as follows:

"Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this chapter, Parliament has power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India implementing any treaty, agreement, or convention with any other country or countries or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body."

Indian Constitution is more unitary than federal or it is "quasi-federal" (K. C. Wheare). Hence this provision

2. Keir and Lawson : *Cases in Constitutional Law*, p. 298.

3. W. I. Jennings : *Cabinet Government*, p. 373.

4. Laski : *The American Democracy*, p. 89.

5. W. I. Jennings : *Cabinet Government*, p. 374.

TREATY-MAKING POWERS IN INDIA

137

has given unfettered legislative power to Parliament to legislate for the purpose of implementing treaty provisions, not only on subjects mentioned in the Union List and Concurrent List and residuary subjects but also on subjects mentioned in the State List and within the exclusive legislative competence of the states. This is a fine contrast with Section 106 of the old Government of India Act, 1935. Under Article 253 of the present constitution, no previous consent of the constituent states is necessary for enacting legislations on subjects enumerated in the State List by the Parliament for implementing treaty provisions, whereas under the old Act such previous consent was essential. This eliminates the weakness of the old Act as well as establishes legislative uniformity throughout the territory of India. But this provision seeks to encroach upon the exclusive legislative competence of the component states as enunciated in the State List of the Seventh schedule.

It has been laid down by Article II, Section 2 (2) of the Constitution of the United States of America that

"He (President) shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

Thus two separate powers with respect to treaties were established: the President being given the right to initiate and conduct the negotiations, while the ultimate fate of these negotiations was made dependent upon the willingness of the Senate to approve them by two-thirds vote.

"A treaty when duly approved and ratified becomes the law of the land, and the judges in every state are bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

No State may make a treaty or enforce any law which contravenes a treaty made by the national government. The national government, on the other hand, may conclude treaties concerning matters on which Congress would have now power to pass laws. A wise President will not go ahead and conclude the terms of an important treaty without feeling out his ground. He will keep in touch with the leaders of the Senate. If he does not do so, he runs the risk of having the Senate reject his work, as it did with the Peace treaty which President Wilson submitted to it in 1919. Such "legislative examination of executive decisions"

has been recommended by implication by Laski even for England. Similar recommendations may be put forward for its application in India in view of the possibility that, subsequent to the executive act of entering into treaty, there may crop up divergence of opinion between the Executive on the one hand and Parliament on the other on the point of passing new laws or granting money to the Executive which are within the normal legislative and financial competence of Parliament.

Article 51 of the Constitution of India must not be overlooked. It runs as follows:

"The State shall endeavour—

- (a) to promote international peace and security;
- (b) to maintain just and honourable relations between nations;
- (c) to foster respect of international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; and
- (d) to encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration."

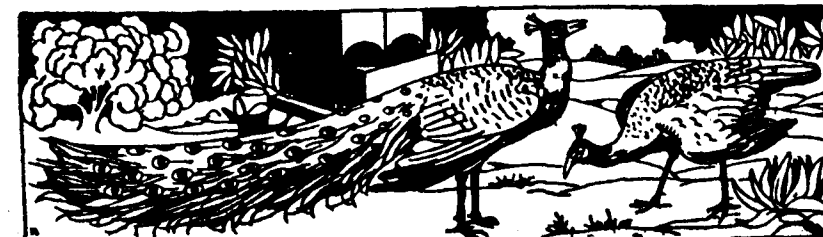
These directive principles have possibly been incorporated in the Constitution of India for showing India's respect for the obligations undertaken by her in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Thus Articles 51(a) and 51(b) of the Indian Constitution broadly correspond to Articles 1 (1) and 1 (2) respectively of Chapter 1 of the U.N. Charter. Similarly Articles 51 (c) and 51 (d) of the Constitution of India are in broad consonance with the Preamble as well as with Articles 2 (3), Chapter I, Article 33, Chapter VI respectively of the said Charter. Incidentally, almost similar provisions are incorporated in Article 29 of the Constitution of Eire, 1937 and in the Preamble to the French Constitution of 1946.

It may be worth observing that since these provisions have been incorporated in the Chapter on "Directive Principles of State Policy" they are recommendatory in nature, rather than mandatory. In spite of the recommendatory nature of the aforesaid provisions, it is expected that courts in India will generally follow the British and American precedents regarding the interpretation of treaties and international law, namely, that the international law will be treated as embodied in the domestic law of the land, so far as it is not inconsistent with the domestic law of the realm."

6. Maund : *The Government of the United States*, p. 293.

7. Laski : *The American Democracy*, p. 88.

8. D. D. Basu : *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, p. 239.



HISTORY OF ASSAM

A Study

By S. BHATTACHARYA, M.A.,

Reader in History, Gauhati University

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

ASSAM is pre-eminently the gift of the Brahmaputra. This magnificent river flowing between the eastern portion of the Himalayas on the north and Assam Range on the south has created the alluvial plain known as Assam. On the east Assam is bounded by the Patkoi Range and the Lushai hills. None of these mountains is forbiddingly inaccessible and as a matter of fact they are penetrated by many passes, some of which are not difficult to negotiate. On the west the valley is open and is not separated from the mainland of India by any natural boundary like a great river or a mountain. Through this open land as well as through the numerous passes that connect the Brahmaputra valley with Tibet on the north, Burma on the east, Bengal on the south and through Bengal with Bihar on the west, men have come to Assam in all ages. Thus came the Austric people who are still represented by tribes like the Khasis. Thus also came tribes of Mongolian as well as of Dravidian origin who are represented today by the various tribal peoples like the Nagas, the Mikirs, the Dasas, the Chutiyas, the Mishmis, the Miris, and the Kacharis—in fact by a large proportion of the Bodo-speaking group of the peoples of modern Assam. Thus also came from the west the Aryans who brought with them their language and culture and thus also came the Ahoms from the east from across the Burma frontier and probably gave to the province the name by which it is now known. All these different peoples have contributed to make up the modern population of Assam which is as composite as that of India.

The valley was called in early times Pragjyotisa and Kamrupa. The Muhammadans called it Kamrud and it was some time after the coming of the Ahoms that the older names Pragjyotisa and Kamrupa gave place to the modern name of Assam.

DIVISION INTO FOUR PERIODS

For the convenience of study the history of Assam may be divided into four periods, viz., the legendary period, the early period, the Ahom period and the modern period. The legendary period extends up to the middle of the 4th century A.D. when the early period begins. This early period may be said to have continued till the middle of the 13th century when Assam began to be invaded from the west by the Muhammadans and from the east by the Ahoms. The Muhammadan invasions were resisted and practically speaking there is no Muslim period in the history of Assam. The Ahoms, however, conquered the country which they ruled for about six hundred years at the end of which Assam was annexed to the British Indian empire in 1824. It was there that the modern period

began in the history of Assam. This article is confined mainly to a study of the legendary and early periods.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Our sources of information about these four periods are varied and different in quality. For the legendary period tradition is our only source. It is preserved in the Epics, in the Puranas, in the *Harivamsa* and in greater details, in the *Kalika Purana* and the *Yogini Tantra*. All these are later works, and the *Kalika Purana* and the *Yogini Tantra* which are generally most frequently cited as sources, are definitely very late compositions. The *Kalika Purana* was written in the beginning of the 12th century A.D. and the *Yogini Tantra* in the sixteenth century. The knowledge derived from these sources is not corroborated by the evidence of contemporary coins, inscriptions or monuments because none has come down to modern times, nor by the testimony of any foreign traveller for none is known to have visited the country before Hiuen-Tsang came in the middle of the seventh century. In these circumstances tradition as preserved in such literature as has been mentioned above has to be very carefully handled. *Mother Goddess Kamakhya* by Dr. B. K. Kakati is a very learned effort at rationalising the history of the legendary period.

Further, as we pass from the legendary to the early period our knowledge grows more definite. It is now based on the evidence of inscriptions which have been left by the kings of this period. These inscriptions are in Sanskrit and they are generally very dependable. Ten of these were edited by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharya, formerly Professor of Sanskrit, Cotton College, Gauhati, in his *Kamrupa-Sasanavali*. The original texts of the inscriptions are printed in Devanagari script while the translations and the annotations are in Bengali. It is a noble evidence of the contribution of the scholarship of Bengal to the unravelling of the history of Assam. Several other inscriptions have been found since the publication of *Kamrupa-Sasanavali* in 1932, and these have been published in journals. All these inscriptions are primarily land-grants and political events are mentioned there only casually. With one exception they are not also dated according to any known era. Further, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang visited Kamrupa early in this period and his *Travels and Life* throw a flood of welcome light on the history of the time. Lastly, it was also during this period that Kamrupa came in contact with Harshavardha of Kanauj and the *Harsha-charita* written by Banabhatta sheds illuminating light on the period. The information that can be derived from these sources

HISTORY OF ASSAM

139

are, however, still very meagre. Coins, monuments and contemporary indigenous histories are as well lacking for this period as for the earlier legendary period. Yet the political history of this period was pieced together from these scanty sources by the late K. L. Barua in his *Early History of Kamarupa*, and Dr. B. K. Barua in his recently published *Cultural History of Assam* (Early Period) has given an account of the administrative system, economic and social condition, of art and architecture, in short, of the cultural life of Assam during the early period.

For the next or Ahom period our sources are plentiful and much more definite. The Ahom kings had the very healthy and laudable practice of keeping written accounts of their activities. Such accounts are called *Buranjies* and they are generally very accurate both in the matters of dating and details. Further, there are the *Vamsavalis* of the kings of Cooch Behar and Derang, the histories written by Muhammadan historians beginning with Minhaj-ud-din Siraj and accounts left by Englishmen who began to visit Assam in an ever-increasing number in the eighteenth century. Sir Edward Gait's *History of Assam* is based on a study of all these sources and still continues to be the most authoritative account of the history of Assam during the Ahom period.

For the modern period the sources of information are still more numerous and consist of official accounts, reports, gazetteers, newspapers and prose and poetical works written by the children of the soil. Dr. S. K. Bhuiyan's *Anglo-Assamese Relations* is the latest book on the subject.

SUMMARY OF HISTORY

The history of Assam from the legendary period to the beginning of the modern age may be briefly summarised.

LEGENDARY PERIOD

In the legendary period Assam was called, as stated above, Pragjyotisa or Kamarupa. According to tradition, Pragjyotisa was at first ruled by a dynasty of Danava kings founded by Mahiranga Danava. He was succeeded by Hatakasura, Sambarasura, Ratnasura and Ghatakasura. The last was deposed by Naraka who is also called an *asura* but who is declared to have been the son of god Vishnu himself born on the mother Earth. He is said to have been found by King Janaka of Mithila, lying with his head on a human skull and was accordingly named Naraka. He was reared up by king Janaka till he attained his youth when fearing that his life was endangered he dived into the waters of the Janges in Mithila and within a few minutes he appeared in Pragjyotisa or Assam. He was accompanied by his mother Earth and also by his father Vishnu with whose help he killed Ghatakasura, subdued the indigenous people called the Kiratas and became

the king. For some years after his accession Naraka ruled well; he brought Brahmins from Mithila and settled them in his new kingdom; he rendered dutiful worship to the goddess Kamakhya and was respectful to the gods and the Brahmins. But he, soon struck up a friendship with the neighbouring *asura* king Bana whose capital was Sonitapur or modern Tejpur. As a result Naraka became irreligious and presumptuous so much so that Vishnu himself had again to intervene and kill his own son Naraka. Vishnu then placed on the throne of Pragjyotisa Naraka's son, Bhagadatta, who, according to the Mahabharata, played a heroic part in the battle of Kurukshetra and fell fighting there on behalf of Duryodhana and in protest against the divinity of



Door-frame found near Tejpur (circa 600 A.D.)

the cowherd boy Krishna. The successors of Bhagadatta ruled in Pragjyotisa, according to one account, for nineteen generations, according to the Nidhanpur grant, for three thousand years and, according to Hiuen Tsang, for one thousand generations. All these are legendary tradition and cannot be accepted as facts of history. Two circumstances, however, have to be remembered. When Naraka was ruling in Pragjyotisa or Kamarupa King Bana was ruling in a neighbouring kingdom of which the capital was Sonitapura or Tejpur. Assam thus was divided into at least two kingdoms in those days. Secondly, Bhagadatta's support was sought for by the Kurus and the Pandavas alike and was ultimately secured

by the Kurus. That shows that Bhagadatta, the king of Pragiyotisa, was considered quite a respectable king whose alliance on equal terms was solicited and prized by the Aryan kings of Indraprastha. Naraka himself is said to have come from the Aryan land of Mithila to Assam where he later on settled Aryan Brahmins. Thus Aryanisation of Assam began, according to the Mahabharata, before the age of the battle of Kurukshetra. This is rather significant. No king of Bengal is known to have taken part in the Bharata war. The Aryanisation of Assam, therefore, began before the Aryanisation of Bengal. There is nothing to be astonished at this conclusion, for a look at a map will show how easy it is to pass over on foot from Mithila into Kamarupa or Lower Assam.

EARLY PERIOD

At any rate there is evidence to show that the Aryans had settled in Assam in the beginning of the early period of her history. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta (330 A.D. to 375 A.D.) states that the king of Kamarupa, along with the two contemporary rulers of the Bengal kingdoms, Samatata and Davaka, submitted to Samudragupta, paid him tribute, attended his court and carried out all his imperious commands. This is the earliest epigraphic reference to Kamarupa and it shows that Kamarupa was then a sufficiently civilised country whose submission was considered worth recording by the Indian Napoleon in the list of his conquests. The Allahabad inscription, however, does not record the name of the vanquished king of Kamarupa. Light on this point has been sought from the Nidhanpur grant of Bhaskaravarman which is the earliest and best known of the Sanskrit inscriptions found in Assam. It tells us that the dynasty of Naraka having come to an end after ruling for three thousand years Pushyavarman became the king of Kamarupa. The inscription then proceeds to relate the names of the ten successors of Pushyavarman. Susthitavarman or Mriganka was the eleventh king who had by his queen Shyama two sons, Supratisthitavarman and Bhaskaravarman. Supratisthitavarman, the elder of the two brothers, first got the throne but he died after a short reign of how many years is unknown. He was succeeded by Bhaskaravarman. The inscription bears no date and from the evidence of this inscription alone it is impossible to find out the date of Bhaskaravarman. But it was in his reign that the Chinese pilgrim visited Kamarupa, enjoyed the king's hospitality and proceeded in the company of Bhaskaravarman to meet king Harshavardhan of Kanauj. Bana, the court poet of Harshavardhan also states in his *Harshacharita* or Biography of Harsha that Bhaskaravarman, the king of Kamarupa, sent to Harshavardhan an envoy named Hamsavega and sought the alliance of the king of Kanauj. Thus it is clear that Bhaskaravarman, the king of Kamarupa, was a contemporary of

Harshavardhan of Kanauj. The latter ruled from 606-647 A.D. Bhaskaravarman's date may therefore be safely taken to have been the first half of the seventh century of the Christian era.

According to the Nidhanpur and Doobi inscriptions twelve kings preceded Bhaskaravarman. Thus two facts stand out, viz., Bhaskaravarman ruled in the first half of the seventh century and twelve kings (making how ever eleven generations) had preceded him on the throne of Kamarupa. An attempt has been based on these two facts to find out by a process of back calculation, the date of Pushyavarman, the founder of the dynasty to which Bhaskaravarman belonged. Mr Padmanath Bhattacharya would allot twenty-five years to each of the preceding twelve kings and thus place Pushyavarman three hundred years earlier, that is to say, in the middle of the fourth century and thus make him a contemporary of Samudragupta. Sir Edward Gait would, however, allot only sixteen years to each reign and would place Pushyavarman a hundred years later, that is to say, in the fifth century. In view of the fact that the earliest epigraphic reference to Kamarupa has been made by Samudragupta in his Allahabad pillar inscription the effort to find out the name of the king of Kamarupa whose submission has thus been recorded, is natural and understandable. But the result has been more or less a guess-work and to my mind a century either way does not matter much. What, however, is really of significance is that as the inscriptions tell us, of the twelve predecessors of Bhaskaravarman on the throne of Kamarupa as many as three performed the *asvamedha* sacrifice. These three were the sixth king Mahendrarvarman, the eighth king Mahabhutivarman and the tenth king Sthitavarman. Mahendrarvarman and Sthitavarman are said to have celebrated it twice. Thus the *asvamedha* sacrifice was performed five times in the course of five generations. It may not be that these frequent performances of the *asvamedha* sacrifice signified the acquisition by the kings of Kamarupa of imperial powers, but if they meant anything they certainly signified the end of Gupta supremacy over Kamarupa and the resurgence of Kamarupa as an independent kingdom.

Inscriptions also show that these kings were warlike and wars with Gauda or Bengal were frequent and very probably both Susthitavarman and Supratisthitavarman, the eleventh and the twelfth kings of the dynasty, lost their lives in such wars. Then came the reign of Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarman. Friend and ally of Emperor Harshavardhan, the enlightened patron of the Chinese pilgrim who differed from him in religion, the one ruler of Kamarupa who is definitely known to have extended his victorious arms to Bengal and pitched his camp of victory at Karnasuvarna which has been identified with Rangamati in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal and issued land-grants

from that camp, Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarman is the greatest of the early kings of Kamarupa. He ruled for about fifty years but nothing is known about his successors nor is anything known as to how their rule came to an end. It, however, appears that soon after the death of Bhaskaravarman in the middle of the seventh century A.D. a new dynasty was founded by Salastambha with his capital at Haruppesvara on the bank of the Brahmaputra. It is believed that Haruppesvara was situated somewhere near modern Tejpur. The dynasty of Salastambha had twenty-one kings of whom the names of only fourteen have so far been found recorded in different inscriptions. One at least of these twenty-one kings had relations with kings and kingdoms outside Assam. This was Harsa or Sri Harsa. He is believed to be identical with king Harsadeva who, according to a Nepal inscription, was the lord of Gauda (Bengal), Odra (Orissa) and Kosala (Uttara Pradesh), who gave his daughter, Rajyamati, in marriage to a king of Nepal but who was ultimately defeated by king Yasovarman. In the latter part of the tenth century the Salastambha dynasty became extinct on the death of the last king Tyaga-Singha and the people (*prakitayas*) made one Brahmapala, the king of Kamarupa. Brahmapala is said to have been a *Bhauma*, i.e., a descendant of Naraka and his choice as the king was mainly due to his connection with the dynasty of Naraka. Thus Brahmapala started in Kamarupa a third and new dynasty—the Palas of Kamarupa who must be distinguished from the Palas who ruled about the same time in Bengal. The dynasty of Brahmapala ruled in Kamarupa till the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. when the Kamarupa king Jayapala was overthrown by the Bengal king Ramapala who established in Kamarupa a vassal king named Tingyadeva. He, however, soon afterwards rebelled against the king of Bengal but was subdued by Vaidyadeva, a general of the Bengal king Kumarpala. But before long Vaidyadeva too set himself up as an independent king in Kamarupa. Evidently this was a period of confusion in Kamarupa and it lasted for about a century. During this period a Sena king of Bengal might have defeated one or other of the Kamarupa kings. But the Sena dynasty of Bengal was itself overthrown by Bakhtiyar Khilji who led the first Muhammadan invasion into Bengal in 1198 A.D. and who after his conquest of Bengal led an expedition into Kamarupa. A two-lined Sanskrit inscription on a boulder in the village of Kanai-barsi-ber on the north bank of the Brahmaputra just opposite to Gauhati records that in Saka 1127 (1205 A.D.) on the 13th day of the month of Chaitra (March-April) the Turks who had invaded Kamarupa were destroyed. Bakhtiyar Khilji is known to have led his expedition into Kamarupa in 1205-1206 A.D. and the Muhammadan expedition the defeat of which is recorded in the Kanai-barsi-ber inscription, was probably led by him. But

the tragedy of the circumstances lies in the fact that there is no record which can tell us definitely of the name and ancestry of the national hero of Kamarupa who had the honour of having repulsed the first Muhammadan invasion. This gap in our knowledge is due to the fact that darkness began to descend on Kamarupa in the thirteenth century. If the Muhammadans invaded it from the west in 1205 A.D. the Ahoms invaded it from the east in 1228 A.D. Under the pressure of these two invading hosts the unity and integrity of the Kamarupa kingdom was broken and Assam became divided into a number of states. The



Sixteen-sided ornamental pillar found near Tejpur (circa 1000 A.D.)

tract from the Karatoya to the Sankosh passed under the rule of a dynasty of kings who had their capital at Kamtapur on the left bank of the Dharla, not very far from the modern city of Cooch Behar. The land from the Sankosh to the Barnadi continued to form the kingdom of Kamarupa. The country to the east of the Barnadi up to the Subanasiri was ruled by a number of petty chiefs called Bhuiyans, or Bara Bhuiyans (Twelve Landlords). East of the Subanasiri the country on the north bank of the Brahmaputra now formed a kingdom ruled by the Chutiyas while the opposite region on the south bank of the Brahmaputra and east of the Kallong formed a kingdom of the Kacharis. To the south-west of it lay the Jaintia kingdom. This division of the country into so many small states facilitated its conquest by the invading

Muhammadans and the Ahoms who came practically simultaneously from the west and the east. In the west the kings of Kamarupa and Kamtapura held back the Muhammadans till 1498 when Hussain Shah of Bengal defeated Nilambar, the king of Kamtapur, made him a prisoner and captured his capital and kingdom. During the next two or three years Hussain Shah pushed on his conquests upto the Bar-nadi and established his son at Hajo as the governor of the newly conquered country. Thus by the beginning of the sixteenth century the kingdom of Kamarupa and Kamtapur both appear to have passed under Muhammadan rule. But the spirit of adventure and love of independence was not yet dead amongst the people of Assam, and a new Hindu kingdom soon came to be founded in the western part of modern Assam by Bisva Singh, the leader of the Koches. He was a resident of Chikangram in Goalpara district; he was very low-born, but he was evidently a great general and organiser. He began his career of conquest by subduing the Bara Bhuiyans who ruled in the region up to the Bar-nadi and then extended his conquests up to the Karatoya on the west. He transferred his capital to Cooch Behar not very far from the old city of Kamtapur in about 1515 A.D. This new kingdom waged long wars with the Muhammadan invaders who came from Bengal, but was at last obliged to make peace by accepting Muslim protection (1596).

ESTABLISHMENT OF AHOM SOVEREIGNTY

In the meantime during the three centuries that passed between the first Muhammadan invasion of Kamarupa in 1205 A.D. and the establishment of the Koch kingdom by Bisva Singh in 1515 a great change had come over the eastern part of Assam. The Ahoms had begun their raids and in 1253 the first Ahom king Sukapha established himself firmly on the soil of Assam. He built a city at Cheraideo, not very far from modern Sibsagar and thus started the Ahoms on their long career of conquest and sovereignty in Assam. The Ahoms ruled in Assam for 596 years at the end of which Assam was conquered by the British and annexed to the British Indian Empire in 1824. The story of the rise and growth of Ahom rule in Assam is very interesting; but it must be left for a subsequent disquisition. Here it may just be mentioned that the Ahoms gradually spread their arms westward, resisted numerous Muhammadan invasions into upper Assam and extended their rule up to the Manash river in the west. The modern district of Goalpara thus lay outside the Ahom kingdom. The Kachari and the Jaintia kingdoms also long maintained their independence. It was not till 1708 that these two states were subdued by the Ahom king Rudra Singh. Even he did not feel himself strong enough to annex outright these two states to his own dominions and he had to remain satisfied with the acknowledgment of his suzerainty by the defeated rulers whom he restored to

their thrones. But the Ahom hold on these two kingdoms was never very strong and before the eighteenth century was over these two states sought for and received protection from the British Indian government.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HISTORY OF ASSAM

The preceding brief account of the history of Assam shows the interesting characteristics of the history of Assam.

First, politically Assam was seldom a part of the Indian empire until its annexation in 1824. It is not cited amongst the sixteen important states (Sodasa-mahajanapadas) of ancient India; the Mauryas do not appear to have ruled over it; the hegemony of the Guptas, though acknowledged for a time, did not last long; Harshavardhan was an honoured ally and the Gurjara-Pratihara who succeeded to his imperial dignity had nothing to do with Assam; and lastly, the Muhammadans never conquered the whole of the province and never succeeded in bringing Assam within the Indo-Islamic empire of Delhi. It was only after 1824 that Assam became united with the Indian empire and has since continued to be its part and parcel.

Secondly, the whole of Assam rarely formed one united kingdom. In the legendary period Naraka shared the province with Bana at least. In the early period the boundary of the kingdom no doubt extended in the west up to the Karatoya, but its extent eastward is not equally definitely known. Hiuen Tsang of course says that "On the east this country is bounded by a line of hills . . . The frontiers are contiguous to the barbarians of south-west China." This certainly suggests that the Patkoi range formed the eastern boundary of Kamarupa when Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarman, the patron and host of Hiuen Tsang, was on its throne. But the fact that no record of the early kings of Kamarupa has so far been discovered in any part of Assam east of the district of Nowgong suggests that, in spite of the Chinese pilgrim's testimony to the contrary, the eastern part of modern Assam lay outside the kingdom of Kamarupa in the early period. In later times neither the Muhammadans nor the Ahoms conquered the whole of Assam. The furthest limit of the extension of the Muhammadan power in Assam was achieved by Mir Jumla in 1663 when he reached and occupied the Ahom capital Garhgaon and forced the reigning king Jayadvaja Singh to make peace by ceding to the Delhi Emperor the part of Assam lying to the west of the Bharali and the Kallong, i.e. the western part of Assam including the districts of Kamarupa, Darrang and Goalpara. But within eight years the Ahoms recovered the districts of Kamarupa and Darrang. The Ahoms however who thus stemmed the tide of Muslim conquest, had not conquered Lower Assam much earlier. It was just a couple of years before Mir Jumla's invasion that king

Jayadvaja Singh had brought Lower Assam along with Gauhati under Ahom control, but the district of Goalpara always remained outside the Ahom sovereignty. Further, as stated above, all this time the Kachari and Jaintia kingdoms maintained their separate independent existence and it was not till 1708 that these states were subdued by king Rudra Singh. Thus Ahom rule also never embraced the whole of Assam. Unity came only with the British annexation to India.

Thirdly, the historical period of Assam begins very late, indeed much later than in any other province of northern India. But when we first come to get a definite account of her kings of the dynasty of Pushyavarman (circa 350 A.D. to 650 A.D.) we find her in possession of a fully developed civilisation. The records were kept in Sanskrit and even writers of land-grants composed fine poetry as is clear from the Nidhanpur and Doobi grants of Bhaskaravarman. Hiuen Tsang who visited Kamarupa in the reign of Bhaskaravarman also states that there were in Kamarupa many deva temples, that the king and the people alike were fond of learning and that men of high talents from outside visited the country. Bana in his *Harsacharita* describes the articles that were presented to Harsavardhana by Bhaskaravarman's envoy Hamsavega when the latter had his first audience of the king of Kanauj. The presents included not only nature's gifts like ourang-outangs, talking-birds, musk-deers, betel-nuts, nut-megs, sandal-wood, aguru and other aromatics but also manufactured goods like a white umbrella richly decorated with gold and gems, gold chains, necklaces, woven silk-bags for keeping musks, cages made of cane decorated with gold and corals, ivory and ivory goods, sweet and fragrant wines, distilling vessels and other richly painted utensils, paintings, painting boards and brushes and dyes, jewelleryes, leather shields, cane seats, learned manuscripts with covers made of the bark of the sweet-scented aguru tree, silk textiles which rivalled in their colour the light of the autumnal moon and cloth soft to the touch and smelling of jasmine flowers (*jatipattika*). Indeed Kamarupa's fame for manufacturing and weaving silk textiles was known even in the days of Kautilya (circa 3rd century B.C.) who in his *Arthashastra* admires the textiles of Kamarupa for their rich colour which was like that of the morning sun (*valarka*) and for their softness which was like that of gems (*manigdhaka*). Kautilya also admires the sandalwood and other aromatics produced in Kamarupa.

The production of the goods mentioned above certainly suggests that Kamarupa was highly civilised when it first appears in history in the first half of the seventh century of the Christian era. Such a civilisation could not have been developed all on a sudden. Centuries of human activities must have preceded before this height was reached in the reign of Maha-

rajadhiraja Bhaskaravarman. Unfortunately we have with our present knowledge no means for tracing the origin and development of this civilisation. It is shrouded in complete darkness which will be lifted, it is expected, by the coming generation of scholars to be produced by Gauhati University which, it is hoped, will found sooner or later a Professorship of the History of Assam.



An Ahom temple

Fourthly, Hinduism in Assam has been all through her history a living, unifying and civilising force. It assimilated and civilised all the older indigenous peoples like the Kacharis and Chutiyas. Its greatest triumph was, however, won over the Ahoms who came to Assam as proud conquerors with their own priests and their own religious ideas but were ere long converted and assimilated to the Hindu religion and culture. This triumph began to be achieved within 150 years of the Ahom conquest with the accession of king Sudangpha in 1389 who first appointed Brahmins to high offices, and may be said to have been completely attained in the reign of the seventeenth king Sussengpha (1603-1641) who was the first Ahom king to have adopted a purely Sanskritised name (Pratap Singh). From him onwards every one of the succeeding twenty-three Ahom kings bore a Sanskritised Hindu name, was crowned according to the traditional Hindu rites and were devoted to the worship of Hindu deities. Indeed this triumph of Hinduism was achieved in Assam when Hinduism appeared to

have spent up all its assimilating capacity and proselytising zeal in northern India. Here the conquering Muhammadans remained unassimilated, but in north-eastern India the victorious Akoms were vanquished. This was the last, and, should I not say, the greatest triumph of Hinduism as a missionary force and from a study of the process by which this magnificent triumph was secured our secular Government may find the solution of the tribal problem that has already begun to raise its head in some parts of the country.

Fifthly, while it is a fact that politically Assam was seldom connected with the rest of India culturally she had very close ties with Hindu India. Her oldest traditions are drawn from the Great Epics of India; her official language, the language of the inscriptions of the early Kamarupa kings which are the oldest official records of Assam, is Sanskrit, the language of the rest of Hindu India; her religion is the religion of the rest of India; her script is derived from the Devanagari script; and her art and architecture were based and fashioned on Hindu ideas. But it will be a mistake to consider that Assam always borrowed from the composite culture which is known as Hinduism and never contributed anything to its stock. Of course, our knowledge on the subject is still very inadequate and much is not known about the true extent and nature of the contribution of Assam to the Hindu culture. The cult of Sakti of which the goddess Kamakhya in Kamarupa has long been recognised as a very important centre, was largely developed, if not originated, in Assam. A later development of the Sakti cult which got somehow mixed up with Buddhism is known as Tantricism and Assam has always been recognised as the home of Tantricism with its offshoots like the Vajrayana and the Sahajiya cults. If Tantricism led to abuses, bloody sacrifices and mischievous practices it was again in Assam that a most effective protest was made. It was in Assam that Sankaradeva preached a pure form of Vaishnavism which reclaimed men's hearts to the cult of Bhakti and taught men to discard as useless the bloody and obscene practices that have come to be identified with a degraded form of Tantricism.

Sixthly, Hiuen Tsang's statement that there were in Kamarupa hundreds of *deva* temples when he visited the country in the first half of the seventh century, shows that Assam was rich in art and architecture. All her ancient art and architectural wealth is now lost, but the few traces of them that have survived the ravages of time and elements and lie scattered in the midst of ruins as are to be found in the neighbourhood of Teipur, show that in this sphere of human activity also Assam did not lag behind. The architectural monuments that have come down from the Ahom kings and which are still to be found at Sibagar have extorted the admiration of all visitors. These are proofs of what Assam was capable of in the realm of architecture.

Seventhly, the system of government in Assam has always been monarchical. There is no evidence to show that democracy ever functioned in any part of Assam before Assam became a part of republican India. The inscriptions of the early kings of Assam refer to some of the officers and functionaries of the time—*Mantrin, Sachiva, Amatya, Samanta, Mahasamanta, Nyaya-karanika*, etc. The Kamauli grant even refers to the *Sachiva-samaja* or Council of Ministers who assisted the king on important matters. It is true that in the Baragaon copper plate grant of Ratnapala it is stated that on the extinction of the Salastambha dynasty with the death of the twenty-first king Tyaga Singha, the subjects (*prakriti*) chose Brahmapala to be the king of Kamarupa. But none of the inscriptions of later kings of the dynasty like Indrapala and Dharmapala refers to the fact of the selection of Brahmapala as the king by the subjects though Brahmapala is mentioned with due respect. It will be thus hardly justifiable to hold that in the second half of the tenth century A.D. the people of Assam enjoyed the right to elect their king. Indeed hereditary monarchy was the prevailing system of government in Assam in the early period and continued to be so all through the Ahom period. On this system of hereditary monarchy the Ahoms foisted a sort of feudalism and all the high offices like those of Bar-Gohain, Bura-Gohain, Barpatra Gohain, etc., which involved military service, were confined to fifteen aristocratic Ahom families who sometimes intervened in the matter of regulating the succession. It was only to the lower posts that the higher classes of the conquered people of Assam were admitted. The people as such had no voice and the government was autocratic. Prices, however, were very cheap. Thus in 1739 one maund of rice cost 2 1/5 annas, of milk 2 annas, of oil 4 annas and of *gur* 1 1/2 annas. But cheap prices did not mean an easy time and easy lives. The economic condition of the people was indeed very miserable. Men became slaves if they could not pay their debts and slaves were openly sold at very cheap prices. An adult male slave of good caste cost twenty rupees only while a low caste girl slave could be purchased for no more than three rupees. Further, the distinction between the aristocrat and the commoner was rigid and humiliating to the latter. Thus, for example, none but the highest nobles had a right to wear shoes, or to carry umbrellas, or to travel in palanquins. The common people were not allowed to build houses of masonry and the Doms who caught fish and the Haris who acted as sweepers were obliged to bear distinguishing marks having a fish or a broom respectively tattooed on their foreheads.

That was feudalism and medievalism with a vengeance and it was the degrading economic and social condition of the mass of the people that must have facilitated the Burmese conquest in 1819 and the annexation of Assam to British India in 1824.

DR. MARIA MONTESSORI

By SHEFALI NANDY, M.A.

CHILD-EDUCATIONISTS of today are grateful to the year 1893, when Maria Montessori took the Degree in Medicine from the University of Rome and set an example for the future lady students of Italy in that line. Born in Chiaravalle, Ancona, she was the only daughter of Cavalier Alexander Montessori. When a girl of eleven she decided to be an engineer, and took up Mathematics as her subject. But the facilities for girls in Italy being too meagre she

Edward Seguin, some fifty years ago. Her methods applied to the deficient children had a great success which made her believe that normal children could gain even more by them. For carrying on with this experiment she felt the necessity of psychological knowledge and she went back to the University for a four-year course in Philosophy. She pursued her anthropological studies by various investigations amongst school-children and simultaneously continued her study on Seguin. She translated Seguin and Itard from the original into Italian. As a result of her anthropological studies she was appointed a Lecturer in the University of Rome.

In 1907 Doctor Montessori was invited to form the first *Casa Dei Bambini* (Children's Houses) in the poorest quarter of Rome near Saint Lorenzo Gate which made a new epoch in the history of education.

By that time she was quite ready to adopt her methods of freeing the personality and latent energy of the child and helping his self-education through materials and methods scientifically adapted to his individual needs. The quarter at St. Lorenzo suffered from collapse of buildings. The *Beni Stabili* Association started to rebuild them and thought of establishing some children's houses. The various *Casa dei Bambini* that followed the first in the quarter are the centre of Dr. Montessori's ideas and activities which witnessed a great success.



Casa del Bambini, Rome

went to the boys' school where she was separated by the authorities from her classmates and looked after with special attention. Later on, she took up the course of Medicine and had to be isolated again in the University even in the anatomical laboratories. But she was a person not to be disheartened. Her ambition led her to the goal and she graduated herself overcoming all the difficulties. Had she been chosen to be a teacher, the only vocation for the women of Italy of the day, the world might have lost "Dottorosa Montessori"—the favourite and the most beloved educationist of today.



Geometric metal insets

The Montessori system of education is so different from other methods and yet so similar that it would not be improper to give a simple resume here.



Geometric metal insets

Her first medical practice was in the University Psychiatric Clinic where in the course of her duties she became interested in the feeble-minded children. Dealing with them she found out that the mentally deficient children need a pedagogue rather than a doctor. She tried the specially devised methods of treatment tried by



Wooden cylinder

When a child starts to learn, the first lesson which comes to him is the alphabet; the teacher does not care whether he is ready to accept the lesson, because it is evident that he should learn by heart and follow his forerunners' example. If his movements are analysed, it is found that he uses his two senses out of the five in this attempt—the auditory and the visual, he sees the letter, hears the sound and then pronounces as told. If these senses be previously trained, the task becomes much easier and a good deal of pain is saved for future fight. Montessori apparatus is used to train these senses and hence it makes life easier for the children as well as for the teachers.



Maria Montessori, M.D. (Rome), Hon. D.Litt. (Durham)

For example, to learn an alphabet, the child ordinarily uses his eye and ear in the stereotyped method, but according to the new method he uses his fingers too. A letter written on cut-out sand-paper pasted on a board or card is presented to him. The teacher who helps him feels it sitting by his side with her two fingers carefully using the correct movement used in writing it, and the child watches. In the next stage, with the help of the teacher he feels and hears the name. In the third stage he himself feels it and utters the name spontaneously. His fingers which are so sensitive and trained beforehand feel the shape which appeals to his mind, and he never forgets it. If he does, it is only because the psychological moment for the presentation of that particular object is not yet reached. He can repeat over and over if he likes or go on with other practices.

Sensorial apparatus is used to train senses which are essential to grasp anything in the future world. Handling the cylinders, pink tower, broad stair, red rods, etc., he learns to use his eye and visual memory—he gains an idea of length, breadth, dimension, even perception of colour.

Touch-boards are used to improve his touch sense. The sensitive fingers of a child feel the rough and smooth board, prepared with rough sand-paper and smooth plain paper consequently. His feeling might be disturbed, so a blindfold is used. After some exercises he is so trained that he takes away the blindfold—goes on feeling his school mates, dresses, books, slates, black boards, anything he can find, feeling and uttering at the same time rough-smooth, rough-smooth. This is the psychological moment to present letters. Now he is ready to accept the forms of the alphabet in his memory.

To teach writing, the muscular training to hold a pencil comes first. Geometric wooden and metal insets are provided for this purpose—figures cut out in metal and wood with centrally placed knobs for handling and fitting into square frames. The child uses one at a time, leads his crayon on its edges—the order of doing the figures is at his discretion. Afterwards he puts the figure exactly to fit it and draws new lines with another crayon outside it. Removing the figure a second time he shades the whole of the drawing with a third colour. His skill increases as he repeats the exercise and becomes ready to write the letters of the alphabet which are nothing but lines. The purpose of presenting geometric insets is to create a field for geometrical instructions.



A boy learning with the help of wooden sets

Over and above the apparatus, the most important point of a Montessori school is to provide the child with a suitable environment.

"The school should become the place where the child may live in freedom, and this freedom must not be solely the intimate spiritual liberty of internal growth. The entire organism of the child from his psychological, vegetative part to his motor activity,

ought to find in school the best conditions for development."

The motto of the schools should be to create such "best conditions for development". Children like to handle their chairs and tables which must be according to their measurement. Sitting on a chair specially made for him and using a table of his size he feels the utmost satisfaction in finding himself in a world of his own. Montessori schools very often use metal furniture which are very light and plainly painted and supposed to create

popular amongst children who use it according to their choice. Doctor Montessori warned the teachers not to interfere with their work, though it is very difficult for an ordinary teacher not to impose her ideas upon children. A teacher in a Montessori school is an older friend, she observes and by that observation she attains perfection day by day. Prize and punishment are equally abolished as no real achievement can be attained by them. Environment, apparatus, teacher friend and student friends—these are the only factors for a modern school.



Montessori Training College, Surrey, U. K.

more noise. But it has been proved that an untrained child when he comes to the school sometimes creates noise but he is reproached by his classmates with a look of contempt and very quickly he adapts himself to the new environment. He serves his own dinner without breaking china, because he knows how to move, and his muscles are trained to hold the plate correctly. It is by using these things with trained muscles that he makes progress to perfection, achieves perfect co-ordination of his voluntary movements.

One of the essential points of a Montessori school is 'free' activity which does not mean freedom without limitations. Complete freedom does not help development as it is rather boring. The best way is to put the child in a suitable environment so that he can choose for himself. The needs of a tadpole are different from those of a frog but yet the tadpole is a frog in-the-making. The child needs "co-ordination of psycho-muscular organism." Activities like washing, dusting, sweeping, cleaning, etc., help him to train his muscles and co-ordinate their movements. The objects he works with should be suitable for his size and strength. In such an environment he "works himself" while the teacher watches his activities and helps him to carry out his mission.

The few points quoted are some of the basic principles of the Montessori method. The apparatus is extremely



Mrs. Nandy and Montessori School students, London

Reformation in education is not a new idea. From days immemorial, Socrates, Plato, Locke, Pereira, Rousseau,



The garden of the M. T. College

Itard, Seguin, Pestalozzi, Froebel and others contributed something to it, to which Dr. Montessori added some more. But her method being based upon practical experience and actual experiments, brings a new life to it. Itard and Seguin

are her preceptors. She said that her thoughts were the results of the study of Itard, Seguin and herself. Working with the children she discovered more and more and put them in her works. During the periods from 1909-48 she wrote a good many books on this subject in Italian, Spanish and French. Excepting a few, almost all of them are translated in many languages, specially English,—*Pedagogical Anthropology, The Montessori Method, The Montessori Advanced Method, Vols. I & II, Discovery of the Child, The Absorbent Mind, To Educate the Human Potential, The Secret of Childhood, The Child in the Home, Psicogeometria, Psicaritmetica*, etc. Some of her books were published in India while she was staying there.

She spent all her life in finding out the proper method to educate children. The means she devised for them are now world-famous. There are schools almost in every corner of the world. She travelled widely observing, lecturing and demonstrating. Teachers' Training Colleges were opened in Italy, England, America and India. She acted as Govern-

ment Inspectress of Schools of Italy. Her work being hampered by 1939-45 War, she went to India and for a time was interned as an Allied enemy, but was free to carry on with her work. The country has been benefited by her new method, and schools have been established in Madras, Gwalior, Jaipur, Bengal, etc. Her last centre of activities was Holland where she lived with her adopted son Mr. Montessori and breathed her last. The Laren School, Holland, was established and run under her direct guidance.

Many International Congresses on her methods were held, of which the most recent one was in England in 1951. She was planning for coming down to England for a visit on 18th January, 1953, but her end came suddenly on May 6, 1952, at the age of 81 when she was full of plans for future activities, such as visiting Africa, Brazil, etc. Her work has to be followed and furthered by the students and teachers, and that will be the best homage to her memory.

AN EXHIBITION OF INDIAN BOOKS IN FINLAND

By K.

AN Exhibition of books about India was recently held in Helsinki under the auspices of the Friends of India

Society in Finland. The Society took great pains in collecting a large number of books with the assistance of



Srimati Rajan Nehru and one of the mannequins



Mr. Arvo Polonen, a member of the Friends of India Society in Finland, is seen with Mr. K. Choudhury during his visit to India to study the possibility of developing Pre-fabricated Timber Houses Industry in India.

AN EXHIBITION OF INDIAN BOOKS IN FINLAND

numerous publishers in India, U.K., France, Germany and other European countries.

After several months' preparation a large selection of books about the history, politics, culture, biography and autobiography of prominent people, architecture, dance, music, sculpture, painting, education, literature, philosophy,

Mr. Kalinen, formerly Defence Minister of Finland, came to Calcutta to attend the Pacifist Conference at Santiniketan during 1949 Christmas.

It will be wrong to judge the Friends of India Society by its age as would be evident from a study of its achievements during its small span of life.

The Society strives to make Indian culture better known to the Finnish people and with this object in view, the Society—

(a) arranges for its members evening entertainments which give useful information on India. and holds meetings,

(b) spreads knowledge about India outside the circle of the Society members through articles published in newspapers, speeches delivered, and eventually by its own publications,

(c) endeavours to foster and maintain connection with the representatives of cultural life in India.

At the meetings, the members have many opportunities to hear interesting lectures on the various aspects of Indian culture, as well as excellent music of



A general view of the Exhibition of Books about India, arranged by the Friends of India Society in Finland at the Academic Library in Helsinki

religion, yoga, and physical exercises, economics and industry, reference, travel and languages of India was gathered.

The Exhibition was attended by most prominent citizens of Finland, and got prominence in the Finnish Press.

Interest about India in Finland is not of recent origin and for many years Poet Tagore's works, Bhagavat Gita, Dhammapada and a number of other Indian books had been available in Finnish language. For the last two decades a group of Indologists in Finland have been striving for better understanding of Indian culture in Finland. This group formally formed into a society under the name and style of 'Friends of India in Finland' on June 2, 1949 under the presidency of Mr. Juho Savio, a great scholar, philosopher and a very important businessman of Helsinki.

Mr. Savio along with Mr. Arvo Polonen came to India during the latter part of 1949 and toured around the country when they had the occasion of developing personal contacts with a large number of Indians from all walks of life. During the same period, another prominent Finn,



Manequin show at the Restaurant Fennia, Helsinki

Indian and European composers; presentation of films about India and other parts of the evenings' programmes have also tended to increase knowledge about India. Quite often the Society has had the pleasure of seeing Indian guests at its meetings, and the deep interest evinced in the ancient culture of India has been a pleasant surprise to them.



The Finnish public and press have shown a great interest in the Exhibition. The Finnish Broadcasting Company arranged a special Broadcast from the Exhibition



Interior view of the Exhibition



At the opening ceremony of the Exhibition. (From left to right) His Excellency Mr. Sakari Tuomioja, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Madame Tuomioja; Mr. Juho Savio, President of the Friends of India Society in Finland; Minister Bruno Kivikoski; and Minister Eino Valikangas, Sanskrit scholar and expert in Indian literature



Exhibition of Indian textiles and handicrafts in Helsinki

RELATION BETWEEN A MINISTER, SECY. & DEPTL. HEAD

151

The Society also organises lectures and film presentations for the public on important occasions. Mrs. Rajan Nehru, wife of our former Ambassador to Sweden and Finland, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Dr. Hannah Rydh, the Swedish Archaeologist who is connected with various archaeological researches in India, have on occasions addressed the meetings of the Society.

On the occasion of Gandhiji's birthday the Society organises film shows on India and lectures on the life of the Mahatma. The Society also arranges with the Finnish Broadcasting Company to broadcast Indian Folk Song on the occasion. The Society has also accomplished an exchange of musical programme between All India Radio and the Finnish Radio.

During last year's Republic Day, a largely attended meeting was organised where speeches were delivered about the Indian Flag and the State Emblem which was followed by a lecture on Lord Buddha by Dr. Pentti Aalto. Mr. Kurt Wallden, one of Finland's best pianist, was playing compositions of Chopin, Weber and Debussy. Miss. Llona

Koivisto entertained the audience by singing airs of the famous Finnish composer Jean Sibelius.

A grand Exhibition of Indian Textiles and Handicrafts was organised by the Society in Helsinki during last summer, which was preceded by an Indian Mannequin Show. Finnish beauties clad in bright Indian Sarees were really an interesting sight. The Exhibition was opened by H. E. Mr. Ake Gartz, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland. Films taken on the occasion were shown all over Finland through the network of Picture Theaters.

Apart from these activities the Society is regularly translating Indian books in Finnish language. Only recently we had the occasion of seeing a copy of *The Upanishad* translated into Finnish by Mr. Savio, the President of the Society.

Through the efforts of the Society, Messrs. Puutalo Oy, one of the world's largest timber pre-fabricated house exporters, have arranged for training of two Calcutta young men in higher wood technology in one of their member mills in Finland.

—:O:—

RELATION BETWEEN A MINISTER, HIS PERMANENT SECRETARY AND THE DEPARTMENTAL HEAD

By PROF. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., D.F.A., D.F.A. & D.

The relation of the Minister with his Permanent Secretary and the Departmental Head raises a question which is most vital in the consideration of the nature of parliamentary government. Upon a satisfactory determination of this relation depends the success of that form of government. The question of the relation between the Minister and the Permanent Head of the Department is really the core of the problem of modern administration but in the parliamentary system of Government the importance of this relation cannot be over-emphasized.

In India, the difference between the Secretary and the Head of the Department is that the former is in charge of the Department in the Secretariat but the latter is the Head of the Department outside it, although he works under the Secretary and the Minister of that Department. In U. P., several departments have separate heads. For example, the Department of Education is headed by a Director; the Department of Police has an Inspector-General and the Department of Forests has the Conservator of Forests at its head. In the Union Government also there are Heads of Departments like the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs and the Director-General of Civil Aviation. They generally come from the ranks of the permanent services of the Department, although in the past members of the Indian Civil Service were often appointed to these posts. Formerly Secretaries of De-

partments used to be invariably members of the Indian Civil Service but now one or two senior members of the provincial service who have been promoted to the I.A.S. have been appointed as Secretaries in the State Secretariats.¹

Under the parliamentary system the government is formed by the leader of the majority party in the legislature. The Government enjoys the confidence of the majority of members of the legislature and is drawn from among those members. In the U.S.A., there is a separation of the executive and the legislature with the result that the executive is not drawn from the legislature but in England and all those countries which have adopted her system of Government the executive is drawn from the legislature which means that every member of the legislature is a potential minister. But it is also true that any qualified voter who satisfies the conditions for standing as a candidate for the membership of the legislature can be elected as its member provided he wields sufficient influence in the locality from which he contests his seat. It is not necessary that he should be the ablest candidate or that he should possess the highest academic qualifications. No such qualifications are prescribed for the membership of any legislative chamber throughout the world. In fact, under the

1. In U.P., a promoted I.A.S. officer was recently appointed as Secretary of the Local Self-Government Department.

democratic system of government the first-rate man generally does not offer himself as a candidate because the system not only encourages demagoguery but many undesirable vote-catching devices also. Truly, is democracy a government by mediocres.² The Gresham's Law which holds good in the field of economics is specially applicable to politics. When applied in this field it means that the bad politician drives the good politician out of circulation.

From the above it is clear that under the parliamentary system of government the popular Head of the Department is always an amateur because he occupies his post not by virtue of his ability but because of his popularity. But he is put in charge of a department which has a complex structure and performs manifold duties. As the work of government is not only daily increasing in volume and proportion but is also becoming increasingly complex and complicated, it is beyond the mental grasp of a lay man and only an expert in the art of administration can perform it successfully. Due to this fact the modern governments employ a large army of public servants—the experts who supply what the parliamentary head lacks, viz., administrative experience. In the words of Dr. Herman Finer, government involves two elements, viz., contest and service.³ What he means is that the government consists of a popular as well as a bureaucratic element. Walter Bagehot⁴ is of opinion that government is a combination of special and non-special minds, the civil service forming the first and the ministers forming the second element.

The service element is really very important as without it the work of government cannot be carried on. The civil service performs four important functions in the modern system of Government. In the first place, it helps in the formulation of executive policy on the basis of its expert knowledge of the working of the institutions of Government. When the time for putting that policy into practice comes the advice of the civil servant carries very great weight. Sometimes his advice is sought on the consequences of a new line of policy chalked out by an enthusiastic minister which is discarded on his pointing out that it was tried before and found unworkable or even worthless. The civil servant may tender his advice when it is sought by the minister or he may do it of his own accord when he feels that the policy of the minister is likely to land the Government in difficulties. The ministers also find it very difficult to redeem

2. Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in the course of an address to the concluding session of the UNESCO symposium on the Concept of Man and the Philosophy of Education in East and West, at New Delhi on December 20, 1951, remarked that under modern democratic methods of adult suffrage and propaganda the quality of men selected to govern is gradually deteriorating (Vide *Leader*, dated December 22, 1951).

3. *The British Civil Service*, p. 25.

4. *The English Constitution*, p. 194.

their wild promises made at the time of elections. It is at such a difficult moment that the civil servant comes to their rescue. He tells them politely that some of the items of their programme are fantastic and, consequently, unworkable while others involve extravagant expenditure. The result of this is that only some items of the party programme enunciated in the election manifesto are actually carried out. But the final responsibility for the formulation of policy rests on the shoulders of the minister who alone has to bear the brunt of popular criticism. If his policy is not accepted by the legislature, he may even have to resign. In this way the credit as well as the discredit is taken by the minister on himself and the civil service enjoys protection due to its anonymity.

The second function of the civil service is to ensure continuity of administrative policy which is very necessary in view of the fact that the ministers are birds of passage. They come and go with the elections and new ministers try to implement new policies. If, therefore, the salutary effect exercised by a permanent civil service is removed the administration would become a mess of pottage.

The third function of the civil service is departmental legislation. In modern times the legislature has neither the time nor the capacity for detailed legislation on complicated problems of Government. The result is that the legislature passes only skeleton laws and the lacunae are filled by the permanent civil service. The fourth function of a modern civil service is the execution of departmental policies and the issuing of administrative orders. This function also is very important as it tests the efficiency and integrity of the civil service. In India, for example, complaints were made that the civil service did not loyally carry out the policy of the popular ministers under the diarchical system of Government. This complaint, however, was not general but related to only a few administrative officers. The result of the non-cooperation of the civil service was that the system of responsible government adumbrated in the Act of 1919 failed to bear fruits.

But the variety and importance of the functions of the civil service does not mean that it should be assigned pride of place in the system of Government because the government by the civil service also has its drawbacks. The civil servant is capable of acting as a good servant but he turns out to be a very bad master. For an illustration we have not to go very far. The Government of this country till the year 1919 was mainly run by the Indian Civil Service with disastrous consequences for the country. The partition of Bengal in the year 1905 was the result of such administration. One advantage of civil service rule, no doubt, is efficiency in government but mere mechanical efficiency is worse than useless when the system of government is wooden and inelastic. As Sir William Harcourt

pointed out, the permanent officials would govern extremely well for twelve or eighteen months and then the public would hang all the civil servants to the nearest lamp-post.⁵ Therefore, it is extremely necessary that there should be some provision for public control.

As both the popular and the bureaucratic elements are complementary and not contradictory, political science has invented a system of Government in which we have the advantages of both the elements. The civil servant supplies expert knowledge but he lacks a breadth of vision and elasticity of mind characteristic of a popular representative. But parliamentary government implies that the civil service should work in subordination to the popular ministers and the legislatures. If that is so, there would be no administrative despotism although some fears have been expressed in this direction by highly-placed persons like Lord Hewart of Newbury in his book *New Despotism*.

In fact, this is the only device through which we can make parliamentary government a success⁶ because the problem before all modern governments is that of efficiency versus democracy. The latter is a very inefficient system of government. The fact is that nobody likes democracy because it is a very desirable form of government but it is liked as it is the least objectionable form of government. Due to this reason the authoritarian systems of government are found far more efficient in times of emergency or national crisis such as war. That is why on such occasions only a pretence of democratic institutions is maintained but

actually the government assumes very large powers over the people. As for example, England has invented the institution of war cabinets. In India also the constitution devotes one whole chapter to the emergency powers of the President which he would utilise when the occasion so demands.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that it is a superfluity to have a separate Head of the Department when there is a Secretary of the Department who works under the Minister. It may, therefore, be suggested that the Head of the Department should act as the ex-officio Secretary of the Department. Moreover, the discretion of the Head of the Department should not be unnecessarily restricted by the absence of direct contact between him and the Minister of the Department which is due to the existence of an intermediary between the two. It may also be suggested that the Heads of Departments should have more power to spend money. In fact, it is a sheer waste of time to seek the approval of every item of expenditure after it has been sanctioned by the legislature. In regard to the relation of the minister with his departmental secretary it must be pointed out that parliamentary government can only work satisfactorily if the relations of the two are harmonious. This means that the minister should no doubt act as the Head of the Department but he should learn to trust his subordinates. A minister who interferes too much in the detailed working of his department cannot be successful. He should provide only broad outlines of policy and see to it that that policy is not thwarted in any way by the permanent officials in the department. In this connection it must be pointed out that there is a tendency on the part of our ministers to interfere in administration on behalf of partymen, friends and relations. The permanent officials resent this interference in their heart of hearts and become indifferent and lukewarm in their execution of laws and departmental orders. But let us hope that with the growth and development of proper traditions such interference will gradually disappear.

5. Ivor Jennings : *Cabinet Government*, p. 108.

6. Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Indian Ambassador to China, rightly pointed out in his inaugural address to the fourteenth session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Hyderabad (Deccan) that one of the major difficulties facing democracy was how to utilise in the higher sphere of government the services of experts so necessary in the handling of complicated problems, without at the same time weakening the essential principle of political leadership in government. (*Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 13).





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

FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE (Public series, Vol. V, 1767-69): Edited by Dr. Narendra K. Sinha. *Government of India Publications, Delhi, 1949. Sixteen illustrations. Pp. xvi + 34 + 670.*

The Indian Records Series, after many years of suspension and revolutionary political changes, has been at last revived by the State Archives Department of Delhi. This volume, giving the letters received and sent out between the Governor of Bengal and the Directors in London, with some other material, has been very nicely printed and edited with scholarship and care by Prof. Sinha, whose long work among the early British records in Bengal has made him easily the greatest authority on this subject here. His notes are equally learned, helpful and free from verbosity. No better selection of an editor could have been made.

The period covered is one when Bengal was in the doldrums. It was the uneventful age between Clive's departure and Hastings' coming. Governor Verelst's unhappy tenure is typical of the character of the times. We get some information about the revenue collection of which the English had gained the lawful charge by the Diwani *sanad* of 1765, but the volume mostly "chronicles small beer," personal affairs of the factors, etc. In view of the paper scarcity it would be wiser if in the future volumes of the series, the matter is ruthlessly pruned and all commonplace or even secondary letters and paragraphs cut out.

J. SARKAR

CHANAKYA AND CHANDRAGUPTA: By A. S. P. Appar. Published by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, Madras. Pp. 433. Price Rs. 4.

In this well-written historical novel the author has taken for his theme one of the most glorious episodes in the history of free India of the past, viz., the life-history of the founder of India's first and greatest historical empire and of his reputed mentor whose name has passed into a proverb for brilliant, if unscrupulous, statecraft. The period of Chandragupta Maurya and Chanakya was a time "when India came first into contact with the greatest and most civilised nation in Europe then, the Greeks, and in their train, with the four greatest and most civilised nations of Asia and Africa, the Persians, the Phoenicians, the Jews and the Egyptians." There is therefore a peculiar aptness in depicting the story of this time "in the present glorious period of India's renaissance and regaining of her independence, when Eastern and

Western ideals are stirring the people into various kinds of poetic, artistic and religious expressions, peculiarly their own." (Introduction p. 40). In the present work the author has sought with great skill and success to weave almost all known traditions and tales bearing on his subject (including the plot of the *Mudra-rakshasa* drama) into the texture of his narrative. He has also by a fine piece of imaginative reconstruction drawn vivid pictures of contemporary life and manners, as notably in his description of the durbar at Boukephala (Ch. x) and of the convocation of the University of Takshasila (Ch. xxii). Throughout his work the interest of his story never flags, while his characters are as varied as they are instinct with life. It is not possible for the reviewer to agree with some of the author's historical judgments in his Introduction, such as those relating to Alexander's influence upon Chandragupta's empire and administration (p. 18), the descent of Chandragupta (p. 28), the case for the date and authorship of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (p. 31), and last but not the least, "the west-coast Tamilian" ancestry of Chanakya (p. 33). The reviewer again has noticed a number of anachronisms in the author's narrative, such as the references to the Pasupatinatha temple in Nepal and the Amaranatha shrine in Kashmir (pp. 238, 242), to the Mahakala temple at Ujjayini and the Kamakhya shrine in Kamarupa (pp. 246, 247), to the readings of the Virataparvan (p. 387) as well as the worship of Rama, Krishna and Siva (pp. 237, 247, 424, 427, etc.), not to speak of the Hanuman Ghat at Kasi (p. 41). Nevertheless, he has no hesitation in warmly congratulating the author on his performance of a fine piece of work which should be widely read by our educated public in these great days of our newly won independence. Two maps and two text illustrations are a welcome addition to this work.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE STAKES OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA: By H. J. Van Mook. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 16s. net.

South-east Asia, which comprises Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines and, according to some, Ceylon as well, was in the backwater of world-politics till World War II. This vast region, rich in natural resources, was a happy hunting ground of Western imperialism—American, English, French, Dutch and Spanish—for many years. But a new South-east Asia has been born in the crucible of the war, one that is in no mood to submit tamely to the alien rule.

BOOK REVIEWS

155

All the seven countries mentioned above have much in common. Ceylon excepted, they were all overrun by Japan during the war. Siam excepted, "they are all struggling through the formative years of nationhood." Their importance to the world as an important source of essential raw materials, such as rubber, tin, quinine and spices and of food-stuffs, can hardly be over-estimated.

Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and the Philippines have regained their independence after the last war. Siam, however, has always remained an independent country. But her independence was political and not factual. A grim struggle is going on in Indo-China for the liquidation of French colonialism there and communism alone is held responsible for it. But that perhaps is not the whole truth. An armed struggle is on in Malaya against the English rulers of the country. The powers-that-be seek to explain away the situation as the creation of 3,000—or is it 5,000?—bandits. The fact however remains that the concentration of a considerable portion of Britain's armed forces aided by native and Gurkha police, soldiers and auxiliaries, an expenditure running into astronomical figures and the existence of a three-year-old emergency in the peninsula notwithstanding, the 'bandits' have yet to be crushed.

The book under review tries and with considerable success at that to give an account of South-east Asia and to analyse the situation prevailing there today. The account correct and the analysis rational on the whole, are marred at places by anti-national, reactionary statements not borne out by facts. This is

not in the least unnatural for the author, a Dutch colonial and the Acting Governor-General of Indonesia (formerly Dutch East Indies) from October, 1945, to November, 1948. Thus, while welcoming the liberation of South-east Asia, he is afraid of the minorities and backward groups being denied justice and freedom at the hands of the majorities, who have stepped into the shoes of the erstwhile alien masters. We, in this part of Asia, have seen enough of crocodile's tears shed for our minorities and comparatively backward communities.

Three major problems confront today the recently liberated peoples of South-east Asia. They are—economic and administrative rehabilitation, national and political integration and last but not least, the suppression of widely prevalent lawlessness, this last being a direct legacy of the war. The well-wishers of these nations instead of using the problems as arguments against their case for freedom should rather help them to set their houses in order and to nurse the sapling of independence to maturity.

The author bitterly complains that Dutch Imperialism in Indonesia was led down in its hour of need by England and America, Holland's war-time allies. He is obsessed with the fear of a possible victory of Communism in South-east Asia and suggests that the 'free' world must pool its resources, to prevent this catastrophe.

It should be borne in mind that economic and social betterment of the masses is the ultimate weapon against Communism. If, therefore, South-east Asia is to be prevented from going Red, an earnest effort

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

In 8 Volumes

About 3,800 Pages



"If you want to know India, study Vivekananda. In him everything is positive and nothing negative," says the great poet Tagore.

Board : Rs. 6

Price per volume

Cloth : Rs. 7-8

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE

CALCUTTA-13.

OUR OTHER PUBLICATIONS

1. Vivekachudamani of Sankaracharya

Tr. by Swami Madhavananda

With Sanskrit Text, English Translation,
Notes and Index. New Revised Edition.

Pp. 224 : Price Rs. 3

2. Life of Sri Ramakrishna By Romain Rolland

Pp. 328 : Price Rs. 5

3. Life of Swami Vivekananda

By Romain Rolland

Pp. 422: Price Rs. 5-8

must be made to make life worth living for the masses.

Mr. Van Mook must be congratulated for telling some home truths which his friends of the West will do well to note carefully. In the chapter tracing the birth of nationalism in South-east Asia, for example, he aptly points out, that all genuine revolutions are "always directed against the power and prestige of an exclusive group" and that a realisation of the collective subordination of one people to another is among the most potent causes of revolutions. The author must be a very bold man to assert that "The West suffers from a bad conscience; it has not yet found its altitude towards the reversal of values that confronts it in Asia." He explodes the myth of 'white-man's burden' by pointing out that this much publicised 'burden' is due to a muddled thinking which co-relates lack of business capacity to deficiency in humanity. Had all these been realised in time, our planet might have been spared much of its current sufferings.

We should point out in this connection that Burma did not become independent on January 1, 1948, as the author would have us believe. The date is January 4, 1948. His verdict on Thakin Nu, the Burmese Premier, as lacking the political ability of the late Aung San seems to be premature and may not be wholly true.

The Stakes of Democracy in South-east Asia, however, is on the whole, an informative, well-written and very readable book which amply repays a perusal.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

THE COMMERCE CLAUSE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES: By M. Ramaswamy, B.A., B.L. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Calcutta. Demy 8-vo. Pages 648 + xxiv. Price Rs. 25.

Perhaps in no other contribution of the world occur so few words to endow the Central authority with such vast powers for the control of trade, commerce and industry as the Commerce Clause in the American constitution. It runs to only twenty words, and the draftsmen of the American constitution did never foresee that these twenty words would profoundly exert their influence to shape the future destiny of the American nation. Briefly speaking this clause was impregnated with vast potentialities for directing the allocation of power over economic activities between the States and the nation. At the time of its composition as also in the hundred years following it, American economy was a simple one and it was generally free from inter-State competition. During this period the clause was rather in a dormant state, but in the period following 1887 the need arose for the application of this clause to the regulation of inter-State railroad communication and control of the activities of vast trusts and combines which were operating in restraint of trade and commerce among the States. The Inter-State Commerce Act of 1887 and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 were the results thereof. Since then it has become a constitutional warrant for many federal regulatory bodies and administrative agencies, affording at the same time the constitutional justification for the enactment of many of the major controls lately exercised by the Federal Government over matters once controlled by the States.

There is already a vast corpus of literature on the economic interpretation of the United States Constitution. The question may, therefore, irresistibly spring

up to one's lips as to why another book is being added and that too by a foreigner? The answer to this question is afforded by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson of the Supreme Court of the United States who has contributed a Foreword to this work. He states that for a study of American experience, the viewpoint of an outsider has definite advantages. It is to be candidly confessed that Mr. Ramaswamy has executed his task too well,—to which he brings exceptional qualifications. As a critical student of constitutional law he has already won high fame by production of such works as the *Law of the Indian Constitution*, *Distribution of Legislative Powers in the Future Indian Federation*, *Fundamental Rights* and so forth. Though in the writing of this work he is primarily concerned with the study of Commerce Clause, yet he has rightly thought it advisable to examine all other provisions in the Constitution of the United States which bear upon the subject of Commerce. In the background of its dormancy during the first hundred years of its existence, he examines threadbare the dynamic role played by the Commerce Clause in endowing the federal authority with immense power for exercising central control over the nation's economic activity by prevention and elimination of inter-State competition and so forth. He brings under his analysis all important pieces of legislation and cases relating to the regulation of the Agencies of Transport and Communication engaged in foreign or inter-State commerce, regulation of trusts and combines operating in foreign or inter-State commerce, and the federal control exercised over unfair or deceptive methods of competition in such commerce, and the enactment by Congress under its commerce power of legislative measures which are akin to State police regulations in exercising its control over foreign and inter-State commerce. It further traces the evolutionary process by which the Supreme Court has been enabled to maintain a reasonable equilibrium between the centrifugal and centripetal forces in American society in so far as they affect its commerce, industry and transportation.

Today the United States of America forms the greatest single free market in the world, where local productions can move throughout the length and breadth of the country unhampered by State lines. But this should not leave the impression in one's mind that no restraints whatsoever exist to impede the flow of goods and services across State frontiers in that country. Internal barriers to the free flow of commerce there are still, but they are but exceptions which prove the general rule. Even making due allowance for the existence of such restraints, few will cavil at the generalization that freedom of internal commerce largely prevails in the United States. But for the existence of conditions conducive to the free exchange of products throughout the length and breadth of the Union, neither its specialised agriculture nor its mammoth industrial plants could have been successfully established and operated. It is no doubt true that the United States is one of the most highly protectionist countries of the world. But inside its tariff palisades the laws of free trade operate in all their vigour. And the benefits accruing to the country as a whole from a free market of such dimensions can hardly be exaggerated. Mr. Ramaswamy's survey demonstrates clearly how immeasurably invaluable has been the service rendered by the Commerce Clause in promoting this economic prosperity of the United States.

A. K. SUN

SANSKRIT LITERATURE: By K. Chandrasekharan, M.A., B.L., and Brahmasri V. H. Subrahmanya Sastri. Published for the P. E. N. All-India Centre, Aryasangha, Malabar Hill, Bombay 6, by the International Book House, Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay 1. Price Rs. 6.

The P. E. N. All-India Centre is doing laudable work in giving publicity to the literary activities and movements in various languages of India by regularly publishing accounts of them in its monthly organ for about twenty years. It has published short sketches about the literatures in some of these languages in its publication *The Indian Literatures of Today*. And it proposes to bring out sixteen separate brochures, one each for sixteen principal languages, of which five including the one under review, have so far been published. It may be noted here that more than twenty years back five books were issued in the Heritage of India series apparently under a similar scheme. And it is gratifying to notice recent attempts of this type in some of the modern Indian languages.

The book under review aims at giving a short popular account of Sanskrit literature in its numerous phases covering a period of several thousands of years. This is indeed a hard task difficult to be executed. And the treatment of the different topics has been disproportionate. Very scrappy accounts have been given of the Vedas, the Puranas and the different systems of philosophy, called here the *sutras*, in separate sections. It is quite in the fitness of things that provision has been made for more elaborate treatment of Kavya and Drama. It is a matter of regret that other branches of the literature had to be dispensed with evidently for want of space. At least a partial remedy would have been possible with more judicious and even handling. As a matter of fact, economy could easily be effected in some chapters to make room for comparatively more important materials. As regards works and authors mentioned in the book a number of well-known names are found to have been left out. Of modern writers those of the South have been referred to 'as the authors of this brochure are familiar only with their works.' I am not sure if the excuse will be acceptable to and satisfy the readers. It is true that Sanskrit literature produced in different parts of the country in more or less recent times has not been properly studied. But it suffices to point out that the current is still flowing and Sanskrit is the medium of communication among old-time scholars all over the country.

Of statements of doubtful accuracy of which there are quite a number mention may be made of the following: Sanskrit grammar has earned another appellation to describe it: *Sabda-Brahma Vada* (p. 59); Rupagosvamin in his *Uddhava Duta* (140); Tulsidas's *Ramayana* is written in Avanti, a variation of Prakrit (150); *Rupaka* . . . takes its origin in the fact of its being gazed at by people (152).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

JIVANA-JALA-TARANGA: By Rampada Mukhopadhyay. Published by Kamala Publishing House, 3/1 A, Hari Pal Lane, Calcutta 6. Price Rs. 4.

Rampada Mukherji is a novelist and short-story-writer of repute. *Jivana-jala-taranga* or the *Waves of*

Life is not a novel of love and sentiment, nor is it concerned with what is termed as the psychological interpretation of life. It has a message of its own and is distinct from other novels. It is a novel written at a time when our freedom-struggle has attained its highest intensity and hence bears the characteristic of the period which marks the closing years of the Gandhian movement. The hero of the novel is Purandar, an educated young man and patriot, who does not belong to any of the so-called high castes of our society. He is a man of the people. He is a sincere follower of Mahatma Gandhi and has chosen his native village as his field of work. This particular village is a sort of a sleepy hollow. Movements have come and gone but have not brought any change in the minds of its people. It is almost untouched by the intense agitation of the great non-co-operation movement that shakes the whole of India. Purandar, because of his sincerity and readiness to serve his village in any capacity, is respected though not loved by all. He organises the young men of the lower castes and tries his best to instil in their minds the teachings of the Mahatma and the message of truth and non-violence. But as usual though they hold their leader in high esteem they cannot follow his high principle. The story moves not so much through action as through the resurgence of the mass mind. Purandar is an idealist and he pays the penalty of being unswervingly loyal to his ideal. He suffers but he does not lose heart. The Gandhian way has taught him what patience and suffering can do. At last there is an awakening in this village. The 1942-movement is not lost on it. Though Purandar suffers much from calumny there is no sense of frustration in him and he has the satisfaction of seeing the awakening of the masses which heralds the dawn of a new era. Sridhar is typical of the upstart rich man. Mejo Babu, a true aristocrat, is a living character. The orthodox society of the village has been painted with an able hand. The material has been gathered from experience. The reflections in Indrajit's letters are pleasant reading. The arguments are clear and convincing. The style of the writer is lucid and graceful, and fits in with the subject-matter of the novel. *Jivana-jala-taranga* is a new departure. Readers will find the newness of the theme quite refreshing.

SALENDRAKRISHNA LAW

PARICHAYA: By Sri Jitendranath Mukhopadhyaya, M.Sc., B.L. To be had of Sri Rangam, 2-A, Raja Rajkissen Street, Calcutta. 1951. Price Rs. 2.

A three-act play, in which individual maladjustments are portrayed against a social background. The writer shows a skilful handling of the plot, and he is good at dialogue. In spite of a suicide, and the threat of a break-up of an unhappy marriage, the story ends in an optimistic note, heralding a new era for humanity, when men will wake up into a fresher atmosphere, not spoilt by communal squabbles or artificial inhibitions.

The doyen of the Bengali stage, Srijut Bhaduri, was attracted to this play and let it have a liberal run on his own stage. This speaks volumes in its favour.

P. R. SEN

HINDI

KHOJ : By Dwijendranath Mishra, "Nirguna." Pp. 160. Price Rs. 3.

JHANSI KI RANI : By Madhusudana Chaturvedi. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 2-8.

Both published by Chetana Prakashan, 831, Begum Bazar, Hyderabad, Deccan.

The first is a collection of six short stories, dealing with an artist's quest (*khoj*) for his ideal beloved, a relative's quaint experience (*anubhav*) at the hands of a police official, a fellow relative, at a public fair, and other allied situations in life's chess-game of tears (*ashru*) and laughter. There are, however, occasional gaps in the unity of plot and treatment, which lessen the expected sustained interest, which is the secret of a good short story.

The second is a play in five acts, centring round the life of Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, whose patriotism has been commended in story and in song to one and all, old and young, for decades. Had the dialogue been made more crisp in taste and quicker in its tempo, its potentialities would have been revealed on the stage with greater ease and effectiveness.

The prices of both the books are high, while the former suffers also from the lack of a table of contents.

G. M.

GUJARATI

MANILALNI VICHARDHARA : By Prof. D. P. Thakar, M.A. Published by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 448. Price Rs. 4-8.

The late Professor Manilal N. Dwivedi was a great figure in the life and literature of Gujarat in his day. He was a scholar, a poet, a thinker and an orthodox (Nagar) Brahmin. He did not like reformed views in society and the modern tendency to imitate the poetry of Shelley and Tennyson. He conducted a monthly called *Priyamvada*, later converted into *Sudarshan* and the bulk of his thoughts and writings is embodied in his articles published therein. Prof. Thakar has divided these articles into about ten sections, such as Religion, Philosophy, Language, Literature, Education of Women, Politics, etc. This collection is prefaced by an Introduction of twenty-five pages, in which the learned Professor has ably summed up Manilal's work.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

A SQUARE DEAL FOR LABOUR (No. 3), **DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH** (No. 4), **ON THE HOME FRONT** (No. 7), **BUILDING A SOUND ECONOMY** (No. 8), **PROGRESS OF SCIENCE** (No. 11), and **EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY** (No. 12) : Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi. Illustrated. Pp. 36 each. Price eight annas each.

We have received the above numbers of a series of documentary pamphlets, published by the Government of India. They are, in a few brief chapters, well-written for the edification and information of the general public about the many-sided activities and public services of the Government of India. Photographs have enhanced the value and readability of the pamphlets, the usefulness of which will be much appreciated by the public.

SEE INDIA—RAJASTHAN : Issued by the Tourist Traffic Branch, Ministry of Transport, Delhi, and published by the Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi. Printed on art paper and profusely illustrated with a coloured picture on the cover and a map of Rajasthan. Pp. 32. Price eight annas.

The photographs are charming and nicely printed and a brief account of the land, people and places of historical and cultural interest in the various States of Rajasthan is delightful to read.

SEE INDIA—SANTINIKETAN : Issued and published by the same. Pp. 24. Price eight annas.

With a charming coloured picture on the cover, a photo of the Poet and several excellent photos of the various sites and activities of Santiniketan, the booklet is highly attractive. It gives a brief history of the place, the origin, activities, organization and ideal of the Poet's Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, our truly National University and the glory of India.

OUR NATIONAL SONGS : Published by the Government of India, Delhi. Printed on art paper. Pp. 35. Price eight annas.

A fine booklet on the origin, adoption and usage of our national songs of *Bande Mataram* and *Jana-gana-mana*, with their texts, notations and English translations by Sri Aurobindo and Rabindranath.

HARIJANS TODAY : Published by the Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi. Illustrated. Pp. 56. Price eight annas.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Specialization and Mechanization

In the course of an article in *The Aryan Path* Dr. Irene Bastow Hudson observes :

Nature does not make all trees or birds or fishes from one mould or after one pattern. Why should we use our best endeavours to stunt and distort individual growth? Educational systems of the past and some of those at present in use were not all constituted to that end. Yet the modern trend is to grade and graduate, to standardize in all things, exactly as if each human being were born with the same characteristics and in the same stage of mental and spiritual development as his neighbour.

To begin with, the child should be educated as to body, mind and spirit in the art of living. There are many laws of Manu to which we might return in these modern days, and thus make it possible to give education in the earlier years on the old lines. By that means children would grow up with a wholesome foundation on which to build their adolescent and adult lives. Whatsoever a child learns before the age of seven cannot be utterly lost, though it may grow very dim.

The older systems of Medicine cared less for the physical and the material; more for the causes and ultimate cure of ill health, which always starts in the mind, is a throwing into disharmony of the whole working of the human being. That is the reason why mechanical, piecemeal treatment of the ailing patient never restores him to good health and integral living.

Egypt and India were great leaders in olden days. Could India stage a return to more natural methods of medical and hospital practice it might meet with great response. There must be many in Asia who would gladly see a revival of the old medical system of Ayurveda, which system did not disdain the help of Nature, Philosophy or Religion.

For over 300 years Homœopathy has been known to the West. It is a system of treatment designed to benefit the whole patient, in which special cognizance is taken of the mental symptoms. All remedies are carefully proved so that the keynote of the system—that what can cause can also cure—may be used to advantage.

The use of electrical vibrations is becoming gradually known, though not yet generally accepted, in the West. Clairvoyance is a stranger, and a very suspicious one, to modern medicine, which is, none the less, willing to investigate many sacred bodily constituents and organs, e.g., Blood and the base of the Brain. But examination is made by machinery which we think we can control. For a doctor to examine by electric vibrations, intuition, or clairvoyance would still raise suspicion, as the methods are not fully understood. So few are there among us who have troubled to purify, to develop and to use—for the good of Humanity only—the gifts they may have brought into the world at their sacrifice of birth.

There is no doubt that the majority of doctors have their own personal philosophy, just as there is no doubt that the chief motive power behind the medical profession is the desire to promote the welfare of humanity. The hard work, expense and danger of medical training and

practice would not be undertaken by young men and women unless there was a very strong urge to join the profession. It is the frustration caused by the mechanical and political trend in these modern days which is to blame for lack of fulfilment of our best intentions.

If it were possible to obtain the opinions of the Educationists and those in the Medical profession we should almost certainly find that the majority would vote for a return to simpler and more integral living, only too glad to shake off the smothering complexities of this mechanistic and material age.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was not the only man who hoped "in the good, the whole and the TRUE resolutely to live and honourably to die." He succeeded only in part; can we make the effort to do at least so much with an added two centuries of civilization to help or hinder us?

Greatness of Jainism

Adris C. Banerji writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

Jainism, of all the religions that originated in India, has been very unfortunate in not receiving the recognition it deserves. Even today, we find that, of the sites that are holy to the Buddhists and Jains, the other religion has been given prominence. Nowhere this unmerited treatment is more marked than at Rajgir—a city which had become holy to the *tirthankaras* long before the Sakya prince tried to inculcate his new doctrine. Created by the intellectual mind of a virile race, it has played a far more significant role, in the cultural, political and economic life of India, and survived through the stormy centuries of several foreign occupation, while Buddhism totally disappeared from the face of India. No emperor utilised his imperial exchequer, or his powerful autocratic governmental machinery, to propagate the faith, yet it has thrived, amidst a thrifty and prosperous community, with the result that the influence of its followers are even now extreme. Amongst the Indologists, there are very few who realise the extreme influence it wielded in the whole annals of Indian civilisation. What is more N. C. Mehta (*Studies in Indian Paintings*) has shown that Jainism and its art, found place in the caves of Chinese Turkestan. That was exactly what Hema-Chandra Suri claimed in his *Parishistaparvan*.

Jainism played a magnificent role in the cultural development of Eastern India. So that its earliest monuments and dynasties are generally Jain. After the Vedic Aryans had entered its sacred soil, Eastern India had become the home of original inhabitants of India. It was more so by the time that Panchanada and the Brahmaputra (The Punjab and U.P.) had become the stronghold of Vedic Brahmanism. Mahavira's missionary tour in Radhadesa (modern Burdwan, Bankura, 24 Parganas, Howrah, Murshidabad and Nadia Districts of West Bengal), and privations suffered there are eloquent testimony to the conditions prevalent there. From

time immemorial we find that *rajachakravartin* ideal supreme in eastern India politics. The Pali literature of the Buddhists, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* are full of such imperialistic notions. Just as there is the possibility of these ideas having originated in original Indian minds, so there is the other possibility of these being based upon contact with the ancient empires of the Near and Middle East. The contact of India and the empires of Ur-Nina and the prehistoric Sumer, has been amply proved by find of Indus seals at several of the ancient sites. Nevertheless, before the *nirvana* of Mahavira the whole of India was divided into sixteen *janapadas*. But after this memorable event, the son of the last Saisunaga King, supposed to be born of a *Sudra* woman, established the first historical empire. The rise of a dynasty, which even according to tradition was low born, is not without significance, for interpreting the trends of the time. The Vedic-Aryan social organisation, gave the undoubted right, to the *Kshatriyas*; and the accession to the ancient throne of Magadha, in the capital of Jarasandha, of a dynasty which was far from the approved caste deserves more than passing notice. The defeat of Jarasandha at the hands of Bhima historically interpreted, may turn out to be probably the last phase of Aryanisation of Magadha. What is of far greater significance, they are all Jain according to the same tradition, and they appear after Mahavira. In fact a proper, fair and impartial analysis of the date might one day establish that Jainism launched Magadha in that career of distinguished imperialism which ended with the immortal Guptas. In Orissa and Bengal the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela and the Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves are monuments to Jain imperial and monastic organisations. These caves represent a syntheism in culture, based on borrowed art motifs, which has not been appreciated. The common notion that Jainism lacked martial prowess is not borne out by the history of Emperor Kharavela. Even in late Maurya times caves were dedicated to Jains as the Sonbhandar cave at Rajgir proves.

The ideals and practices of Jainism has come for adverse criticism. To me it seems, they stand for something which has not been appreciated. The creed of Jainism was *ahimsa*. But it appeals to me to think, that this ideology was based upon an ancient belief, handed over to them from a dim and distant past. The glyptic art of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, acquaints us with deep veneration for animals, and it is possible, that just like the worship of *Pippal* trees by the Buddhists, this idea came to the Jains from an existing tradition. What is more, Jainism was a reaction against the extreme sacrificial habits of Vedic Aryanism. It originated in eastern India, which was deeply rooted in non-Aryan philosophy and tradition. So I have always felt, that the rise of Jainism and the teachings of Mahavira, are not a mere accident, but an incident in sequence of events. The extreme austerities have come for severe criticism and ridicule, even at the hands of Lord Buddha. But this is a feature which it shares with all early and later faiths like Christianity, Islam and Brahminical religion. Fasts, penances, inflicting punishment on the body for the morbid propensities of the flesh, were practised by all great religions of the world. What is more, we judge Jainism probably by modern standards, we

forget the times in which it originated. Even in our times, a little searching of the heart might be a welcome method to avoid the pitfalls we are facing. But Jainism originated in a world of uncertainty and unexplained end of human soul. It was a world full of materialism which the existing philosophers failed properly to explain.

In the field of literature—folklore and traditions, social and religious organisations, the Jains possess a wealth, whose exact character and seemingly limitless scope, have never been properly evaluated, and Jain *Angas* and *sutras* have often supplied us with valuable materials in the darkest period of Indian history. Barth states: "They have taken a much more active part in the literary and scientific life of India. Astronomy, Grammar and romantic literature owe a great deal to their zeal." Jain narrative literature is the most precious collection known to civilised world. In a previous para, I have referred to Jain art in the beginning of the Christian era. At the same date, the citizens of Mathura commenced to build stupas to crave *alamvanas*, copingstore *suchi* (cross-bar) *stambhas*, *toranas* and *ayagapattas* which even now remain the sole testimony of Saka art of Mathura. They developed later on the image of Jina, which according to the late Raibahadur R. Chanda might have been responsible for the development of the image of Buddha. In Bihar and Bengal the art of the Guptas and Palas made remarkable contribution in Jain images. While the temples at Mt. Abu, Girnar and Satrunjaya, have immortalised themselves over the mountain masses, by the beauty, poise, and balance in design which are the life and soul of architecture (*vastu-vidya*). Far from the



Aravalli hills, in the once smiling plains of ancient Malavadesa, under the protection of the enlightened Paramara rulers, they erected two temples at Nema-war and Un, within the territories of former Holkars of Indore, known as Chaubera—Deras which in magnificence and beauty, are comparable with Girnar and Abu.

The illustrated Jaina manuscripts are another great contribution of this community. They preserve there the ancient method of narrative style in art, which we first find in the beautiful glyptic art of Indus valley. They have analogies with the school of Meister Eickhart. In wall paintings too, the temples of Tinuparutti-Kunnam (Jina—Kanchi) in Madras have supplied us with a very fine series of Jaina paintings, described with such distinction by Shri T. N. Ramchandram. In colour scheme and technique they are probably forerunners of many schools of mediaeval paintings.

The Rajputana Desert

Science and Culture observes editorially:

The National Institute of Sciences of India has done a commendable service in holding a symposium on an important national problem, viz., The Rajputana Desert, at Delhi on March 7-8, 1952. A large number of experts were invited to contribute papers and to speak on all aspects of the desert problem, with a view to collecting as much information as possible regarding the Rajputana Desert. We want definite answers to the questions: What is this desert? How did it come into existence? What is the present behaviour? Why and how is it spreading, if it is spreading at all? What are its mineral resources? What are its water resources, surface and underground? What steps should be taken for its control and to reclaim as much of it as possible?

Rajasthan has shortly been integrated out of twenty small administrative units formerly known as so many Indian States. It covers an area of 1,30,000 sq. miles, constituting 11 per cent of the total area of India, but has only 5 per cent of the total Indian population and therefore holds promise of accommodating quite a large part of the refugee population of the country. Unfortunately, however, Rajputana grows only 1.3 million tons of food crops, which are insufficient even for its present meagre population. The State's food shortage is roughly 15 per cent of the total food shortage for the whole of India.

To the layman, the Thar desert and the tract of land known as Rajputana are synonymous, whereas the geographer finds it difficult to define properly the boundary of the Rajputana Desert. The Aravalli mountains, stretching N.E.-S.W. divide Rajputana into two unequal portions—one-third being to its east and two-third to the west. The eastern tract, *Uppermal*, is a relict plateau and is similar in character to the plateau region of Central India. The western part, however, is covered by stretches of sand with mounds of bare-rock peeping out here and there. Portions of this western tract are known as Thar, the Indian counterpart of Sahara.

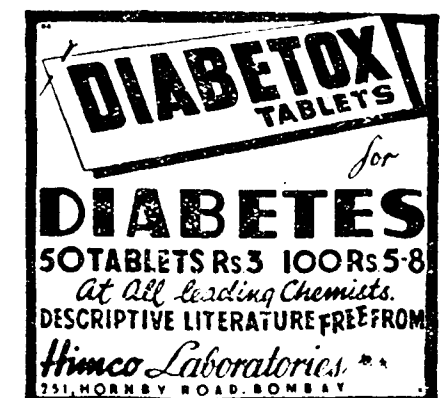
The 'Uppermal' is definitely not a desert. The Thar and the adjoining area do conform to the term. But it has to be remembered that the orthodox definition of desert according to our school geography is already losing its significance. Desert has been defined to be an area where the total rainfall is less than 10" annually. But since the last World War researches into desert

conditions have brought out new information on the subject. We know now that isolyets can be drawn for the Sahara which receives rain upto 30" at places and also for other deserts of the world. We do not know the actual conditions for Thar but it appears probable that regular isolyets can be drawn here too.

It was also not realized before that huge pools of underground water were to be found in the sub-surface of most of the deserts to be utilized by man with modern devices. Underground water circulation forms an interesting branch of hydrology of the present day. No less interesting is the potentiality of drawing moisture from the dew as condensed in the surface layer. For the last few years, Unesco has been devoting considerable attention to the study of the arid regions of the world and of the possibilities of their development. The deserts, be it remembered, constitute about one-fifth of the land area of the earth. An advisory committee for arid zone research has been functioning since 1950 and has on it Shri A. N. Kishor as the representative from India.

The Committee has met twice already and has done much useful work in setting up panels of consultants, and associated centres. It has also undertaken a survey of the institutions devoted to arid zone research. A number of symposia on the various aspects of the world desert problems have been held or are in the process of being organized at a number of places. A symposium on 'arid zone hydrology' has just been concluded in April, 1952, in Ankara. Another on 'desert researches' was held in Jerusalem, in May last and a third on 'biology of hot and cold deserts' will be held in U. K. in autumn of this year. The National Institute of Sciences, therefore, did well in marshalling whatever information was available on Rajputana desert so that our scientists could be briefed with it.

The problems of a desert region which have been summed up by Ritchie Calder, Science Editor of the *New Chronicle* who was deputed during 1949-50 by Unesco to make an extensive tour in the desert regions of the Middle East, are as follows: (1) human; (2) water; (3) fuel or energy; (4) wind and water erosion; (5) re-vegetation and (6) salting. In the course of the symposium in the N. I. S. it was made abundantly clear that systematic and adequate data on any of the above six heads are not available with regard to the Thar. The historians and archaeologists can provide us with intelligent guesses as to the once prosperous conditions of this tract of land in the centuries gone by. They further point out and this is more important,—that the land is becoming progressively arid since the historical period.



Education for Leadership

Dr. Edward A. Pires concludes his article in *The Indian Review* with the following remarks :

Leadership is a capacity that cannot be divorced from the capacity of followership, meaning thereby that the real leader is the one who also knows when and how to follow. "There is no leader," says Ulich, "who leads in all fields. To lead in one or several, he must allow himself to be led in others." We have also seen that individuals vary greatly in their abilities of leadership. It follows, therefore, that children in school require to be trained in the twin arts of leading and following; in other words, they need to be initiated into and confirmed in socialised ways of living and working which demand co-operation at every step. "Co-operation of followers with leaders and of leaders with followers is an attainment; it has to be learned, to be earned." It involves the acceptance of a dual set of functions which are at once diverse and supplementary. The leader has to learn to see slightly ahead of the rest of the group. He has to understand his co-workers—their abilities and their aspirations—so as to be able to guide them in their proper roles in the common undertaking. He has to preserve a spirit of harmonious co-operation and mutual confidence in the group and to stimulate in every member lofty and worthy standards of achievement. And it is only practice in these arts that will make him an efficient leader. The follower, on the other hand, has to learn to take his cue from the leader and to attend to those details of the common task that have been apportioned to him. Within the limited sphere of his specific contribution he has scope for evincing as much ability and initiative as the leader; but he has to be careful that his contribution is organically related to the whole enterprise. One of the healthy outcomes of such co-operative effort is the generation of a spirit of mutual loyalty and devotion—the loyalty of followers to their leaders and the devotion of leaders to their followers. The leadership of the teacher in such a programme of creative learning consists in the direction of these personal loyalties to the service of higher purposes and more inclusive causes. Loyalty to a leader which ignores the demands of the group with which he professes to be identified, or loyalty to a group which jeopardizes the rights of the larger community of which that group is an organic part, are highly dangerous and disruptive forces which ought to be discouraged as soon as they begin to manifest themselves. Pupils should be trained to organize their loyalties in a hierarchy, always subordinating the lesser to the higher: subordinating their allegiance to a leader to the welfare of the class, putting the interests of the school before the interests of the class, and renouncing their loyalty to the school for the sake of the higher loyalty to the community, to society, and to humanity. One important aspect of such training in the proper co-ordination of varying loyalties will naturally be a training in the intelligent and prudent selection of leaders; for there are certain positions of leadership in the school to which only the best individuals should be elected.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **OIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN** tonic with **NOVUM** to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION**. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit: Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX** and **FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Our Alleged Political Instability A Casual Comment

About a year ago, the *News & Views* of France, published and circulated by the French Government, had the following on the see-saw of French politics. Prof. Brogan has traced it to the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism (16th century):

France has been credited with the attribute of changnig Governments rather too often. Many a nation found it easy to jump to the conclusion that this state of affairs would drag her into an abyss. Nonetheless, a surprising vitality is shown in all the fields, and specially in the economic life of the country. Observers of French political life forget one thing when hurriedly they give a diagnosis on the French political crisis; they judge the French political crisis as they would judge the crisis of their own government, influenced by the political ideas prevailing in their country. They fail to realize that what may threaten the stability of a nation is, in another, a formal and a superficial accident. A change of government, in England for instance, implies a radical change of policy. A change of government in France brings a minor modification—a nuance—of the policy on some specific points. The team which comes to power is mostly the same as far as ministers are concerned, and the same parties are represented in the Cabinet in the same proportion as in the outgoing Cabinet.

Let us compare the present Cabinet of France to the Cabinet which has preceded it. Of the 18 new Ministers, 11 were members of the outgoing Cabinet and the key Ministries are held by the same persons.

M. Queuille who was the Premier of the previous Cabinet is now the Vice-Premier. M. Georges Bidault, the present Premier, has been since the end of the world war II, 6 times Minister, once as Prime Minister. For 4 years he has been the custodian of the French foreign policy, as France Foreign Minister. For the second time since the end of the war, he is again Premier of France. M. Bidault belongs to the M.R.P. Party (Popular Republican Movement): when he resigned the post of Foreign Minister, he was succeeded by M. Robert Schuman. No hasty conclusion . . . M. R. Schuman belongs to the M.R.P. M. R. Schuman has been once Prime Minister. Since M. Bidault's resignation as Foreign Minister, he is the maker of the French foreign policy. M. R. Schuman was also in the Queuille Cabinet.

M. Jules Moch and M. Petech, who were respectively Home Minister and Finance Minister in the outgoing Cabinet hold again the same Ministries in the present Cabinet.

The same foreign observers forget that a Parliament, representing the will of the nation, is the supervisor of the government's policy: its role is not therefore to record passively the decisions of the Government, but to watch and criticize the policy of the Government. A Government always sure of the favourable vote of the Parliament cannot claim to have obtained the Parliament's sanction for his action since the majority of the House is forced by party disci-

pline to vote according to the whip's instructions. We may call this favourable vote just a passive record of the government will.

The same foreign observers forget also that there is a profound sense of ministerial solidarity which causes spontaneously the entire Cabinet to resign when a Minister has lost the confidence of the Parliament for some reason, political or personal, or has set up a policy which differs from his personal but official theory or is inconsistent with his previous political speeches.

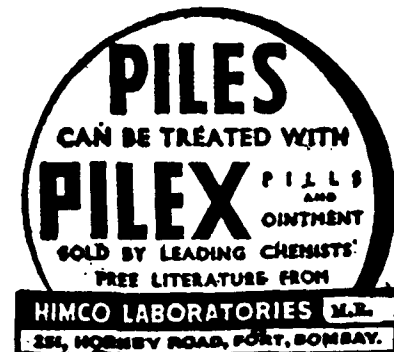
The same foreign observers forget also that between two theories in conflict a man cannot be forced to adhere either to one or to the other. Between two different conceptions there is a wide space of nuances. A man can be a socialist but differ in the meantime as far as his political ideas are concerned from other members of the same socialist party. Though may be, from the political point of view, it would be more advisable to have two parties system, one cannot deny to the people of a nation the right to have political ideas of their own and therefore form several political parties which differ by small nuances. This is a main feature of the French character and leads to the composition of coalition Ministries, which collapse whenever there is an internal disagreement in the Cabinet.

This time the chief policy difference between the new Cabinet and the old is that the new coalition has agreed to pay a bonus to the lowest paid group of wage earners.

But in spite of Government crisis, the life of the country remains unaffected thanks to an efficient Civil Service and to the qualities of the civil servants themselves. Recruited through competitive exams, the civil servants are the backbone of all the existing Ministries in France, and have never failed to administer properly the country in times of crisis as well as in times of tranquillity.

For all these reasons, and for the impressive economic revival of the country, the *Times* said that France "can afford to have a political crisis".

The same paper said in May 1949: "The roots of parliamentary democracy are deep in France. It is more than a year, since massive strikes shook the fabric of the French economy. The labour scene today is quiet.



The main occasion for the change is to be found in economic improvement.

Higher production in basic industry—and notably in coal and heavy engineering—has touched off the subtle mechanism of more general recovery.

It is of tremendous worth to the steady restoration of European stability that France is getting on her feet again.

Open Letter to Dr. Malan

The Hon. F. A. Lucas, a former Judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court, writes this letter in the *Cape Argus*, as published in the *Indian Opinion*, 25th April, 1952 :

DEAR Dr. Malan.—Because of the serious state of affairs now existing in our country I am writing this appeal to you to ask you to consider the suggestion I shall put forward in the hope that they may help to pave the way to a satisfactory issue out of our troubles.

I have never questioned your sincerity in your belief that what your Government have been doing is in the best interests of South Africa.

I trust you will accept as a fact that I am sincere in my belief that that policy is in reality disastrous to the true interests of our country. It is because I hold that belief as strongly as I do that I decided to return to politics.

There are certain features in your policy of apartheid which are almost common cause among both the Whites and the non-Whites.

Both are agreed upon and feel more comfortable living apart. There is nothing morally wrong in our doing so. We are all entitled to choose those with whom we are willing to associate.

But no one of any section is willing to be dictated to without any consultation.

Your legislation which you claim is necessary to bring about apartheid has been introduced into Parliament and passed without any consultation with the non-Whites who are most affected by it.

It has also been passed without the public or the legislators having had an opportunity to study it beforehand, and I believe in every case the passing of the legislation was subject to the guillotine in Parliament.

Then there is general agreement in the Union that Communism is dangerous and should be combated and if possible rooted out. But however dangerous it may be, it was felt that we dare not pay for destroying it the price of depriving the public, as your legislation did, of the right of access to the courts.

The legislation I have referred to, together with the Separate Representation of Voters Act, has done a great deal to bring about that alarming deterioration which you said recently has come about in the relationship between the Whites and the non-Whites.

That deterioration is so serious that I believe the White people cannot long survive in South Africa unless we soon achieve friendly relationships between all sections of the community.

Your attitude to the decision of the Appeal Court on the Coloured Voters Act is understandable, but I think regrettable.

You obviously believed that your Government had the power they tried to exercise. That decision must have meant a grievous disappointment to you.

You have said you are going to have that judgment set aside by an Act of Parliament.

I believe there is no legal way open to you by which you can achieve that. Section 152 of the South Africa Act

lays down how you must proceed to pass an Act like the Coloured Voters Act.

Any attempt to repeal Section 152 by indirect means must, I believe, fail. You naturally do not wish to be faced by another decision of the courts that one of your Acts is invalid.

As a Christian you would not, having given your word, dream of breaking it. If you make a contract you are bound by it unless you are released voluntarily from it by the other party.

MORAL ASPECT

That is good law and good morals.

In none of the speeches or statements that you or your colleagues have made since the Appeal Court's decision have I noticed any reference to the moral aspect of the question of the Coloured Voters Act.

Without the protection which Section 152 gave to the Coloured voters in the Cape there would have been no Union, and therefore, no Union Parliament.

It is idle to say that the South Africa Act is a British Act, and, therefore, Section 152 of it should not be able to hamper our Parliament. That Act was passed at the request of the Parliaments of the four provinces.

Section 152 was, in fact, in 1935 adopted by our Parliament by a two-thirds majority in the Representation of Natives Act, and thus made part of a South African Act.

The British Parliament had nothing to do with the 1936 Act and because of the Statute of Westminster passed in 1931 could not, if it wished to, interfere with that Act.

I earnestly ask you turn your thoughts to the moral issue in this matter.

There was a solemn undertaking given to the Coloured peoples of the Cape. Are you prepared to break that undertaking without their consent or in any way other than that provided for in the agreement?

Our courts have gained a prestige based on integrity, impartiality and courage, which may well be the envy of the world. They are looked upon by all sections as the bulwark of their liberties. Your recent statement of what you intend to do has done much to create a fear that that bulwark is to be weakened if not torn down.

Such a state of affairs is grievously serious. It must be redressed.

You are the only man who can do that now before the danger grows more serious. It is one of the attributes of greatness to be willing to retrace one's step and admit that one has been wrong. I appeal to you to repair the damage which has been done by unreservedly accepting and abiding by the decision of the court.

As I pointed out, your policy is a long-term one. The Coloured voters now on the roll and those who may come on to it in the next 10 or 20 years cannot materially or dangerously affect the position or safety of the Whites in South Africa.

The long-term and not so long-term effect of the deterioration in the relationship between the Whites and non-Whites is terrifyingly serious.

SOLUTION

It is obvious today that large numbers of the non-Whites here are hostile to us.

With them in that frame of mind, how can we expect to defend ourselves if we should be attacked by a non-European enemy? We should find in them an invincible fifth column.

Even leaving aside any question of an outside enemy, how can we hope to defend our civilization and our leadership in the face of actively or even passively hostile millions?

When the non-Europeans wake up to learn their economic power and use it we shall be powerless to

resist them. Guns and tanks and aeroplanes will offer us no protection then.

On both a short and a long-term view the position is much more dangerous than you seem to realise.

The danger can be met not with weapons, not with compulsory segregation, but only by voluntary, willing and friendly co-operation with a physical apartheid arrived at after free discussion and agreement.

My suggestion, which I ask you to consider, is that, after announcing that you will accept the recent decision of the Appeal Court, you call a truly national convention, at which all sections of Whites and non-Whites will be adequately and fairly represented, to try to thrash out some policy which will satisfy all the reasonable wants and wishes of all sections.

Such a policy will need sacrifices of long and strongly held views by all of you. The condition of affairs is so alarming and the prospects for the future so dangerous that we must all be ready to make those sacrifices.

To achieve such an end needs a leader with great influence, especially among your supporters.

You are the only man who can at this time exercise such influence.

I appeal to you to take the lead in the direction I have suggested. If you do and you succeed, South Africa will have good cause to rise up and call you blessed.

The alternative is chaos and the breakdown of the civilization you wish to preserve.

BOOKS FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

Salesmanship, Sales Management & Advertising

by Prof. M. Satyanarayana, M.A. Rs. 6-8

In 27 chapters covering 500 pages the book deals with the whole course of First Year Commerce exhaustively. A first book of its kind.

Secretarial Practice

by Prof. M. Satyanarayana, M.A. Rs. 7-8

Insurance, Principles and Practice

by R. S. Sharma Rs. 6-8

Statistics by Y. D. Kesker

Rs. 10-8

Modern Economic Development of Great Powers

by D. S. Savkar, (5th Edition) Rs. 8

Indian Cotton Textile Industry

During Twentieth Century by N. H. Thakker, M. com. Rs. 15

Outline of Banking System in India

by M. V. Subbarao, M.A., LL.B. Rs. 6

Mercantile Law (3rd Ed.)

by James Menezes Rs. 12

Planning for Shortage Economy

(Critique of the Five Year Plan) by C. N. Vakil Rs. 5-8

Indian Rural Problem (4th Ed.)

by Nanavati & Anjaria Rs. 14

Economic Problems in Indian Agriculture

by Mahesh Chand Rs. 5

Industrial Peace by S. D. Punekar

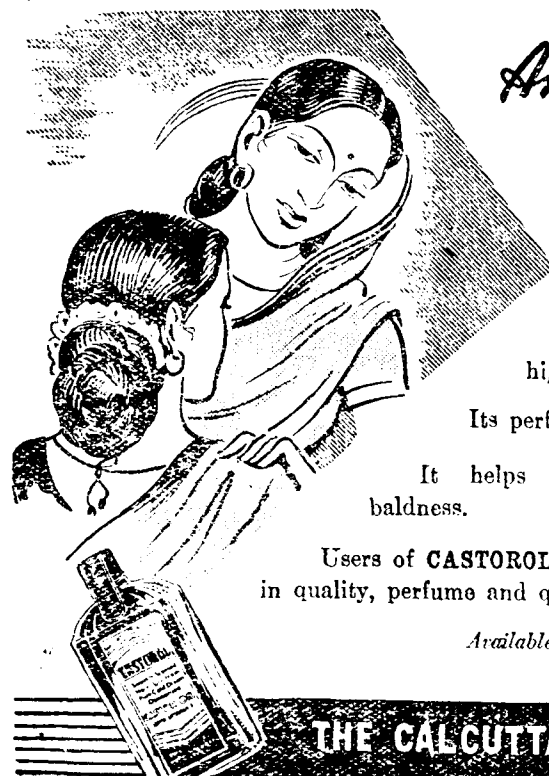
Rs. 1-8

India's Emerging Foreign Policies by Kothari

Rs. 6

VORA & CO. PUBLISHERS LTD.,

3, Round Building, BOMBAY 2



An Expert Advice ...

In choosing hair oil why should you prefer Calchemico's

CASTOROL

Because, it is manufactured from best and highly refined medicinal Castor oil.

Its perfume is unique, charming and lasting.

It helps the growth of luxuriant hairs and prevents baldness.

Users of CASTOROL will immediately be convinced of its superiority in quality, perfume and quantity and also comparative cheap price.

Available in 5 and 10 oz. fancy phials

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LTD. CALCUTTA 29

World Religion

Leland P. Stewart writes in *Unity* March-April, 1952:

The saying "necessity is the mother of invention" certainly has proved itself true in the present age. Man has overcome the problems of the physical universe with almost unbelievable rapidity and cleverness. But the real force of this saying is now being felt in the area of *human relations*. There, the pressure of necessity is overwhelming; the compulsion produced by increasing world strife is at last undeniable; and so a way must be found to deal with this tremendously important and complex problem on an international basis.

Of course, attempts already have been made to establish some kind of world government. These are both worthwhile and inevitable, because eventually such an organization must be established. However, just when will the world at large recognize that the real core of lasting peace is not to be found in satisfactory govern-

mental organizations, but in a workable religion? In other words, governments are primarily restraining organizations and have little or nothing to do with directing people toward higher ethical living, whereas religions are supposed to provide the basis upon which individuals can build ethical lives and promote peace throughout society. At present, the eleven living religions are pre-scientific in their conceptions and ideals, thereby being highly ineffective for solving the problems of our industrial civilization. The only alternative is to construct and establish a religion which will take into account what we know about the nature of the world and its inhabitants, leaving room for additions of those items which we do not know.

Almost ten years ago a book was written which prophesied the direction this religion would take. Charles Morris of the University of Chicago, in his *Paths of Life: Preface to a World Religion*, has shown the inevitability of a union of at least the major living religions. He points out that some of them overemphasize detachment from the world, others stress attachment to the world, and the remainder put their emphasis upon the life of service. The research and insights which Morris has presented in this book and elsewhere show that he is playing role of the modern John the Baptist by setting the stage for coming events. What he predicts is that a religion will arise which will combine the vital elements of existing religions into a new, correctly-balanced world religion. In fact, he has studied young people in various countries throughout the world and has discovered that the forces of the modern age are shaping them in accord with this pattern.

His work, and that of a considerable number of other thinkers, has outlined quite clearly the direction which must be taken in our struggles to establish lasting peace. The task which remains—the task that Western civilization has been afraid to undertake—is to apply our knowledge of the world to each of the living religions, making whatever additions, subtractions, and alterations are necessary, in creating a scriptural document sufficiently broad and accurate to be used as the basis of this religious development.

One of the items which our industrial civilization, with its mass-production methods, finds it difficult to include is the recognition of an educated level of citizens. Our religions have given evidence of this fact recently by producing less and less effect upon these people. Studies have been made, for example, showing that only about 20 per cent of people within this group accept the doctrines of Christianity. Many of them consequently, have abandoned that religion and found nothing to replace it. Such a condition, without a doubt, has had a tremendously paralyzing effect upon any attempts toward human progress.

To consider the abandonment of Christianity, or any of the existing religions, would be foolish indeed. Within

each religion are found many grains of the truth for which mankind continues to search. Established religions, with all their archaic theological concepts and paradoxes of institutionalization, are not by any means worthless. Our need is not to destroy but to build. Therefore, we must consider how it will be possible to construct from these traditions a religion which is intelligible and beneficial to modern man.

Arnold J. Toynbee has pointed out that the majority of the world's population always has been, and indeed probably always will be, non-creative. In fact, almost all kinds of activity, both human and non-human, show that only a small number of isolated cases deviate from the trend of the majority. In the human realm this fact merely shows that most people's lives are ruled at least 90 per cent by conventionality. Yet those who carry civilizations forward are, first and foremost, the members of the creative minority, who in turn generally represent a very small percentage of the educated group. While these few leaders set the pace, other people, both educated and uneducated, follow along with the crowd, not stopping long enough to think out a better course.

Our religious traditions have made the notion of conformity more evident than almost any other human activity. Albeit people's thoughts about life and the world have developed slowly throughout the ages, the established religious systems have such tremendous inertia that only a very outstanding religious prophet can make any sizable alteration in them, and such persons are all too rare. As a result, dogmatics have entered history time after time, until now the educated man generally finds himself completely out of harmony with the conventional theological patterns, at least as far as their affecting his life is concerned.

A world religion will not attempt to supplant the orthodox traditions. Those people who are satisfied to remain within these traditions need not be affected by world religion at all, any more than the establishment of world government will destroy city governments. Instead, world religion will be an outgrowth of the traditions, and will be based upon the findings of all fields of knowledge up to the latest possible date. It should be a dynamic religion, best suited to those who have thought beyond the limitations of their particular traditions. However, even if a person wished to remain officially within some religious tradition, he still could benefit greatly by studying the teachings put forward in the central scriptural document of world religion.

To understand fully what world religion will be, it is necessary to consider the way in which it is being constructed. Its main object is to discover similarities and differences in the teachings of all living religions that still are known to be valid in terms of modern knowledge and insights. These teachings must be combined in such a way as to eliminate the doctrines of the individual religions and to express their ideas in a form applicable to all civilized cultures, not just one.

The world today is being transformed by the use of the scientific method of investigation, which was not tried systematically in any previous period of history. This method starts with what is known, and proceeds to the unknown in search of truth. In the past, man has made assumptions whenever he met with phenomena he did not understand; now he is discovering that most of his assumptions were either partially or completely wrong. Hence, he is having to reconstruct his ideas on the basis of this much sounder method.

One of his assumptions has been that there is some kind of life after death, for which this earthly life is merely preparatory. Having made this presupposition, he has tried to build his philosophy of life accordingly, and his resulting difficulties often have been manifold. Now he is learning that this assumption need not be made; instead, a study of various personalities shows that man can build a perfectly consistent and worthwhile life in terms of what he finds here and now, if only he will set out to do so. Anything else which might or might not follow upon death need have no bearing upon what he should do now. Gordon W. Allport of Harvard has concluded from his research that mature individuals have in common: (1) a variety of autonomous interests, (2) personal insight and a sense of humor, and (3) a unifying philosophy of life; none of which has anything to do with their views concerning life after death. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Thus, in constructing a world religion, we must take for granted no resurrection stories or rebirths of souls, because these ideas have definite cultural limitations and have no essential bearing upon the development of mature personality. What we do know is that the person who lives for a worthy cause and gives his life to the betterment of others is not forgotten when he dies. His life blends into the total picture of evolution and progress which becomes the Eternal. What can man desire that is better than this?

A unique & authentic book for **CENTRAL, STATE & MILITARY COMPETITIONS**. Specially useful for
I. A. S. 1952.

TOPICS: SCIENTIFIC, ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL, GENERAL, QUOTATIONS & MISCELLANEOUS.

Exhaustive matter for any competitive essay.

Purchase for Rs. 4-8 only

U.P.S.C. ESSAYS

Written after 25 years of experience by PROF. N. K. Shrivastava, M.A., LL.B., All India Competition Coach. NAV-SAHITYA-MANDAL, Publishers, Subzimid, DELHI

M.B. SIKHAR & SONS
Jewellers
AND DIAMOND MERCHANTS



BRANCH
HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE
159/1B, Rashbehari Avenue,
Calcutta. Ph. P. K. 4406

167/C 167, BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA, (AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNCN)
OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM PHONE B. B. 1761-TELEGRAM BRILLIANTS

AMRUTANJAN Estd-1893
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!
RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7




Similarly, each conception of the living religions should be examined to see whether or not it can be accepted as is or reinterpreted in modern terms. From this examination a central scriptural document must be constructed which combines the valid teachings of all these religions and adds to them other appropriate scriptural writings, such as parts of *The Prophet* by Kahlil Gibran. The more worthy descriptions of the Infinite which can be collected and screened by means of universal criteria, the more possible it will be to find a meeting of minds throughout all parts of the world. Only in this way can understanding of different peoples be given a sound and permanent basis.

The next phase of scientific evolution will be in the social fields, with the progress of man as its ultimate goal. To cope with human problems adequately, it is necessary to grapple with religion, because in this area lies the core of man's attempts to progress. The religious quest is what leads man to the great heights that he seeks in striving to perfect himself and the world in which he lives. A study of man that did not take into account his religious problems and needs would be empty indeed.

The need for world peace is the compelling incentive for this kind of religion. The overly-materialistic West and the overly-detached East must find a meeting ground

in this religion through a mysticism that both affirms life and the world, and leads men to ethical living. Only in this way can we overcome the loss of creativity which the industrial age has thus far brought about.

This is our hope and our dream.

FEMALE DISEASE

Take Ready MIXTURE "RITU-UDAYA" (Patent) it brings back Monthly flow and removes all other troubles amazingly in a day. Ra. 3, V.P. Ra. 1, Special (Strong) Ra. 9, Extra Special Ra. 18 V.P. Ra. 2

Female Disease Specialist

DR. B. CHAKRABORTY,

M.B. (Homeo) M.H.R.A.

146, Amherst Street, CALCUTTA-9

Branch :- 114/B, Hazra Rd., Kalighat, Calcutta-26

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness. Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.
Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :- for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity in life, honour and fame. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha :- To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with life-long effects Rs. 184-4.
Mohini Kavacha :- Enables one to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with extraordinary life-long & speedy effects Rs. 387-14.
Nrisingha Kavacha :- It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9.
Saraswati Kavacha :- Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9.

Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English

"MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"

by Jyotish Shamrat :- Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

H. O. :- 105 (M.), Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta. 5. Consultation Hours 8-30-10-30 A.M. Phone: B.B. 3686.
 Branch Office :- 47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065.
 LONDON OFFICE :- Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

Printed and published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian Cultural Delegation to China, visited with other members the Summer Palace in Peking



Chinese school-children are fascinated by the exhibits of the Indian Art Exhibition at the Labour Palace, Peking



THE DARK-EYED GIRL
By Niharangan Sen Gupta

Public Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER



1952

Vol. LXXXII, No. 3

Whole No. 549

NOTES

15th August

Another Independence Day has come and gone. There has been the usual speeches and celebrations and attempts at stock-taking in the terms of progress and retrogression. But have we tried to determine as to where stands the Union of India? Have we tried to assess what Independence has meant to the Common Citizen of India?

If we have, then have the results been reassuring? We think not, for the wants of the People and the ills of the Nation have increased with the passing of Five Years of Freedom, whereas it was but naturally assumed that they would abate as time passed.

Why has it been so? Have we searched our hearts for the basic reasons and debated within ourselves the ways and means for redress and remedy?

Five years of inexperience, inefficiency, arrogant ignorance and corruption on the part of those in whom the people trustingly placed charge of the controls of State, have cost the Nation grievous losses, losses not only in the terms of treasure and toil, but what is far more vital, loss in good faith. Today there is a wide gulf between the titular Heads of the Union and its nationals.

Congress in office, that is the Powers-that-Be seem to have awakened to the fact of this ever-widening estrangement, and therefore they are casting around to find remedies. But they also seem to be quite blind to the causative factors, without knowledge of which the remedies would prove ineffective.

France, in the last World War, was overwhelmed by Hitler's Germany without even a vestige of the resistance that was expected of a nation that had

formed the advance guard in the struggle for Liberty and Human Rights. After the debacle, the remnants that formed the Free French Government, in exile at London, took counsel amongst themselves and began to look for causes and also planned for the regeneration of France after her liberation. The French authorities in London assigned the task of drawing up a report on the possibilities of effecting the regeneration of France to Simone Weil. The result was a revealing document, denouncing the false values which lay at the root of all this decadent civilization.

She found that the basic factor in France's decay was the confusion between the Rights and Obligations of Man. And the same basic factor is the root cause of all our ailments.

Wrote Simone Weil, "Rights are always found to be related to certain conditions. Obligations alone remain independent of conditions. They belong to a realm situated above all conditions, because it is situated above this world."

"The men of 1789 did not recognize the existence of such a realm. All they recognized was the one on the human plane. That is why they started off with the idea of rights. But at the same time they wanted to postulate absolute principles. This contradiction caused them to tumble into a confusion of language and ideas which is largely responsible for the present political and social confusion."

Substitute 1947 for 1789, and our Blunderbores for the first French makers of Constitution, and the whole is translated to our own sphere. Our Constitution is great on Rights, but where are the chapters on Obligations? The thief, the racketeer, the black-marketeer, the corrupt official and every anti-social pest, all are

sedulously provided for in the Constitution, as we see daily from the Court judgements, but where are the clauses that enforce their obligations to the State and towards their brother men?

The Congressman of today claims his Rights, right up to every relative and dependent of his, however devoid they might be of human virtues, as the price of his service and allegiance to the creed—vastly fraudulent though be these claims of “service, sacrifice and allegiance” in all cases excepting a microscopic few—and these Rights extend to office, power, contracts and illicit gain. There is no question of his obligations to the State, the Nation and the Common Citizen.

The Leftist is exceedingly conscious of the Rights of Labour—particularly organised Labour, which is the instrument through which the Leftist hopes to satisfy his lust for power. But why is he silent about the obligations of Labour to the Rest? Is there none?

Plague be on all these camps, is the Common Citizen—which includes you and me and us—aware of his obligations, the obligations for vigilance, endeavour and sacrifice in the cause of society, without which no nation may progress?

The Five-Year Plans, the Community Projects, the Bharat Sewak Samaj would be all as nought in the absence of a sense of duties towards the nation in particular and mankind in general.

The River Valley Schemes

Amongst the major undertakings in the Five-Year Plans, the River Valley Schemes take the pride of place. All our hopes for a balanced economy, specially where self-sufficiency in food is concerned, rest on those.

Of late ominous rumours have been floating about them, at least about those that are in the course of construction or field investigation. The rumours have been of gross mismanagement and of large scale wastage of funds due to corruption and fraud. These came to a head during the recent debates in the Budget session of the Parliament, when the D.V.C. and the Hirakud Project came under fire, after a cut-motion initiated by Dr. M. N. Saha, the eminent scientist.

The Government had little to say—indeed there was no coherent reply to the charges levelled at the supreme executives of the River Valley Schemes. This has further enhanced the suspicions directed against them. Finally, the Government has had recourse to “stunt” publicity with regard to at least two of them. These press releases say a lot without revealing anything. For example, with regard to the Damodar Valley Project we have had a press release regarding the Tilaiya Dam. After stating that the concreting is expected to be finished in September and the gates erected in December of this year, it goes on to say:

“The Tilaiya Dam, one of the seven multiple-purposes dams, proposed for the comprehensive deve-

lopment of the Damodar Valley, will moderate floods, generate hydro-electric power and provide perennial irrigation in the upper and the lower valley. The dam site is on the Barakar river, 130 miles above its meeting with the Damodar. Kodarma, on the Grand Chord Line of the Eastern Railway, is the nearest railway station. After flowing for about 40 miles in the Hazaribagh district, Bihar, the Barakar breaks through a sharp ridge which rises more than 130 feet above the river bed. The adjacent hills on either side make this point of natural and economical site for the construction of a cement concrete gravity dam.

“The Tilaiya dam was designed and is being built departmentally. It is expected that within six months of its completion its hydro-electric station will go into operation.”

The Estimates Committee Report for 1951-52, which is a governmental publication has quite a different story to tell. It says, regarding Tilaiya Dam, “So its flood control capacity is very little. How much land it will finally be able to irrigate continuously *can only be judged by actual results.*” This alters the picture somewhat drastically.

In the cut motion it was stated that enormous waste of time and money is going on in the Damodar Valley Project mainly due to the inexperience and incapacity of the D.V.C. authorities, that is to say its Supreme Board. Tilaiya was stated to be “little better than a large pond” and the major dams, Maithan and Panchet, were stated not to have reached even the planning stage, and that after four years of work!

Turning to the other project on which the light of publicity has been turned on, all of a sudden, we are glad at least, that the erstwhile C.W.I.N.C. chiefs have had to lay open their own private El Dorado to public view.

First comes the descriptive portion thus:

“Orissa’s three principal rivers are the Mahanadi, the Brahmani and the Baitarani. Together they carry each year 107 million-acre feet of water to the sea.

“The Mahanadi, with a total length of 533 miles, rises near Sihawa in the extreme south-west of Raipur district, in Madhya Pradesh. On reaching Sambalpur, after flowing through the eastern portion of Raipur and draining the Bilaspur district, it becomes a river of the first magnitude with a width of more than one mile. It subsequently forms a series of rapids until it reaches Dholpur, where the unrestrained waters roll straight towards the outermost line of the Eastern Ghats. This mountain line is pierced by a gorge 14 miles long. The Mahanadi finally pours down the Orissa delta between two hills a mile apart, at Naraj, 7 miles west of Cuttack.

“In 1927 a Flood Enquiry Committee was appointed

investigate Orissa’s problems, and ten years later M. Vishvesvaraya’s advice was sought by Government. This eminent engineer envisaged the need for flood-control reservoirs on the Mahanadi which would serve as sources for large-scale irrigation and river development in the area—a broad view of planning that was much ahead of the times.

“In 1945, the problem was referred to the Central Water and Power Commission, Government of India, which confirmed the conclusions of Shri M. Vishvesvaraya and recommended a basin-wide integrated development of the Mahanadi Valley. The National Government accepted the recommendations of the Commission for harnessing the Mahanadi for the control of floods, assured water supply for large tracts of tillable land and development of cheap power. Of the five dams that engineers believe should be constructed across the Mahanadi for the complete exploitation of its waters, the Hirakud dam, near Sambalpur, was chosen first for execution, as it would yield the quickest results. Against this background, it is idle to contend that the Hirakud project was begun hastily.

“The Government of India advanced to the Orissa Government the capital necessary for the project’s construction. From 1948-49 to 1951-52, the amount advanced came to Rs. 16.27 crores.

“The Hirakud Dam, consisting for the most part of solidly-compacted earth (the compacting being done by “sheep-feet” rollers manufactured at the site), will be 2½ miles across the river and rise to a maximum height of 195 feet above the river bed. At its extremity of this dam—one of the longest in the world—will run high earthen dykes, whose tops will form the brim of the reservoir. The total length of the dykes will be about 17 miles. Two sections of the dam, together 3,840 feet long, will be made of concrete and carry a spillway and sluice gates for surplus water to run down the river when the floods are on.

“The reservoir will feed two flow canals, one on the right and a smaller one on the left bank, besides a third—taking off from the main Bargarh canal—into which water will be pumped by electricity generated at the dam. Together, these canals are expected annually to irrigate an area of 8 lakh acres. By controlled releases from the lake, over 11 lakh acres of annual irrigation will be done.

“The Hirakud lake will have a surface area of more than 150,000 acres, with a shore line of 155 miles. All this water, however, will not be run out to the dregs every year. A little more than a third will always be retained until the next floods, so that there will ever be enough water left to run the power house, to be situated at the foot of the right concrete section of the dam. This power house will ultimately have five units of a total capacity of 160,500 kilowatts, but to begin with four units with a capacity of 123,000 KW will be installed.”

The Estimates Committee Report for 1951-52 states that “The Committee was not shown any project report by the Hirakud organisation showing the progress of work from time to time.” This is most curious, and also not a little suspicious.

During the cut motion in Parliament, it was stated that Rs. 1.3 crores of rupees had been spent in building a bridge at Hirakud under which no water will flow for seven years to come! The executive arrangement for planning, policy making and execution, has also been strongly criticized by the Estimates Committee. On the whole, the picture as presented by the Estimates Committee is not reassuring.

West Bengal vs Bihar

A resolution in the West Bengal Assembly, which was accepted and supported by all shades of opinion, has started what is likely to be a long-drawn and acrimonious controversy. The resolution itself was not happily drawn up, either with regard to its language or with regard to reasoning.

This was followed by a speech on the Maidan, on the 15th of August, by the President of the W. B. P. C. C. This speech was even more loosely worded, with confused arguments and flamboyant statements.

This in its turn has evoked a long and laboured reply from the Chief Minister of Bihar, Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha. Sri Sinha has tried to brush off the entire claim lightly, as if it were of no substance, and has tried diversionary tactics as well. The report of his statement, as given in the daily press, is in the main as follows:

“Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, described the resolution passed recently by the West Bengal Assembly seeking amalgamation of certain portions of Bihar with West Bengal, as a ‘patently unreasonable demand.’ He said that West Bengal’s demand for a corridor was reminiscent of Hitler’s demand for the Polish corridor. The demand that where West Bengal rivers originated should be included in West Bengal was like the ‘illegitimate claim of Pakistan over Kashmir,’ he said.

“Dr. Sinha said that he had not acceded to the demand for a special session of the Bihar Legislature because ‘I believe that no useful purpose is likely to be served by a discussion in the Legislature of a patently unreasonable demand, and even more than this I am anxious to avoid in the present mood of the people a full-dress debate on this issue—a debate in course of which hard things are bound to be said and this would only increase bitterness and injure the cause of national solidarity.’ He said that he had not yet received the official text of the resolution or the West Bengal Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy’s speech. He had seen, however, the reports in Calcutta papers. He had no intention of injuring the feelings of the

West Bengal people, specially of Dr. Roy, who had gone abroad for treatment and who had 'the best wishes of all of us for a speedy recovery'."

Dr. Sinha commented: "If Dr. Roy felt that three years was a long period even in the life of a nation, that circumstances had changed radically and that conditions in the country had become sufficiently normal to permit State Governments taking a hand in inter-State disputes he ought perhaps to have informed me before he proceeded to support in the Legislature the demand for the transfer of parts of Bihar to West Bengal."

The demand for linking Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri with West Bengal, Dr. Sinha said, had another implication which his friends in West Bengal had not considered. On grounds of contiguity, these two districts could be joined to Bihar. Darjeeling in fact formed a part of Bhagalpur division not long ago. "On grounds of administrative convenience as also on the basis of cultural and linguistic affinities we could justly demand transfer to Bihar of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and parts of Malda, Dinajpur and Birbhum districts of West Bengal. We have of course no intention of doing so, for West Bengal is a part of the Indian Union, and adjustments of inter-State boundaries is a highly unsettling process which in the wider national interest, should in our view be avoided. But once the process starts, Bihar's claim over these territories will have to be very seriously considered."

Referring to the demand that places where West Bengal rivers have their origin should be included within the borders of that State, he said: "This is a strange principle for responsible men to put forward. You will not fail to notice the resemblance which this argument bears to those advanced by Pakistan in support of their illegitimate claim over Kashmir."

"All North Bihar rivers had their origin in Nepal and any headworks for utilizing their waters must be in Nepal. Some Bihar rivers have also their origin in Uttar Pradesh. Would we on this ground be justified in laying claims to parts of Nepal or Uttar Pradesh? I do not know what the answers of my friends in West Bengal would be, but if anybody in Bihar were to make any such claims we would certainly not credit him with much sanity."

Denying the charge that the attitude of Bihar had been unhelpful Dr. Sinha said that it was not generally realized "what sacrifices we had to make and will have to make in future for success of the Damodar Valley Project."

Regarding the claim that areas which had been demanded had a predominantly Bengali population, Dr. Sinha said: "This is a travesty of fact." He added that in no part of Purnea district did Bengalis exceed 7 per cent, in the Santhal Parganas 10 per cent, while in Sadar and Giridih subdivisions of Hazaribagh dis-

trict it was below 2 per cent. Sadar subdivision of Manbhum had a large Bengali-speaking population, but a considerable portion of the Bengali speakers were socially and ethnically more akin to the people of the neighbouring districts of Bihar than of West Bengal and their economy was closely linked with the neighbouring areas of Ranchi, Singhbhum and Dhanbad.

"In Dhanbad subdivision, the majority of the people spoke languages other than Bengali and a considerable number of them were of aboriginal or semi-aboriginal extraction. Thus none of the areas demanded by West Bengal can be correctly described as predominantly Bengali in composition, whether the criterion applied is one of caste and race, social and cultural affiliations, system of law and land tenure, or language, or a combination of all these."

With respect to these generalizations and figures, we would say that Dr. Sinha's statement would not bear scrutiny if there were a survey made by skilled and unbiased investigators.

Dr. Sinha added: "I would ask you to remember that while the spokesmen and arguments and areas demanded a change, and the emphasis shifts from one argument to another depending on the situation at the moment, the demand for expansion of Bengal, or what we may call the idea of Greater Bengal, continues. Before partition, a prominent leader of the Muslim League was exploring with some of the Hindu leaders the possibility of uniting the whole of Bengal on the issue of Greater Bengal, which was to be independent of the rest of India, and to include large tracts of Bihar and possibly of some other States. But events moved fast and inexorably to defeat their plans."

"Then came the New Bengal Association, with the demand for amalgamation of certain tracts of Bihar and Orissa with West Bengal. A little later we found to our surprise that, contrary to the settled and declared policy of the Central Government, two members of the Central Government belonging to Bengal joined hands with other Bengal members of the Constituent Assembly in an application to bring the West Bengal-Bihar boundary issue within the purview of the commission appointed to investigate the possibility of forming new States. At all these stages, the demand was based largely on the principle of linguistic provinces; but in 1951, a resolution was moved in Parliament asking for the transfer of certain areas of Bihar to West Bengal to enable a direct link being established between Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and the rest of Bengal."

This motion was brought in by a member always on the look-out for personal publicity, without any consideration for consequences. Needless to say, West Bengal's case was neither put forward properly nor was it given any fair consideration.

"Emphasis shifted again to the principle of linguistic provinces a few weeks ago when discussion took

place on the subject in Parliament. Now it is the damaged economy of West Bengal and the need to find land for settling displaced persons that have been put forward as the main justification for the old demand, and Dr. B. C. Roy himself has now specially abjured the time-honoured linguistic argument. The conclusion to which this persistent demand, through changing spokesmen and varying arguments, leads is that there are people in West Bengal who have been seized with an irresponsible desire for expansion at the cost of their neighbours, and as is not unusual in such a situation, they utilize any conceivable argument that comes in their way to give a rational justification for their desire.

"Whatever the economic effects of partition may be, there is little doubt that partition has caused a deep injury to the spirit of Bengal. Is it that enlargement of their State appears to a section of West Bengal's people to be the only means of assuaging their pain? If so, I would beg of them to consider whether it is right or wise that West Bengal should seek to repair the injuries caused to her spirit by seeking dismemberment of a sister State."

With all due deference to Sri babu's capacity as a counsel for his own State, we would say that accuracy of statement is not a strong point with him. Even with regard to recent history, his references are not always correct, as, for example, his statement regarding Hitler's demand for the Polish corridor. To the best of our knowledge the Polish corridor was imposed on Germany by the victorious Allies, headed by the British, long before Hitler's name appeared on the pages of current history. Indeed, that imposition was on the same lines as what the self-same Britishers did with respect to Manbhum and Singhbhum in 1911, or East Bengal and West Punjab in 1947.

In the 1911 session of the Congress, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru moved a resolution asking the Government to return the Bengali-speaking tracts to Bengal. The Nehru Committee presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru also supported the view. Since 1911 the demand for returning the Bengali-speaking tract was reiterated every year till the Election Manifesto of 1950.

Sri Atulya Ghosh's statement, in reply to Dr. Sinha, is in the main as follows:

"In 1911 when the partition of Bengal was annulled, we, the people of Bengal, accepted that annulment, allowing Manbhum, Santhal Parganas and Singhbhum to be a part of Bihar for the time being for so-called administrative facilities. Before the partition, all these areas were naturally within the province of Bengal. After 1912 in many Congress sessions leaders of all-India fame including leaders of Bihar gave their solemn promise that these portions would be included in Bengal in a favourable time and situation. All these arguments based on logic, reasoning and historical facts we have kept pending, expecting that in due course Bengal will get back such areas as belonged

to it, by the common consent of the Centre and the province concerned.

"In 1948 the West Bengal P. C. C. passed a resolution drawing the attention of the Working Committee towards our just demand claiming such portions of Bengal which are now within Bihar and which linguistically and culturally, belong to Bengal. In 1951 at the Bangalore session of the Working Committee, myself as a member of the Working Committee submitted a memorandum for the inclusion of such portions of Bengal which are now within Bihar, to the Congress President and the Working Committee for the very kind consideration of that august body. At that time I was told that the time was not yet suitable for linguistic readjustment of the boundary."

We think it is about time that the entire matter was threshed out to its logical conclusion. Pandit Nehru's policy of evasion and procrastination is likely to bear dire consequences for West Bengal in particular and all Bengali-speaking Hindus in general.

Pandit Nehru is very fond of uttering platitudes on harmony and accord, and homilies on provincialism. It is a known fact that this present controversy between West Bengal and Bihar would have never risen but for the vicious anti-Bengali drive that Bihar has been keeping on ever since 1933. Today in the Bengali-speaking areas of Manbhum and Singhbhum, Bengalis are being subjected to all the tyrannies that corrupt officialdom can bring to action. Even their right to their mother-tongue is being denied. Dr. Sinha's glib statement regarding language and ethnology is what he would like to fool people into believing. Needless to say, it bears no relation to the truth.

The bare truth is that the Bengali is deprived of his birth-rights at every step and receives long lectures and admonitions when he asks for redress. The reason is that we in Bengal have talked too much and done too little, so far as our own interests lay, ever since 1921. If redress is to be sought, then we shall have to take up the threads from 1911, and follow the path indicated by the men of action of those days. In a corrupt and supine government nothing else will suffice.

The Ganga Bridge

The Central Board of Transport which met in New Delhi on August 29 under the presidentship of the Transport Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, has approved the construction of a bridge over the Ganga at Mokameh, in Bihar. The scheme is expected to cost more than Rs. 10 crores. The bridge, a combined road-rail bridge, had been recommended to be constructed at Mokameh by Mr. M. Viswesvarayya.

We consider that this decision should have been taken long back. This bridge is long overdue. We hope the Ganga Barrage at Farrakka will be sanctioned now without delay as that is also overdue.

The A. I. R. Purge

The following news-item appeared in the daily press of August 29 :

"About 50 members of AIR's staff, ranging from Station Directors to Programme Assistants, may shortly be 'demoted' or discharged as the result of a new Ministerial purge in the organization.

"Of a total of nearly 800 sanctioned posts, both in the Programme and Engineering departments, more than 200 are at present held by people whose appointments had not been approved by the Union Public Service Commission. Such appointments cover employees rejected by the UPSC for higher officiating posts, those whose officiating promotion has not yet been confirmed by the UPSC and those directly recruited by the Ministry, though not promoted. It has not been decided that all such appointments should be 'regularized,' with the result that those employees who have already been rejected by the UPSC for officiating posts will be immediately affected.

"About 50 cases fall under the last category. They comprise people who have been rejected for a particular appointment and will, therefore, be reverted to their substantive posts. Those who have no lower posts to fall back upon may have to be discharged. It is understood that they are all being served with notices that they are liable to reversion to the next junior post or to removal. Final decisions will be taken in a few weeks."

But this is merely the shadow of a real purge. If in reality an honest attempt is to be made to clean the official departments of all the elements that have got in through nepotism, corruption, unjustified favouritism and undeserving appointment, then about a hundred times fifty would be thrown out from the higher posts alone.

The UPSC is a huge joke. What does its opinion count for in appointments? In all vacancies temporary appointments are made even before advertising, then comes the farce of an interview. If the person thus illicitly appointed is chosen, then all is well, else the appointing official just says that he has found the temporary incumbent an excellent executive, and that is the end of it. Advertised qualifications, etc., are all mere eyewash. Most appointees do not possess a vestige of qualifications. The country would not be in this foul mess but for such appointments.

Currency and Finance in 1951-52

The Reserve Bank's annual Report on Currency and Finance for the year 1951-52, issued in August, covers as usual the major economic developments for the period, national and international. The Report observes that the strong inflationary pressures generated by the economic developments following the outbreak of the Korean war weakened in several coun-

tries beginning with the second quarter of 1951, and by early 1952 fears of inflation not only tended to give way, but forebodings that events may take a deflationary turn began to be nursed. This change in the economic situation was the combined result of the stretching-out of the rearmament programme, the slackening of stockpiling in the USA and the greater resort to monetary discipline. As these developments coincided with a marked rise in world production, prices of certain internationally-traded commodities, such as tin, rubber and wool, marked a sharp break. The general price level in the major countries showed a measure of stability after the first quarter of 1951, with a slightly upward trend as in the UK or a somewhat downward bias as in the USA, Canada and India.

The Bank rate was raised in several countries including the UK and India, while in others quantitative and selective credit controls were introduced or strengthened. The extensive use of the interest rate weapon and the change in the open market policy by some countries had their impact on the gilt-edged market, with the result that there was a considerable downward adjustment of Government bond values and a rise in yields; prices of industrial shares also showed much less buoyancy as compared to the last year. The budgets of several countries indicated that their financial operations during 1951-52 were likely to result in substantial revenue surpluses, reflecting mainly the rise in business activity and the high level of incomes and profits.

Referring to the international payments position the Report states that it underwent a significant change during 1951, mainly as a result of the change in American buying policies. The payments position of most countries, especially of primary producers was adversely affected. The USA realised a larger payments surplus amounting to \$5 billion, as against \$2.4 billion in 1950. Foreign aid extended by the USA although slightly higher than in 1950, was smaller than the country's export surplus, with the result that during the year, the previous year's trend of gold and dollar outflow was reversed. The impact of these developments resulted in the re-emergence of a dollar shortage, particularly in the sterling area. The intensity of the balance of payments crisis in the sterling area was evidenced by the fact that the area was in deficit not only on dollar account but also with the rest of the world. A feature of the payments of several countries during the year was the striking contrast between two halves of 1951: a substantial surplus in the first half was followed by a large deficit in the second. The amount allocated by the U. S. Government under the Mutual Security Act, including unspent foreign aid was over \$8 billion during July 1951-June 1952, the larger part of it being for military aid. Of this, Europe received \$5.8 million. The loans made by the Export Import Bank during 1951 amounted to \$244.2 million

as against \$565.8 million in 1950, while those by the IBRD amounted to \$236.4 million in 1951-52 as against \$345.7 million in 1950-51.

Economic Developments in India

Against the background of these world developments, the Report proceeds to review the major economic and financial developments in India during the year 1951-52. Foremost among these was the change in the monetary and credit policies of the Reserve Bank during the year, which was necessitated by the unusually large expansion in bank credit in the post-Korean period and the severe strain it entailed on the banking system. The measures taken by the Reserve Bank to check further credit inflation were three-fold: the Bank rate was raised for the first time in 17 years from 3 to 3½ per cent, effective from November 15, 1951. Simultaneously the open market policy was revised, the Bank preferring to assist the banking system in periods of seasonal stringency by granting loans against Government Securities rather than purchasing such Securities outright from banks, as hitherto. Thirdly, in January, 1952, the Bank went a step further and attempted to introduce an element of elasticity in the money market by initiating a scheme for a bill market. Under the scheme, the Bank made available to scheduled banks by way of advances against usance bills a substantial amount of assistance (Rs. 74 crores up to June 30, 1952) to tide over the seasonal needs. As a result of these credit measures and of the steep fall in wholesale prices in February and March 1952, the expansion in credit slowed down towards the close of the year.

The general economic situation in the country in 1951 was marked by distinct progress in several directions. This was mainly due to the disinflationary measures adopted by Government, assisted by favourable developments abroad. Apart from the credit measures already noticed, other domestic stabilisation measures included the retention of export duties during the greater part of the year and the budgeting by the Centre for a revenue surplus to meet a part of the capital expenditure. The realisation of a substantial revenue surplus, together with the sale proceeds of the US Loan Wheat, helped India to finance without difficulty the year's development programme. The improvement in the supply situation during the year was brought about by domestic production, both agricultural and industrial, liberalisation of import restrictions and regulation of exports. In the result, the inflationary forces generated by the Korean War showed signs of weakening.

Industrial production showed a marked improvement during 1951, the official general index of industrial output (base: 1946=100) rising to 117.4 as against 105.2 in 1950 and 106.3 in 1949. While the post-war

uptrend was maintained in the basic industries, the year under review witnessed substantial rises in most consumer goods industries, including cotton and jute textiles, which had registered declines in the preceding two years. The food situation, however, continued to be difficult during 1951, with lower domestic production and procurement, although it was kept under control by means of larger imports of food-grains amounting to 4.72 million tons in 1951 as against 2.12 million tons in 1950.

India's balance of payments position showed a deficit on current account of Rs. 93.5 crores in 1951, as against a surplus of Rs. 57.5 crores in 1950. This deficit was entirely accounted for by transactions with the non-sterling area countries. The deficit with these countries rose from less than Rs. 2 crores in 1950 to over Rs. 159 crores in 1951. Despite the heavy deficit of Rs. 47 crores with Pakistan, as against Rs. 2 crores in 1950, there was actually an increase in India's surplus with the sterling area. India had a total trade deficit of Rs. 140 crores in 1951 as against a surplus of Rs. 28 crores in 1950.

As regards the budgetary position, during 1951-52 (revised) and 1952-53 (budget), both the Central Government and the States (interim budgets) show overall deficits, the respective totals being Rs. 65 crores and Rs. 140 crores. For 1952-53, the combined budgetary position of the Centre and the States shows a deficit on revenue account also of Rs. 8 crores, as compared with surpluses of Rs. 95 crores and Rs. 62 crores in 1951-52 and 1950-51, respectively. With the launching of the Five-Year Plan in 1951-52, both the magnitude and the pattern of expenditure were shaped by considerations of accelerating development without accentuating inflationary pressures. For the two-year period 1951-53, the budgeted outlay on development in the public sector adds up to Rs. 667 crores or, excluding the current depreciation expenditure of the railways, Rs. 607 crores, which is Rs. 48 crores less than that envisaged in the Draft Five-Year Plan. As against these requirements, the resources available for development during 1951-53 amount to Rs. 455 crores, indicating thereby a shortfall in resources of Rs. 212 crores. Consequently the development expenditure in the public sector as a whole including that in the States has had to be financed partly by drawing down the cash balances.

In view of the limitations on raising domestic resources beyond a certain point and taking into account the urgent need for development of the country, the Five-Year Plan, envisages substantial foreign assistance for financing the development plan in the public sector. India has already received from the U.S.A., Australia, Canada, and New Zealand grants and loans amounting to about Rs. 128 crores (\$ 268 million). In addition, there is a balance of about Rs. 9 crores (\$ 18.5 million) that could be

drawn from the IBRD loans. Should the gap in resources in the public sector be covered by external finance, it would be possible for India to carry out the development programme without an undue strain on the economy.

The general price level showed, after an initial spurt, a more or less continuous downward readjustment. While the disinflationary measures undoubtedly helped to sustain the downtrend initiated earlier by international developments, the rather precipitate decline in prices in the closing months of 1951-52 reflected partly the effects of speculative overtrading and heavy accumulation of stocks in certain primary and other commodities, including some which enter into the country's export trade. The recovery in the price level which followed, reflected the effect of Governmental measures in the direction of progressive liberalisation of export restrictions and partial relaxations in domestic controls over commodities. The whole post-Korean rise in domestic prices was less marked than in many other foreign countries, the subsequent decline in them has been relatively more pronounced.

Reviewing the trends in the capital market, the Report states that the capital market ruled on the whole bearish in contrast to the improvement noticed in 1950. The change in the Bank rate and the withdrawal of the earlier partial support to the gilt-edged market resulted in a steep fall in the prices of Government securities and an all-round adjustment in yields. During 1951, the index of gilt-edged securities declined by about 7½ per cent. Equity prices, which had maintained the uptrend from June 1950 to June 1951, began to sag from July onwards and more particularly from mid-February, 1952, the decline in share values over the year being 13 per cent.

The working of the Bombay bullion market during the year was eventful. Speculative activity in a thin market, especially in silver, led to frequent crises, which necessitated the intervention of both the Board of the Bombay Bullion Association as well as the Bombay Government. A feature of price trends was the decline in March 1952 in the Indian price of silver below the world parity level, for the first time since 1939.

Essential Goods Act

The Essential Goods (Declaration and Regulation of Tax on Sale or Purchase) Bill as reported by the Select Committee has been passed by Parliament. The Act which has been enacted in pursuance of Article 286(3) of the Constitution declares a number of commodities as essential to the life of the community. Henceforth any bill passed by the legislature of a State, imposing any tax on the sale or

purchase of such commodities would have to be reserved for the assent of the President and would become law only after such assent has been given.

The goods declared as essential will include cereals and pulses in all forms, including bread and flour, including atta, maida, suji and bran (except when any such article is sold in sealed containers); fresh and dried fruits, sugarcane, cocoanuts, vegetables, edible tubers, vegetable and flower seeds, bulbs and plants, excluding orchids (except any medicine prepared from any one or more of such articles and when any such article is sold in sealed containers); fresh milk, whole or separate, and milk products, including butter, ghee, chhana, khoa, but excluding sweets; meat, fish and eggs (except when any such article is sold in sealed containers); edible oils and oilseeds from which edible oils are extracted; gur; salt; all cloth, woven on handlooms, coarse and medium cotton cloth made in mills or woven on power looms; raw cotton, including ginned and unginned cotton or kapas, cotton thread, cotton yarn, cotton seeds, jute seeds, raw jute, sun hemp and mesta; hides and skins; fertilizers and manures, agricultural machinery and implements; cattle feeds; coal, including coke and other derivatives, petroleum and petroleum products, including kerosene and motor spirit; iron and steel; books, exercise books, slates and slate pencils and periodical journals.

Such a measure was long overdue. In Britain, utility goods deemed essential to the life of the community have been excluded from the provisions of Purchase tax. The Essential Goods Act of India will tend to lower the cost of living, provided it is enforced strictly.

Steel and Coal

From time to time we receive news releases from New Delhi, which tend to prove that officialdom at the Centre and their chosen heads are waking up from their Olympian slumbers. Here are two bits of news which are of that category. But the pit-falls, the delay and ruinous waste of money follow in the train. For, where there is money, there we find the noses of our own particular brand of blood-suckers, and to them honesty counts as nought. It is the same story in industry as in commerce, since the intrusion of the speculator-profitier in the realm of legitimate industry and commerce. And so such news rouse little enthusiasm in us.

New Delhi, August 29.—The Government of India are reported to have "under active consideration" at present the setting up, with foreign assistance, of a State-owned integrated project for the iron and steel industry.

The project is estimated to cost Rs. 80 crores. Originally negotiations were conducted with various

parties, including the Japanese, for the setting up of a pig iron industry, but it has now been decided to have an integrated project. This is in addition to the programme of development of indigenous production of Tata and SCOB.

There are three proposals under examination at present and these include a proposal from the Japanese, another from the Germans and the third from the U.S.A.

The representatives of the Japanese interests were in Delhi recently for discussions with the Government of India. The Government expect to hear shortly from the Japanese.

The Planning Commission has also been requested by the Production Ministry to make necessary provision for the integrated iron and steel project in the Five-Year Plan.

New Delhi, August 29.—The Government of India have decided to take immediate steps to conserve the country's rich reserves of metallurgical coal against uneconomic and unplanned exploitation and have fixed a quota of annual production, it was learnt here.

Of late there has been righteous indignation among all sectors of Indian public opinion over the senseless wastage of high grade metallurgical coal in this country. It is the general feeling that India's reserves of metallurgical coal is very limited and it is time that Government should take steps to preserve this valuable mineral. According to recent estimates, India has 1500/2,000 million tons of high grade metallurgical coal. If proper steps are taken, including sowing and ashing, the reserve, it is calculated, would last 80 years. Indian Railways are the largest consumer of metallurgical coal. The Railways consume 3½ million tons. Iron and steel works consume 3 million tons, coke ovens use ½ million tons and miscellaneous consumption amounts to 1 million tons. India thus annually uses up 8½ million tons of high grade metallurgical coal. The Railways can easily be made to run on inferior grade coal and for domestic purposes metallurgical coal should not be allowed to be used.

It is indeed gratifying to note the Government of India's decision, although belated, to take immediate steps to conserve the country's rich reserves of metallurgical coal against uneconomic and unplanned exploitation. The Government are reported to have fixed a quota of annual production of 7.9 million tons for 1952 and 7.4 million tons for 1953 so far as selected grades of A and B coal are concerned. The steps the Government are taking are designed to bring about a gradual reduction in the output of the selective grades of metallurgical coal without at the same time affecting the economic working of the collieries and thus causing large-scale retrenchment of labour.

Of the world reserves of coal of all grades within 6,000 feet of the surface, India has only 1.1 per cent. India should therefore strictly conserve her coal resources. Mere reduction in output will not ensure conservation. What is required for this purpose is rationed consumption on selective basis, and disallowing use of metallurgical coal where inferior grades would serve the purpose.

The steps the Government are now taking are, it is stated, designed to effect a gradual reduction in the output of the selective grades of metallurgical coal without at the same time affecting the economic working of the collieries and thus causing large-scale retrenchment of labour.

It was originally intended to fix the upper limit of production of this type of coal for the next five years. The figures were: 9m tons for 1952, 8m for 1953, 7m for 1954, 6m for 1955, and 5.6m for 1956. Following discussions with representatives of the coal industry recently at Calcutta, the Government of India are understood to have revised it and fixed the upper limit of production for the current year at 7.9m tons and for 1953 at 7.4m.

Census of India, Economic Picture

The population of India as revealed by the latest figures of 1951 census stands at 35,88,29,485, excluding that of Jammu and Kashmir. The population of Jammu and Kashmir is estimated at 4.41 millions. The final figures indicate an increase of 42.06 million over the population of 1941. The mean decennial rate of growth for the decade ended 1951 works out at 12.5 per cent, the annual rate of increase being 1.2 per cent. The average density of population stands at 281 per square mile. Travancore-Cochin has the highest density of population in India having over 900 people per square mile, West Bengal following next with 829 people per square mile.

The census figures reveal a significant bias towards urbanisation. In 1951, the number of urban population of India is 62 million or about 17 per cent of the total population, as against 44 million in 1941 or 14 per cent. A major part of the growth in urban population has taken place in the cities and towns having a population of one lakh and above. Over the decade, the number of such towns increased from 48 to 75, and their population from 14.6 million to over 24 million. Apart from the city States of Ajmer and Delhi, the most highly urbanised States in India are Saurashtra (33.7 per cent), Bombay (31.1 per cent), West Bengal (24.8 per cent) and Mysore (24.0 per cent); among the least urbanised States are Orissa (4.1 per cent), Assam (4.6 per cent), and Bihar (6.7 per cent).

As regards occupational distribution, 70 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture, and the

"Hundreds of non-Europeans demonstrated at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on 26th August when 20 African and Indian leaders of the campaign against racial segregation laws appeared on a charge under the Suppression of Communism Act. The leaders are specially charged with 'encouraging achievement of the objects of Communism.' Those charged include Dr. Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress; Mr. Nanu Sita, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress; Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, Secretary of the Joint Action Committee of the South African Indian Congress; Mr. Moses Kōane, a member of the Executive of the African National Congress and former Secretary-General of the now illegal Communist Party; Dr. James Moroka, President of the African National Congress; Mr. Nelson Mandela, an African attorney; Mr. Joseph Marks, President of the Transvaal branch of the African National Congress; and Mr. Walter Sisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress.

"When the Magistrate took the bench, about 2,000 spectators who could not get into the Court milled around in the passages outside. Most were non-whites.

"When the Magistrate took his seat on the Bench in the packed Court, the Prosecutor could hardly be heard as he called the case of 'Walter Sisulu and 19 others.'

"From outside came the noise of cheers, boos and shouted slogans followed by the deep, slow rhythmic singing of the African National Anthem by hundreds of men and women. Outlining the prosecution's case, the Prosecutor said evidence would show that the passive resistance campaign conducted jointly by the African and Indian Congress fell 'within the definition of Communism' as laid down by South Africa's anti-Communist Act. The hearing does not constitute a trial, but a preliminary examination of allegations. At the end of the examination, which may take some weeks, the Magistrate will have to decide whether there is sufficient evidence for the case to go to trial in the Supreme Court.

"Meanwhile, mass arrests in Port Elizabeth, Cape-town and Roodepoort, near Johannesburg, in a new wave of defiance of 'unjust racial laws' brought the total of arrests to nearly 3,000. The arrests, timed to coincide with the appearance of 'resistance' leaders in Court in Johannesburg represented the largest number made in one day since the campaign against 'unjust racial laws began.' In Port Elizabeth alone 245 non-European passive resisters were arrested."

But signs and portents mean nothing to Dr. Malan. His characteristic reaction to the Supreme Court judgement is as follows:

South African Prime Minister Daniel Malan said: "The road we want to follow is being obstructed by the courts.

"What is demanded of us is that as a white nation—

as leader of the non-whites in South Africa—we should abdicate."

Dr. Malan was addressing a mass meeting of National Party supporters in his first public speech since the Cape Supreme Court decision ruling the Government's High Court of Parliament Act to be invalid.

"This is not the road which the great majority of English-speaking South Africans wish to follow", Dr. Malan said.

"The powers drawn up against us are very considerable and the Government must seriously consider what it has to do in the circumstances."

South Africa was at the cross roads, he said. The choice of roads meant life or death to the people of South Africa.

"The powers against us are trying to make us do away with all colour bars. They want us to pervert the whole past history of South Africa and to make a new beginning on the basis of complete equality. That is not the road Afrikanerdom wishes to follow," he said.

The Persian Impasse

Dr. Mossadig's actions are puzzling. The apparent intransigence can only be explained by the assumption that there are some hidden forces which are too powerful for the Persian Premier to overcome. But the way the negotiations are failing bode little good, either for Iran or for peace in that part of Asia.

"The Persian Premier, Dr. Mossadig, said in a broadcast, read over Teheran radio, that the new Anglo-U.S. offer to settle the oil dispute was unacceptable to the Persian Government.

"The offer was made personally by President Truman and the British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, to Dr. Mossadig.

"The President and the Prime Minister said, they sincerely hoped their proposals for action would meet with Dr. Mossadig's approval and result in a satisfactory solution. The proposals were presented by the British and U.S. representatives in Teheran.

"This was the text of the message sent to Premier Mossadig by President Truman and Mr. Churchill:

"We have received the messages from our two Embassies in Iran regarding recent talks with you as well as your communication of August 7, 1952, to the British Government.

"It seems clear to us that to bring about a satisfactory solution to the oil problem will require prompt action by all three of our Governments. We are attaching proposals for action which our two Governments are prepared to take and which we sincerely hope will meet with your approval and result in a satisfactory solution.

"We are motivated by sincere and traditional feelings of friendship for the Iranian nation and people and it is our earnest desire to make an early and equitable solution of the present dispute."

The proposals were:

(1) There shall be submitted to the Inter-

national Court of Justice the question of compensation to be paid in respect of the nationalization of the enterprise of the AIOC (Anglo-Iranian Oil Company) in Iran, having regard to the legal position of the parties existing immediately prior to nationalization and to all claims and counter-claims of both parties.

(2) Suitable representatives shall be appointed to represent the Iranian Government and the AIOC in the negotiations for making arrangements for the flow of oil from Iran to world markets.

(3) If the Iranian Government agrees to the proposals in the foregoing two paragraphs, it is understood that: (a) Representatives of the AIOC will seek arrangements for the movement of oil already stored in Iran, and as agreements are reached upon price, and as physical conditions of loading permit, appropriate payments will be made for such quantities of oil as can be moved; (b) Her Majesty's Government will relax restrictions on exports to Iran and on Iran's use of sterling; (c) The U. S. Government will make an immediate grant of \$50m to the Iranian Government to assist in their Budgetary problem."

"The British Foreign Office, in an explanatory statement said that when the British Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Middleton, called on Dr. Mossadig on August 14 for clarification of the Persian Note of August 7, the Persian Premier said, he was prepared to agree to the International Court's settling of the question of compensation, though the Court could not be asked to adjudicate on the question of the original 1933 concession to the oil company or on the validity of the Persian nationalization laws.

"He asked the British Government as a matter of urgency to consider an immediate grant of money to the Persian Government. He also proposed that the oil company should get in touch with the Persian Oil Sales Commission (the marketing organization of the nationalized company) to discuss the purchase of oil.

"The Foreign Office statement said, the British Government, while not prepared to agree that the 1933 concession was invalid or that Persia's nationalization law conformed with the country's international obligations, was anxious that negotiations should be started with the Persian Government. The British Government would enter negotiations on the basis of accepting Persia's nationalization of the industry.

"The message was regarded in London as constituting the reply to the Persian Note of August 7. Both the U.S. and the British Governments were opposed to a formal point-by-point response to Dr. Mossadig's offer, on the grounds that the Persian Note was so polemical that a direct reply would have prejudiced hopes of obtaining an eventual settlement."

The New Order in Egypt

General Neguib is evidently a believer in new brooms and a clean sweep. He is not willing to waste

time in his attempt to reorganise and revitalise his fatherland's affairs. The latest news gives an idea of the extent of his plans:

"Elaborate legislation for breaking up large estates, limiting land holdings to 200 acres and redistributing nearly 1m. acres of fertile land to landless peasantry is contained in the Bill. It also provides for expropriation and compensation, financing farming and marketing through co-operatives and the regulating of relations between landlord and tenant and the rights of agricultural workers.

"The Land Reform Bill will not await parliamentary approval but will become effective after ratification by the Cabinet. The land reforms will have retrospective effect as from July 23, the day of the military coup led by General Neguib.

"General Neguib and his 12-man military junta made these reforms as their movement's main plank, striking at the very roots of Egypt's centuries-old social and economic ills.

"The scheme, to be carried out in five years, provides for compensation to be given at ten times the rental value of expropriated land. Big landlords will have option to select the 200 acres they are entitled to keep. Compensation for expropriated land will be paid in 3 per cent Government Bonds over a period of 30 years. Conversely, new landlords pay the Government in instalments for land acquired.

"One major feature of the scheme is that it does not affect the holdings of land reclamation companies most of which are foreign-owned. Foreigners reputedly own about 500,000 acres of land in Egypt. Land held by the *waqfs* (religious foundations) are also unaffected."

Scarcity in Pakistan

Pakistan, hitherto, has been painted as a viable State flowing with milk and honey. In a recent statement in East Pakistan we were told that that part of Pakistan was deficit in food to the tune of 7 lakh tons. Before that there was a wheat crisis in Panjab (P) which led to riots in Lahore. Now comes this latest bit of news:

"Rice prices in Karachi are soaring high according to local press.

"The Evening Times said, Pakistan faces the possibility of serious rice shortage during the current year. Price of Basmati quality which only a few weeks ago was quoted at annas twelve per seer has now shot up to Rs. 2 per seer. Although rationing authorities have made arrangements for selling various qualities of rice at controlled rates it is impossible for consumers to obtain even small quantities from ration shops."

The repercussion of these is resulting in the ominous rumours that some of the incitement of tribes

in the North-West. As usual the remedy of fanaticism is sought to be used to cover the deficiencies of the government.

Kashmir Affairs

"Confusion worse confounded" is the only phrase that describes the state of affairs in Kashmir, as the following bit of news would indicate :

"Yuvraj Karan Singh's invitation to some prominent Jammu citizens for consultation and 'advice' before he finally makes up his mind regarding the offer of elected headship of the State has led to quite feverish political activities. The invitees are meeting their colleagues and friends to decide how they should react to the invitation and what advice they should give the Yuvraj in case they go to Srinagar to meet him. There is somewhat mixed reaction to this latest move by the Yuvraj. Some take it as emanating from the Yuvraj's natural anxiety to carry with him the people of his homeland. Others say that the Yuvraj has taken this step with the full knowledge of Mr. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah.

"It may be recalled that some leaders of the Praja Parishad have openly threatened the Yuvraj with boycott in case he accepts the offer of elected headship of the State.

"It is learnt that most invitees, instead of going to Srinagar, wanted the Yuvraj to come to Jammu. But this, it is stated, has not received the Yuvraj's approval. The meeting with the Yuvraj is expected to take place in Srinagar on August 31.

"It is not known whether the Yuvraj has extended his invitation to prominent persons of other parts of the State. But this much appears certain that the talks between the Jammu leaders and the Yuvraj will begin with a clean slate, that is, with no previous commitment on either side."

"It was understood hitherto that when the Prime Minister visited Srinagar on August 21, he would confer both with the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah, and Yuvaraj Karan Singh, about the question of the elected head of the State.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan who went to Srinagar on an engagement for the Convocation address is understood to have had long deliberations with both the Premier and Yuvaraj, on the latter's duties and obligations as the head of the State in the event of Yuvaraj agreeing to accept that post.

"For all that could be said at this stage, it appears that the Yuvaraj has not yet made up his mind for more than one reason. It is learned on good authority that his personal loyalty is conflicting with his sense of duty to serve the subjects.

"The Yuvaraj has also raised a constitutional objection to his agreeing to accept headship of State.

That objection is that when the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir is now in session, before that body frames rules in relation to the duties, functions, rights and privileges of the Yuvaraj as head of the State, how could he agree to accept that high office without a knowledge of the functions and duties?

"For all practical purposes, it is said in informed political quarters that the Kashmir constitution would embody similar provisions that obtain in the Indian Constitution in this regard. But the Yuvaraj does not seem to be quite sure of his ground.

"He rather insists that first the duties and functions as well as the rights and privileges of the Head of the State be defined in unambiguous terms in the constitution, then he would consider the offer made by Sheikh Abdullah, however sincere that offer might be.

"Sheikh Abdullah's recent statement that if the Yuvaraj did not accept the offer Kashmir would not be in difficulties to find a suitable alternative head of the State, lends support to the reported fears and suspicions of the Yuvaraj.

"It is asked how in the present context of things the Yuvaraj could blindly agree to serve Kashmir as the head of the State.

"The Yuvaraj is also understood on reliable authority to be thinking as to what would happen to his own personal property, landed property in the event of his not accepting the constitutional headship of the State.

"Under the Kashmir land reforms would he also be entitled to keep only 23 acres of landed property as any other citizen? What would happen to his privy purse? Whether it would be reduced by a decision of the Constituent Assembly? What would be his future? What would be tenure of office? All these doubts trouble his young but receptive and critical mind.

"There is also a strong feeling in Jammu and Ladakh that the Yuvaraj should not accept Sheikh Abdullah's offer in its ambiguous form. How far the Yuvaraj reacts towards this feeling is difficult to comprehend."

The above appeared in the front page of the *Delhi People*, dated August 23 last. The root of the evil is the "two-nation" theory. Sheikh Abdullah repudiates it, and the Azad Kashmiris are a thorn on his side. And Jammu is afraid of Kashmir's Muslim majority.

Meanwhile the U.N.O. machinery has slowly been put into gear :

"Ministerial level talks between India and Pakistan under U.N. auspices to discuss the question of demilitarizing Kashmir preparatory to a plebiscite opened at Geneva at 11.00 hours on August 23.

"An official communique issued after the conference said : 'The conference began in a friendly spirit. The U.N. representative made an opening statement in which he welcomed the presence around the table of the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah Khan, and of the Minister of Defence of the Government of India and Leader of the Upper House, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar. The U.N. representative expressed his faith that the work of the conference would be carried out in goodwill and in a constructive spirit in order to fulfil the hopes placed in this meeting. Mr. Ayyangar and Sir Zafrullah offered full co-operation to Dr. Graham and expressed their determination to build upon the basis of agreement already reached. The conference then proceeded to discuss the revised proposals presented by the U. N. representative.'

"The revised proposals discussed by the Indian and Pakistani delegations are believed to relate to the number of troops to be left on each side of the ceasefire line at the end of the demilitarization period and the date for the induction into office of the Plebiscite Administrator-designate, Admiral Nimitz. 'It was agreed,' the communique concluded, 'that the meetings would be private and there would be morning sessions every day.'

India's Position in Himalayan Area

The *Times* said on January 30, 1952, that India and China "now that they have become neighbours will have to make some formal agreement in the Himalayan area."

"The frontier there has never been effectively demarcated over some hundreds of miles. Both countries have interests in the trade routes that run south from Tibet. At present India and Nepal are the only foreign countries which have diplomatic missions in Lhasa, and the future of these missions is uncertain in view of China's wish to treat Tibet as an integral part of China. In Gyantse, where some Indian troops are stationed, there are now considerable Communist forces, and the Chinese plainly think that the present position is unreasonable in the changed circumstances of Tibet. For the moment, they seem content to wait for some overture from Delhi before beginning negotiations for a general frontier and commercial agreement."

India's belief that she "can live in good neighbourly relations with Communist China has been strengthened by Peking's good relations with Burma, a country whose safety means almost as much to Indian security as does the integrity of Nepal."

The position has not improved very far so far Indo-Chinese relations are concerned. And the London *Paper's* talk about "Peking's good relations" with Burma

is falsified by the fact that communists are in revolt and have been carrying guerilla war in the central areas of Burma for the last five years.

Rajagopalachari's "Enemy No. 1"

Myindia of Bangalore in its issue of July 27 last has an article that assesses the situation both at the Centre and the Provinces, in Madras specially, quite rightly :

"Pandit Nehru is a Janus figure whom it would be not unjust to describe as a 'fellow traveller.' His sympathies exuberantly expressed through a lifetime of unique opportunities and privileged publicity have been with the so-called dispossessed, the have-nots, the under-privileged, and the downtrodden. Not that other leaders have not expressed similar sentiments. But what distinguishes the evangelism of people like Nehru is their thinly disguised contempt for the status quo and their theoretical readiness to overturn the whole thing with a view to establish their new order overnight. No one has given a better chit to the Communist cause in general than our Prime Minister.

"Though he too is condemned by force of circumstances to carry on a rearguard action against the advance of Communism, he is not to be depended upon to fight it to the last ditch. Of the old guard, no one else remains except C. R. ; and so the mantle of what may be termed conservative leadership has inevitably descended upon the 'Machiavelli' from Madras.

"C. R. employs a technique which is strongly reminiscent of that of the communists, although he differs profoundly from them. His strongest weapon, like theirs, is the art or trick of over-simplification. To the communists, religion is dope, capitalists are blood-suckers, bourgeoisie parasites, and the summum bonum is a mystic concept which fools all to minister to the vanity or megalomania of one, currently known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. As against their categories, C. R. sets up the *Panchatantra*, the ten commandments, and a very avuncular being whom he calls God. The communists are out to stir up a witches' cauldron and bring it to the boil ; C. R. tells parables and fairytales and comforting analogies with a view to soothe the jangled nerves of long-suffering or frustrated humanity.

"The communists have a theoretical love of abstract humanity plus a very intense malevolence towards all those who happen to be better off than their fellows. They hate Tom, Dick or Harry for specific reasons, and reserve all their milk of human kindness to go sour in the contemplation of mankind in the mass. C.R. has a profound understanding of and sympathy for the ordinary man, and is so smitten with the still

and music of the poor that he carries vicariously on his face and in his heart a melancholy not inspired by his own predicament.

"With both, however, the end justifies the means; but while C. R. is deterred from immoral or amoral courses by his innate and acquired restraint, the nihilism of the communists renders frightfulness an integral part of their proceedings. Whether communism will be a ruling power in India or not is a question for prophecy. But it may safely be asserted that its advent is being postponed by the diversionary tactics of C. R.

"When in the course of a recent debate in the Madras Assembly, C. R. declared that the aim of the communists was to promote chaos in the land, and plunge all in one final misery, he said something which went straight home to the business and bosoms of all men who heard or read him. That is the sort of sweeping generalisation which catches the eye and ear of the common man. Having arrested his attention, it is but a step or two more to make him allergic to the message of communism. This particular charge of chaos though brief is so full of frightening implications that it seems worthwhile to examine it both for its topicality and for its abiding value.

"The term 'chaos' conjures up visions of disorder, anarchy, terror and above all of sudden death which unnerve the doughtiest of minds. But just as one man's meat is likely to prove another man's poison, so also one man's notion of chaos might well turn out to be another man's order. The gradations of life, both on the material and imponderable side, are thus presented as the mango-tree trick—the fullfledged creation of a new order within the twinkling of an eye.

"When Gandhi was alive, he faced this issue squarely, and acknowledged that if the British left there might be a period of anarchy in the country. But then he added, it was our business anyway, and it might well be the price we have to pay for obtaining our freedom. Against such appalling complacency there is no effective retort. Like Burke, he held fast to the view that the masses or the people have no interest in disorder, and that all their instincts and impulses might be depended upon to work in favour of the evolution of a state of order in the shortest possible time. Only the other day, our Prime Minister airily declared, apropos of Sheik Abdullah's land-reforms in Kashmir, that some people might no doubt suffer from that sort of thing; but look at the manifest gains of the majority. So for the sake of promoting a great deal of good, a certain amount of evil might be considered inevitable if not indeed meritorious!

"C. R. is fundamentally a moralist, with a command of language which has biblical simplicity, and with a fervour which recalls the ministry of the ancient

Hebrew prophets. His message is that mankind has no right to expect unalloyed happiness in this world; nor is he impressed by any of the numerous gadgets which are supposed to be indispensable to the idea of the Welfare State now so much in fashion. He is old-fashioned enough to hold with the poet that some are born to work and some to play; but that the dignity of the individual may be shown to be above these limitations by the endowments of character and personality. It is in short "soul-force"—an aura that must first be generated to flow through oneself, before it gathers volume enough to overflow outside of oneself. Christs and Gandhis have had it, for they were enveloped in a "magnetic field" which kept the irreverent and impercipient at bay while consoling and exalting the lowly. It is this concept of power that is not dreamt of in the Communist philosophy.

"Asking the Communists to behave or give undertakings is as futile as it proved futile to ask for such stipulations about the Congress. It is an open conspiracy that the communists are promoting; just as it was an open conspiracy that the Congress helped in. It is the massive support of the masses that furnishes the sanctions in either case. We see how it grows and comes to fruition in unexpected ways. At one time, the word Congress might have frightened naughty children into docile submission; to-day it is deflated of much if not of all its power. I personally believe that a day will come when communism will be a term of derisive contempt, instead of being the terror it now seems to many classes of people."

Communist Illusions

During Napoleon III's short empire and sabre-rattling, Karl Marx wrote a book containing considerably more wisdom than *Das Capital*. He did not find the causes of revolution in economic factors.

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it . . . Under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past . . . specially in epochs of revolutionary crisis they conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle slogans and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in time-honoured disguise and borrowed language."

Raymond Aaron, one of the intellectuals of France, added to this argument the experience of fellow-travellers, liberals who had once nursed the illusions of Marxism. Explaining the policy of the present rulers of the Soviet Union he says:

"Stalinism does not represent the revolt of the sovereign people, it claims to stand for the conquest of power by the proletariat. The psychological effect on fellow-travelling circles is the same. It is taken for granted that Stalinism implies the political

victory of a Christian principle. At the same time, Communists are pictured as applying to our industrial civilisation the old principle: 'The voice of the people is the voice of God.'

"Collective ownership of property, economic planning by the State, spontaneous activities of the masses in carrying forward a revolution—these concepts of Marxism, more or less formalised, have retained a seductive power among our intellectuals even after thirty years of Bolshevism. In the eyes of Merleau-Ponty, they remain above philosophical criticism. If history should give them the lie, if the proletariat happens not to 'become the human race' and does not accomplish its revolutionary destiny, Merleau-Ponty would still not conclude that Marxism was wrong. In his view, it would be history which had gone wrong. At the end of his life, Trotsky suggested a line of thought closely approaching this. If the proletariat failed to accomplish the mission assigned to it by history, then Marxism would remain a sort of paradise unattained and the world would slide into barbarism. That the efforts of the Marxists to realise false ideals or attain inaccessible goals might be one of the causes of the descent into barbarism—that line of reasoning never touches the minds of our philosophers. . . ."

" . . . What is the lesson which we are to draw from the upshot of Stalinism? The sociological lesson is that a directed economy with collective property does not necessarily lead to the liberation of man. Or, perhaps, they lead rather to a regime of oppression. The political lesson is that the campaign methods used by a party have more influence on its action than the ideas which it proclaims. Violence tends indefinitely to extend itself. A party assumes absolute power under pretext of transforming the social order and ends by creating a system in which a minority exercises a despotism as a matter of necessity. The lesson in philosophy is that the notion that the heroic deed of a group can reverse or radically change the course of human events is a supreme illusion. Revolutions are sometimes inevitable; but they are almost always misfortunes. They destroy irreplaceable goods. Their gains could have been won at less cost. The history of the world does not present a rational process. It does not reveal to man his vocation. It does not dictate his morality. If one turns history into an absolute, gives it a definite objective in the form of an absolute value posited on the horizon, one has, innocently, fallen victim to a trap of Machiavellianism."

The above is taken from the *New Leader* of New York. It will enable our Indian "pinks" and "reds" to cultivate a new sense of history and reality, and find that the slogan of "Revolution for ever" makes no sense other than blood-shed.

"India—Supply Depot of Imperialism"

Under this sensational heading the *Indian Socialist Reformer* of August last, says things that show that they have changed from the viewpoint of Kamakshi Natarajan, the founder-editor of this weekly. It is natural to lose patience with Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's inconsistencies. And these are many as the following in the article will go to show:

"On the very day that an All-party Committee was collecting money from the citizens of Bombay to help liberate a coloured people from the soldiers of an alien Imperialism, a party-President, in his role of Prime Minister, was making the chastened admission that his Government was permitting the recruitment of soldiers, on Indian soil, for the suppression of yet another coloured people by yet another occidental Imperialism.

"This admission and Pandit Nehru's subsequent explanation come as a shock to all those who like to believe that Free India is doing everything in its power to further the freedom movements in Asia and Africa.

"The facts as presented are unsavoury. On June 12, in reply to the budget debate on the External Affairs Ministry's grant, the Prime Minister vehemently denied the Opposition's contention that the Government of India had given Britain special facilities to recruit eight Gurkha battalions on Indian soil. On August 8, as a result of publicity given by a section of the Indian Press to this denial, the Prime Minister contradicted himself and told the House that an agreement had been made with the British Government to supply Gurkhas on the very eve of Indian independence. Since that time (May 1947), India has sponsored the cause of Indonesian independence among others and is about to argue on behalf of the Moroccan and Tunisian peoples before the assembled united nations of the world. And all this time, human cannon-fodder is being collected in India and shipped across the seas so that British planters may still continue to rule over Malaya. Here is an anachronism that gives the lie direct to our pretensions as a freedom-loving people. Here is an agreement, made by the undisputed leader of our own liberation movement, that brands us before the world as a nation of crass hypocrites.

"The now infamous 'Gurkha incident' has another and equally distressing aspect and that is the manner in which the leader of the House, Pandit Nehru, has handled the situation so far. A quick-tempered man, he is quick to accuse the opposition of exaggerations and terminological inexactitudes. He is even quicker to give vague answers on behalf of other ministers, his own colleagues, and thus shake the faith of Parliament and people in the ability of other members of the Union Cabinet. At the same time it is now proved that Pandit Nehru is, himself, not very sure of his facts

water supply of the city and it was considered necessary to start a scheme known as Tansa Duplication Works. The scheme was taken in hand in December 1915.

The Duplication Works helped in raising the height of the dam by another nine and a half feet and increased the storage capacity from 18,850 million gallons to 29,041 million gallons of water.

The area of the Tansa lake was also increased by another square mile, bringing it to seven square miles. The length of the dam was increased from 8,800 to 9,195 feet.

In July 1917 the masonry duct of the dam was damaged due to a serious accident.

This accident, plus the necessity of a further increase in the city's water supply, compelled the municipality to start another phase of construction on the dam.

After its completion, the Tansa Dam had a length of 9,300 feet and a maximum height of 133.5 feet.

The drawable capacity of Bombay City's water supply then went up to 94 million gallons a day.

The problem of meeting the needs of the much-inflated population of Bombay City, which has now reached more than 28 lakhs, however, continues.

Plans for meeting the total demands for water are being implemented. With the completion of the Vaitarna Dam sometime in 1954, it is hoped that position will be much improved.

Drought and flood are India's problems. Farthest east in Assam the Brahmaputra has developed a habit to overflow the country carrying death and destruction all around, down to East Bengal where it is known as the Jamuna. The remedy is river-control. But that takes time and costs crores of rupees.

No Starvation Deaths in the U. P.

Happy State! On August 21st last Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Chief Minister of U. P., declared that not a single person in the scarcity areas had died of starvation and none would be allowed to die of hunger.

He was prepared to accept that thousands of people in scarcity areas did not get two square meals a day, but he was not prepared to give credence to reports that people had died of hunger and were still dying.

He said the Government had neither made any attempt nor had the intention to hide facts about starvation deaths and scarcity conditions. But the fact was that there had so far been no death by hunger.

"How can I have peace if I hide such facts?" he asked.

Referring to opposition charges that thousands were dying every day of starvation, the Chief Minister

said specific instances reported with names of persons alleged to have died of starvation in the papers and Mr. Shibbanlal Saxena's list were thoroughly investigated. But the cause ascribed to their death was not hunger. Pandit Pant said that one fact was to be conceded that the death rate in these districts should have gone up by now if people were dying of starvation in large numbers as alleged by the reports. But statistics indicated otherwise.

Art and Culture

"Resolved that this meeting of the Indian Institute of Culture respectfully and earnestly recommends that, having regard to the fact that thousands of students graduate from the University of Mysore brilliantly equipped in all phases of culture save and except Indian Art, the finest flower of Indian civilisation and culture, the University of Mysore should introduce the study of Indian Fine Arts as a subject of major study and that, until such study can be introduced in the curriculum, the University should arrange regular courses of extra-mural lectures on Indian Art by a competent expert every year."

On the 15th April last the above resolution was passed. We should like to have further news of the progress made. Mysore has preserved intact the traditions of Indian culture. And their leaders should be able to show results now that they are free. In this connection the tenets of Iqbal are very apposite:

Great works of art string from the soil of great traditions; they have their roots in racial memories, in cultural and literary inspiration, which are often regional in character.

Poet Iqbal's insistence on the dual responsibility of man is derived from his deep understanding of the Islamic religion. His interpretation carries a message of power, but power modulated by spiritual sanctions. This point is important.

'Islam,' he observed in one of his lectures, 'recognising the contact of the ideal with the real, says 'yes' to the world of matter and points the way to master it with a view to discover the basis for a realistic interpretation of life.'

Will divorced from humanitarian ends would be a blind force; ruled by conscience it manifests the laws of a moral universe and makes for creative abundance.

The abiding impression left on our mind is that of one who has kept wakeful vigil in the lonely heights of thought:

'My heart burns on the loneliness of God!
I sow in my dust the seed of self-hood,
And keep a constant vigil over my 'I'.

His deepest utterances show a blend of contemplation and the urge for action towards the freedom of man.

INDIA'S NEED AND NATIONAL POLICY FOR POWER DEVELOPMENT

By N. P. BHOSMICK,

Formerly of Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

More often than not, the consumption of energy per capita or the "energy-index" is acknowledged as the barometer of economic prosperity of a country. Though apparently illusive, in the ultimate analysis it will be comprehended that the inherent implications contained in the statement is not an inch away from truth.

To digress a little, let us first quote the average income per capita per annum of the principal regions of the world (Table I).

TABLE I Average Income Per Capita Per Annum: Countries Amount in Rupees			
North America	..	..	4925
Oceania	..	..	2680
Europe	..	..	1805
U. S. S. R.	..	..	1472.5
South America	..	..	807.5
Africa	..	..	356.25
Asia	..	..	237.5
India	..	..	255.0

If this table is read in conjunction with Table II given below, it will be seen that the average income of the citizen of any country from all sources is directly proportional to the energy-index.

TABLE II Name of country				
Animato energy used (in million units)	Inanimate energy used (in million units)	Ratio inanimate Total	Units per capita	
North America	24,597	947,552	97.5	6,800
Middle and South America	28,408	51,474	64.3	610
Europe	55,129	877,889	94.1	2,356
U.S.S.R.	27,658	207,713	88.2	1,380
Africa	19,691	30,610	60.9	344
Asia	168,150	171,299	50.5	305
Oceania and Australia	2,236	22,357	90.9	2,488
World	325,867	2,308,894	87.6	1,250

In medieval times, work was done almost entirely by manual labour aided by animal power (cattle and horse) and to a small extent by powers of nature (wind and water power as used in water wheels first invented in Iran). In modern times work is done by power derived from coal (steam engines), and oil (oil engines), and by electricity generated from coal (thermal stations), oil (Diesel engine) or water power (Hydro-electricity). Probably it will be surprising for some readers to learn that the energy-index in medieval times was not more than 80, of which 60

units were from man-power and 20 units from animal and with the passing of time there has been such a rapid and systematic substitution of the animate energy by the inanimate in production, that the contrast between the advanced and under-developed areas is now illustrated by noting that in Asia and Africa the ratio of animate to the total energy is about 50 per cent, while in the U.S.A., the percentage of stored energy (the energy derived from the sun in the past ages and stored) in the form of coal, oil and natural gas is as high as 97 per cent.

These facts could be put in a more figurative language. In Europe and America forces of nature have been harnessed so effectively that a European or an American has literally 20-25 slaves working constantly for him. How the use of these energies influences the economic phase of a country? No doubt, to-day a substantial fraction of energy is utilised in communication and transport which include rail and road travel, telegraphy, telephone, navigation, air-travel and radio for domestic purposes but the larger fraction is utilized in producing fertilisers, both phosphatic and nitrogenous, which have increased the productivity of the soil manifold; in extracting metals from ores producing alloys and chemicals both heavy and fine, textiles, machinery, engineering goods, and miscellaneous consumer goods and in the processing of forest products (wood and chemical pulp used for the manufacture of paper and rayon).

It is this large production with the help of natural power which has enabled men in advanced countries to attain a standard of living far beyond the dreams of medieval philosophers, a fact which is reflected in the rise in average longevity from 25 in about 1870 to over 60 to-day in Europe and America. This is the result of better food, shelter and better conditions of public health rendered possible by greater wealth.

It is known that 90 per cent of the Indian population still lives in the sixteenth century—a life of constant want, grinding poverty and of chronic mal-nutrition amounting in times to famine, disease and indescribable wretchedness, and the per capita income is perhaps the lowest amongst the advanced countries of the world. What is the underlying reason for such pitiable backwardness in the sphere of production in India? India depends for production almost in its entirety upon man-power and even on a very liberal estimate her energy-index will hardly aggregate to 100. Are we to go far to find the clue to the puzzle, which Dr. Vera Anstus succinctly puts—poverty in the land of plenty?

Naturally the question now arises, why India generates and uses so little power. Are we lacking

1. Science News Letter, July 28, 1951, page 55.

2. Figures are based on "Civilisation and the Use of Energy" by Sir Alfred Egerton, Journal of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, March, 1931, page 590.

in the requisite natural resources? Not at all! On the contrary, India has, next U.S.A., the most potent resources of water power in the whole world—something like 30-40 million KW as against the U.S.A.'s 48 million KW and Canada's 38 million KW. And how much have we tamed? Only 5 million KW or about a seventieth! While France uses a little less than half and U.S.A. uses over a third we use only a seventieth!

TABLE III
Potential and Developed Water Power Resources of the World

Country	Water power potential (mkw)	Water power developed and installed (mkw)	Water power developed as percentage of potential
U.S.S.R.	100	22.4	22
U.S.A.	45	14.5	34
Canada	38	7.7	20
Switzerland	4.5	2.4	67
Germany	6	3.2	54
Norway	4.5	2.4	53
France	9	3.7	42
Sweden	7.5	2.6	33
U. K.	1.5	0.5	31
Japan	20	5.8	30
New Zealand	4	0.5	13
Australia	3	0.3	9
India	30-40	0.5	1.5
China	NA	0.6**	-

(N.B. Figures specified in the table generally relate to the period 1942-47, ** 1933 figures).

In the past there has been much loose thinking regarding the methods by which the material condition of the average Indian can be improved and it is only recently there has been some objective thinking. The National Planning Committee appointed by the Congress as early as 1938 concluded that if the material condition of the average Indian is to be improved the electricity generation has to be raised by 40,000 million units per year (above the figure existing at that time).⁴ This, at first sight, may look to be a magnificent figure, but a little reflection will show that the estimate is extremely modest. Even in Mexico, which is considered to be a backward state in America, per capita consumption of electricity is higher than 180 units per annum in spite of chronic political convulsions for which she acquired notoriety not in the very distant past and the figure for our country is only 10! The National Planning Committee aimed at only a per capita consumption of 100 units per annum which is too insignificant when considered in the light of our available resources.

The next question obviously is that of determining in the broadest and most general manner the

policy to be adopted with a view to arriving at the most efficient exploitation of our power resources.⁵

The question appears quite simple, at all events in so far as the definition is concerned, but on closer examination it is perhaps not quite so simple and rather a very baffling one indeed. In fact it appears indispensable to dwell a little more on the meaning of this expression "efficient exploitation" and looking at the issue in the general way there are several points which have to be considered.

First of all, with regard to the private consumer: for the exploitation of power resources to be of maximum efficiency, it is necessary and sufficient for all the power which he may require to be placed at his disposal in the most convenient form, in the safest and most unfailing condition, and at the lowest price.

There must be no misunderstanding on this point.

But if instead of catering to the isolated consumer, the whole community to which he belongs, and the country of which he is a citizen is considered, the question becomes more complicated; it may in fact happen that the solution resulting in the lowest sale price to the individual consumer is not at the same time the most satisfactory solution for the community; the lowest price may correspond, for example, to power produced from an imported fuel, and in the interests of the group it might be better to develop the use of power produced from the natural resources of the national soil, even if these should cost more.

Another special case might also arise which fully illustrates the complexity of the problem, viz., where the lowest price might be obtained from the national resources, but where for general, social or economic reasons the community might consider it preferable to develop the use of power produced from other sources, equally national, though costing more. Such a case could happen, for example, in a country where electric power of thermal origin may be cheaper than electric current generated from water power, but where in order to husband the reserves of coal, it would be more desirable to develop the latter.

The preceding examples show clearly that the problem of power, considered in this light, places the question in the field of politics, because its solution implies a certain degree of intervention by the public authorities; it is therefore no longer a question of purely liberal economics, but of a liberal economy tempered by State control, of a directed economy, or of economy completely controlled and directed by the State.

In the study which follows, the strictly political

aspect of things will be neglected in order to attempt to determine the directing principles of a power policy for India, based first of all on the interests of the community, since according to our constitution water resource is directly under State control.

Now, the sources of power may be broadly subdivided as follows:

Solid: (a) Coal (b) Wood (c) Town Refuse.

Liquid: (a) Mineral Oils & Power Alcohol.

Gaseous: Natural Gas.

Water Power: (a) Waterfalls (b) Tide operated stations.

Though the origin of all these sources of power is always solar energy, an essential difference, however, separates water power, distilled alcohol and town refuse from the other sources. This difference is due to the fact that these three categories represent the solar energy which is regenerated every year, while all the others represent the solar energy accumulated during the course of the previous geological ages.

From this we have the classical comparison, that to squander hydro-electric power (or distilled alcohol or refuse) is similar to squandering an income; to squander the other sources is equivalent to squandering capital.

In this context let us study power resources in India. For its size, India is not so favoured, like many other countries, as regards fuel resources. Oil is a precious commodity that India can ill afford for power generation, since a major portion of the oil consumed in India is imported. The reserves of higher grade coals are also limited, and in the opinion of the committee appointed by the Government of India to report on the Indian coal fields in 1945 such reserves may not exceed 700×10^6 to 750×10^6 tons, and which furthermore at the present rate of output would be exhausted in about 65 years; it will therefore be necessary to restrict the use of such coals if our metallurgical and chemical industries are to survive, and, also to restrict their use for the extensive railway system of India, all of which cannot economically operate with low-grade coals. Besides, distribution of coal being uneven and mostly localised in Bengal, Bihar and to a smaller extent in the Madhya Pradesh, and the distances from the major coal fields to different industrial centres being great, it puts a premium on high quality coal so as to save transportation charges. A study of the growth of thermal stations in the past two decades will show that the growth has been more or less confined to the North-Eastern part of India.

But substantial quantities of low-grade fuel exist mostly unexploited and still largely unexplored in many states and according to the estimate of Indian Coal-fields Committee the total reserve of Tertiary Coals may be roughly placed at about 3000×10^6 tons. In the programme of development of resources which is at

present being planned and partially executed, the most merited utilisation of low-grade coals has therefore to be duly considered too.

There is, however, a snag with such coals. Although low-grade coal can be used economically in the generation of steam and power in medium and large size installations, it is not economical to use it in small isolated power-generating installations.

This brief study with regard to the nature and extent of power resources in India brings out clearly that emphasis should be laid increasingly on the hydro-electric developments of river valleys. The seasonal variations in the water-flow in the rivers limit the availability of firm power from any hydro-electric installation. If large thermal stations are installed with low-grade coal as their fuel and be suitably interconnected with the hydro-electric power stations the integration will not only increase the firm power but will also enable to economise fuel consumption in the thermal power houses.

It might be thought that by bringing the multi-purpose projects under the head of power development these are, to all intents and purposes, power schemes.

Everything considered, from the series of evolution which hydro-electric projects underwent for about half a century and knowledge gained therefrom, it appears that generation of hydro-electric power should be more logical to be regarded as an adjunct of irrigation development and that storage of water is essential for any extensive use to be made of them; in the building-up of the country and in raising the welfare of the inhabitants, water power and irrigation should collaborate for mutual improvement and profit. But when power enters into the picture, there is often a tendency to regard the provision of water as merely a measure for production and disposal of power. Certain favourable industrial conditions gave rise to this outlook in Mysore. However, it is a great pleasure that the disadvantages of this outlook have been at last realised. In a country like ours, the original purpose of any work for the provision of water must be to protect it from drought, to extend the irrigated area, and to furnish supplies for domestic and other uses; the use of water in irrigation is more valuable than even the land on which it is used. While, therefore, hydro-electric enterprise is likely to be a very important problem in our economy, it has at the same time to be viewed as a corollary to irrigation. Nor this is unusual. Of course in the past, our water projects have represented isolated and uncoordinated attempts either to irrigate particular areas, or to generate hydro-power here and there and were only allowed to go when such an endeavour paid handsome dividends to the investor. The whole outlook was obviously narrow both in the spatial and the sociological sense. These piecemeal measures, apart from failing to conserve the water wealth of the

3. Central Board of Irrigation: *Hydro-Electric Development in India, 1938.*

4. For details see: (a) *National Planning Committee's Reports—Power and Fuel.* (b) "India's Need for Power Development" by M. K. Saha, *Science and Culture*, August 1944.

5. For more detailed study the following papers may be referred to: (a) "National Power and Resource Policies" by Ernest Morison, page 93, *Third World Power Conference*, Vol. IX, Sect. VII, Paper No. 18. (b) *Thermal or Hydro-Power Engineer*, April 1932, Vol. 2, No. 2.

country, did nothing to prevent recurrent and ever-growing floods, ever-growing as the direct result of the continuous abuse of the land by stripping it of plant cover and forests for purposes of immediate profit. This progressive denudation of land and the resulting extinction of fuel and fodder reserves have led not only to widespread removal of the top soil and to gully formation, but also to the ever-increasing use of animal manure as fuel, and therefore to the complete impoverishment of the soil as well as the cattle. Thus a vicious circle has come into being and we have the strange spectacle of the production of our cereals remaining where it was a quarter of a century ago, while the increase in population went apace. The present multipurpose projects are much more ambitious and promising and can best be illustrated by quoting an example. The Boulder Canyon Project Act in U.S.A., which became Law in December 21, 1928 and which may be considered to have opened a new era in multipurpose project development, defined :

"... the dam and reservoir provided by Section I hereof shall be used : First, for river regulation, improvement of navigation, and flood control, second, for irrigation and domestic uses and satisfaction of present perfected rights in pursuance of Article VIII of said Colorado River compact ; and third, for power."

This clearly sets forth the purposes of the structure and established priorities for the several functions. Although it was necessary that the cost of the structure except for \$25,000,000 allocated to flood control, and of its operation and maintenance, should be repaid from Power Revenues, power was placed last in order of priority. This limitation should not discourage power interests, since it is effective only whenever conflicts with the interests of flood control or irrigation occur, and fortunately such instances are rare.

Hence, it will be clearly evident from the foregoing that the main idea, underlying the multipurpose river valley projects, to put figuratively, is "to kill two, in some cases three or four birds with one." Thus, certain reservoirs, which were economically not feasible of development for single purpose became feasible when consideration was given to multifarious utilities like irrigation, generation of hydro-electric power, for flood control by resultant alleviation of damages to down-stream areas, for aiding navigation, sanitation or repelling saline invasions by permitting augmentation of low water flows by releases of stored water, for providing recreational facilities, such as fishing, swimming, boating and so forth.

An attempt will be made in what follows to demonstrate the important role which the multipurpose river valley schemes are going to play besides generating tremendous amount of power in the

unified development of the country's resources which our ambitious national government has projected.

COAL CONSERVATION

The restricted reserve of our country with regard to high-grade coal and the need to conserve this rather small reserve in the national interest have already been dealt with. The way Hydro-electricity can help to this end will now be illustrated and before we do this let us estimate the present use of coal under different heads :

TABLE IV
Use

	Tons $\times 10^6$ (approximate)	Per cent of total consump- tion
Railways (mainly steam raising)	10.0	32.30
Mills and Works (" ")	4.5	14.6
Iron and steel works (mainly coking)	4.5	14.6
Collieries	2.0	6.4
Cement works	0.5	1.6
Brick burning	1.0	3.2
Chemical, glass & potteries	1.0	3.2
Bunker and Export coal	2.0	6.4
Domestic, etc.	3.5	11.3
Electricity generation ^a	2.0	6.4
	31	100.0

From this table it will be evident that 7 per cent of the coal raised is used by the collieries for their own requirements. To this figure must be added a percentage to cover the coal burned in thermal stations belonging to electricity undertakings which supply the collieries with power. It is estimated that a million tons of coal or half the present consumption could be saved by the electrification of collieries.

Similarly, railways consume about 33 per cent of the total coal raised per year, mainly in steam raising. Most of this coal is of high quality, and much of it, probably one-third, is good coking coal. The burning of coal, in a locomotive boiler is the most wasteful way of using it, inasmuch as about 4 per cent only of its heat energy can be utilized. In areas, where hydro-electric power for electric traction is available, no coal would be needed; but in other areas low grade coal having up to 40 or even 50 per cent ash may be utilized at central power stations to produce the energy required.

A study of the Railway Electrification project of the Howrah-Moghalsarai via the Grand Chord brings out the fact that by electrification at least 400,000 tons of coal per annum (mostly in high grades) could be saved.⁶

6. Consumption of coal by Electrical undertakings :

Year	1948	1949	1950
Tons	1,932,546	2,144,578	2,183,708

7. P. L. Verma, G. da Costa and F. W. Whitaker : "Conservation of High Grade coal with Special Reference to Electrification of the Howrah-Moghalsarai Section of the E.I.R."—*Transactions of World Power Conference 1951*.

Increased and intensive electrification of coal mine is one of the important steps to be considered in our country while discussing the problem of conservation of high grade coal.⁸ This matter has been given great attention in France and they have drawn a ten-year plan for implementing economy in the use of coal in mines. The French and the other European examples of planned utilisation of low-grade coal need to be closely studied in our country with reference to our requirements to conserve high-grade coal. Then there is the further aspect of utilising electrical power more extensively as well as intensively in the task of modernisation and reconstruction of the coal-mine industry. Electricity for coal-cutting, conveying, drilling, loading, pressing, lighting, signalling, sequence control of conveyer system and electric interlocking are now the usual practice abroad. The number of collieries using electricity in India are only

8. For more details reference may be made to—(a) "Power and Coal Conservation" in *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development*, Vol. 1, No. 10, September, 1951, pages 31-32. (b) N. P. Bhoomick : "The Problem of Coal Conservation in India" (under preparation).

183 out of 900 in 1947. Even in these there is ample scope for improvement of technique.

The saving of coal through the use of electric power for mining and industrial purposes can be briefly stated to be as follows :

(a) The displacement of inefficient plant in collieries may well secure a nett saving of about one million tons per annum.

(b) A saving of coal of the order of three-quarters of a million tons per annum will also result from the further electrification schemes in other parts of India.

(c) Railway electrification in its turn will result in an economy of nearly half a million tons of good coal per annum.

The total is roughly two and a quarter million tons per annum. But the coal saved is not a surplus. It is coal, that will be fed to other industries both existing and new. Electricity will not destroy the markets for coal but will create and foster them.⁹

9. *Transactions of the World Power Conference, 1951* : (a) J. W. Whitaker : Power and Mines—General Report. (b) B. L. Metcalfe : Power and Mines.

—:O:—

TRUTH ABOUT THE ETAWAH PROJECT

By S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

The Etawah Pilot Development Project has, of late, received world-wide publicity as a model centre of rural reconstruction; it is being regarded as the Mecca of all workers engaged in village welfare activities. Since Etawah happens to be my home town, I took the opportunity of visiting the Pilot Project recently in order to study the whole scheme at close quarters. I went there with an open mind and spent about two days in obtaining first-hand information from both the officers as well as the villagers in the area. I was lucky in being able to discuss the idea and achievements of the Project with Mr. Albert Mayer himself who is the Planning Adviser to the U. P. Government. Mr. Mayer was in the American Army during the last war and now belongs to an important firm of Architects in New York. The Etawah Project was started by the U.P. Government in 1948 under the guidance and supervision of Mr. Mayer.

Visitors to the Etawah Project generally fall into two distinct categories. Some extol it to the skies as a unique experiment, and others run it down as a big hoax. After a careful study of the working of the Project, I feel that the truth lies between these two extreme views. Although the Etawah Pilot Project is mainly American in conception on the lines of the Agriculture Extension Service in the U.S.A., it cannot

be denied that it has shown remarkable results in certain spheres of rural reconstruction work. Mr. Mayer impressed me by his transparent sincerity and earnestness of purpose. The Project was started in Mahewa village in September 1948 with a population of 79,000 in a compact area of 100 villages. A second instalment of 97 villages with Sevanagar as the centre was taken up in September, 1951. The main achievements of the Project are in the domain of agriculture. As a result of the supply of better seeds, of wheat, gram, barley, maize and potatoes, there has been substantial increase in the yield per acre ranging from 20 to 25 per cent. The introduction of Sanai green-manuring and artificial fertilisers is also partly responsible for these results. There has been some improvement in irrigation facilities also; thirty tube-wells have been installed so far in the whole of Etawah district, and four artesian wells have been drilled in the area. In co-operation with Mr. Mason Vaugh of the Naini Agricultural Institute, the Mahewa centre has introduced a few improved varieties of implements like the Olpad threshers, seed drillers and drill cultivators. A satisfactory feature of these implements is that they are all bullock-driven; they are fairly cheap also. There is a Central Workshop to supply and repair these implements at Mahewa. As regards Animal

Creole Portuguese as 'always spoken by the Linguists (the interpreters) which serve both the separate traders and the company.'

The Portuguese claimed a monopoly of trade on the West Coast of Africa. But in the reign of Queen Elizabeth their country was seized by Spain and the claimant to the Portuguese throne fled to England. To raise funds he granted trading rights to English merchants and the first English ships to enter the Gambia sailed under a Portuguese refugee. Thus, through fortune's accident, the Portuguese also came to introduce the English. A permanent settlement was still nearly a hundred years ahead but meanwhile English merchants were arriving—and amongst them was Richard Jobson.

Of the many romantic people who cross the Gambian scene in these pages none, to my mind, excels Richard Jobson. He visited the River in the reign of James I and in after days wrote an account of his adventures which he entitled *The Golden Trade*. Several extracts are quoted and they are so attractive that one is tempted to anticipate the reader's pleasure by reproducing many of them. Jobson was a born leader of practical men. He was also a great lover of his kind who in a famous phrase dissociated himself and his nation from the iniquity of the slave trade. 'I made answer, We were a people who did not deale in any such commodities, neither did we buy or sell one another, or any that had our own shapes.'

Jobson had come in quest of raw gold. The articles of commerce that he found were cotton, ivory and hides. These last, with the addition of wax and inland gold, are constantly recurring items in the trade with the Gambia. But, of course, in modern eyes all former trade in the Gambia is overshadowed by the horror of the Slave Trade. (Not, however, in contemporary eyes. Francis Moore, writing in the eighteenth century, does not include the trade in the list which he gives of the 'chief trade of this country.' Although in another passage he says that about two thousand slaves a year were brought down by the merchants).

Thirty years elapsed after Jobson's return before English traders again visited the River. This time, in addition to the usual commodities, they came in search of slaves. They found traders from many other nations already established there and for the next two hundred years the history of the Gambia is largely the history of these traders and of their relationships with one another. This part of the book I found the most absorbing. French, English, Dutch, these were the principals. And often their governments were at war with one another—or putting up with some usurpation—rates of affairs that led to the most surprising repercussions in the River. Thus at one time we read of the fascinating irruption of Prince Rupert and his fellow cavaliers. He got on with the Gambians like a house on fire and returned to England with 'richly

liveried Blackamoors' one of whom was to save him from drowning, years afterwards, in the Seine. At another we read a dire defeat inflicted on the English by the famous Dutch Admiral de Ruyter (who 'beat us to dirt' as Pepys inelegantly noted in his Diary!) But most deeply interesting of all, I think, is the glimpse we get of the Courlanders. They are now a forgotten nation, swallowed up in Soviet Russia. But in the seventeenth century the Duke of Courland attempted a settlement in the Gambia. Wars between great neighbours at home and rivalries between great powers in the River were too much for the Duke and in the end his settlement fell to the English—by a ruse of a Major Robert Holmes, a disreputable character we could well have done without. Short and unlucky was the stay of the Courlanders in the River. Their story however is brightened by the heroic fight for survival put up by the Duke's principal Agent, Otto Stiel. Indeed amongst all the gallant company of that most valuable class of human beings, 'the man in the spot,' Otto Stiel must surely rank second to none. The book is packed with interesting characters. In those far-off days, when in far-off climes, men often had nothing but their courage to cling to. And if Jobson is remembered for his charm and humanity, Otto Stiel stays in the mind as a man who never succeeded—yet never failed.

The English seized the Courlanders' settlement in 1661. It was an island in the River and they renamed it St. James's Island in honour of Duke James, the brother of their King. Thereafter their dearest rivals would be the French who established a base (Albreda) on the mainland opposite the Island. All the principal European traders, French, English and Dutch, would gladly have come to a gentleman's agreement (and often did) in despite of the wars of their respective governments. But intermittent enmity between French and English was doomed to last until the close of the Napoleonic wars. And by that time St. James's Island 'had played the part of a shuttlecock between the two nations, being five times in a century captured by the French and recaptured by the English.'

The reader will be wondering how, in all this time, the Gambians themselves were faring. It is worth remembering that none of these European traders came as conquerors or wished to be considered in that light. Trade was their object, and to promote their trade they tried to be on good terms with the native Chiefs. The Chiefs, alas, had no indignation at the fate of their fellow-countrymen who were sold into slavery. They were, in fact, the principal sellers. Indeed, the slave trade was so sure a source of profit that they seized on any petty pretext for selling a man into slavery. Francis Moore, that writer to the Royal African Company to whom reference has already been made, records how a man was brought to him 'to

be sold for having stolen a tobacco-pipe.' European traders, it is clear, did not bring slavery to the Gambia. Domestic slavery was an age-old institution in the Gambia as in all other parts of Africa. Their crime was rather that they exported slaves. Gambians or at any rate one of them—a Pholey—speaks of the plantations to which slaves were sent in words that strangely echo Hamlet: 'I was gone to a land from which no Pholey ever yet returned.'

The end of the Napoleonic wars not only saw the British finally established on St. James's Island. It also saw them, in 1807, abolish the slave trade in their dominions. Other nations, however, continued the trade and it was to put an end to this in the Gambia that Bathurst, the present capital, was constructed at the mouth of the River. After 1816, we are told, no foreign slaver, seeking to slip out of the river, ever escaped the vigilance of the shore batteries or the patrol ships of the Royal Navy. Bathurst appears in these pages as a very unusual kind of capital. No large houses. No hotel. But a place where music may be encountered at any corner because the Chiefs 'have retinues of musicians called "griots" . . . wherever they go.' And 'if a Mandingo Chief comes to Bathurst, the griots wait outside the shop or any other place he may visit and make melody.' A most interesting chapter is devoted to Bathurst as it was seen by contemporaries in the nineteenth century. It reminds one much of Thackeray but space is running out and there is no time to quote.

The building of Bathurst and its batteries did not consolidate the position of the British in the River. Rather did the reverse become true because the Home Government, for reasons of its own, thereafter lost interest in the settlement. It would not protect its own traders. It would not spend money on them. Least of all would it extend British protection to local Chiefs even when, as during the fanatical Marabout-Soninké tribal wars, the Governor was bombarded with 'missives in Arabic and bad English from Marabouts and Soninkés alike imploring him to take over their land or to place them under British protection . . .' More than once it put the area under the disadvantages of long distance rule from Sierra Leone. For ten years it brought everything to a standstill by dallying with an offer from France to give us some posts on the Ivory Coast in exchange for the Gambia. As a result of this it was decided that British and French spheres should be defined. But this was a most unfortunate hour for the Gambia. To quote Sir Thomas Southorn, the former Governor:

"Great Britain was restricted to the areas over which it was exercising *de facto* influence and surrendered to the French a vast hinterland extending on both sides of the river to the head waters of the Gambia, a hinterland to which we had at one time a better claim than the French and

without which the Gambia and the Protectorate become a geographic and economic absurdity. The boundaries . . . leave the Gambia a narrow enclave in French territory."

A geographic and economic absurdity—I suppose any country whose territory consisted of a strip of land along a river must be a geographic absurdity. And yet it is such a River and in the nature of things, such a tremendous influence in the lives of the Gambians. Consider their traits which are the most characteristic. Over and over again we are given instances which show that they are kind, lazy, tolerant, courteous, graceful, resigned—all qualities which seem reflected in a river.

But of course it is a serious thing for the Gambia that it should be an economic absurdity. Confined within very narrow limits it is entirely dependent on an agricultural economy. Ground-nuts, as has already been mentioned, are the chief product and export, the sandy soil being specially suited for their cultivation. But no economy should be dependent on one cash crop and it is the aim of every Governor—as it is of every Chief—to encourage the cultivation of other food-stuffs. (Listen to a Chief making a speech at the Governor's palaver: 'All that Your Excellency has said is true. Good comes out of evil when the traders refuse to give credit. First of all the people grow angry, then they grow more food-stuffs. When we are in debt we are slaves . . . This year we are very happy. We planted koos, fruits, tomatoes, sweet peppers, onions and many other vegetables and grains. The food stores are full. The young men should work on the farms in their own District and not go away to the town to work. If boys and young men work on their parents' farm there will be rows of koos and we will always have enough food. We will have profits from two crops—groundnuts to sell and foodstuffs to eat.')

The British Government has tardily become awake to its responsibilities and is using the Colonial Development and Welfare Act to help in the development of the Gambia. But as yet their schemes have been too grandiose and the results are disappointing. Thus an ambitious scheme was launched for the development of 23,000 acres under rice at an estimated cost of £1,115,000. After £300,000 has been spent on irrigation the projected area has had to be reduced to 4,250 acres and the trial farming of 500 acres has resulted in serious losses. It is the same with a Fishery Scheme. This also was launched on a huge scale, without a tentative trial on a smaller basis, and resulted in a loss of over £500,000. And it is hardly necessary to recall the Poultry Scheme—the mis-management of those eggs stinks to Heaven! We were promised 20,000,000 eggs and 1,000,000 dressed chickens. And all that was produced was less than 40,000 eggs.

Husbandry, mass inoculations against H.S. and rinderpest have shown substantial results. Pedigree bulls are being used for artificial insemination at the Veterinary Centre. Barseem is being extensively grown as an improved variety of fodder. Public health has improved as a result of anti-malaria and anti-scurvy treatment on a large scale. Small-pox, cholera and plague inoculations have proved beneficial. A few hand-pumps have been installed at Government expense for providing healthy drinking water. Voluntary effort and enthusiasm of the villagers have been tapped for constructing about 50 miles of inter-village roads in the area. Village lanes have been widened and made pucca with bricks manufactured in the Co-operative kilns. Seven primary school buildings have been erected by the villagers themselves through voluntary contributions in cash, kind or manual labour. There are about 40 adult education centres in the Project area and the chorus key-word method is followed in these night classes. Folk music and folk-dramas are being encouraged. Village fairs are occasionally organised for educating the adults in the rural reconstruction programme. Village participation in the Project is encouraged through the organisation and encouragement of village panchayats and co-operative societies. There is a Central Information Centre and a Library at Mahewa. A fortnightly magazine *Mandir Se* containing useful information for the villagers is published by the Government. A system of circulating libraries with 50 steel boxes is also being practised. There is a Training Centre at Lakhna for preparing village level workers.

These, in short, are the main achievements of the Etawah Pilot Project. Let us now deal with the other side of the picture. Firstly, the scheme is very expensive. The average yearly expenditure of recurring nature on the Pilot Project is about 2.5 lakhs of rupees. No less than 125 persons from the District Planning Officer down to the Gram-sewaks are employed exclusively in the Etawah Project. So far a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs and 11 thousand has been spent on the Pilot scheme during the last three years. When Mr. Mayer was asked about the period for which such expenditure and staff will have to continue the reply was: "For ever and ever." The Draft Outline of the Community Projects envisaged in the Five-year Plan also provides for an expenditure of 65 lakhs of rupees for a 'basic' project and Rs. 111 lakhs for a 'composite' project during a period of three years. About 50 per cent of this expenditure is supposed to be a loan, but it is very doubtful whether it will at all be possible to recover this amount from the villagers. If the whole of the country is to be covered under this scheme of Community Projects on the model of Etawah, we will require Rs. 1,000 crores for the purpose. The villagers will have to find an equivalent amount as their own contribution either in cash or in

kind or in the form of voluntary labour. The figures are, indeed, staggering, and it is very uncertain whether India will be in a position to expend this huge amount of its meagre resources. Too much dependence on foreign help is also not a very wise proposition. Instead of having a few 'purple patches' in the country, it is therefore, better to have less ambitious schemes and allow a larger number of villages to reap the benefits of the Community Projects.

Secondly, the Etawah Project does not attach adequate importance to the basic problem of providing full employment to the people. Its main interest has so far been agricultural. While the improvement of agriculture is, undoubtedly, important, the organisation of cottage and village industries as subsidiary occupations cannot be over-emphasised. Except for the starting of several brick-kilns in the area, no substantial work has been done in Etawah in this direction. I have suggested to the authorities concerned that small-scale and village industries like ghee-making, oil-pressing, handloom-weaving, gur-making and leather-work could be and should be encouraged in the Project area. The problem of unemployment and under-employment stares the Government in the face at Nilokheri and Faridabad also. I had the opportunity of visiting all these Townships during the last month. Unless the Government devotes more attention to the establishment of cottage industries with labour-absorbing rather than labour-saving machinery, it will be well-nigh impossible to liquidate unemployment from the rural areas. We are all for efficiency; but mere mechanical efficiency is not desirable. What we should aim at is "economic efficiency" which combines maximum production with maximum employment.

The third glaring defect of the Etawah Project is its neglect of primary education. I was surprised to find that all the elementary schools in the area are being run on the old lines of academic and literary education. It is no use educating the adults in rural reconstruction work when their children, who will be the citizens of tomorrow, are being trained for 'Babuship' in the cities. If the Community Projects like that of Etawah are to succeed on a lasting basis, it is essential to introduce Basic Education in the compact areas at least, without further delay. Basic Education of the Sampurnanand brand will not do. It is very different from the type of craft-centred education visualised by Mahatma Gandhi. In Nilokheri also, where a Training Camp for Community Project workers is going to be held shortly, there is no trace of Basic Education. Without overhauling the entire system of existing education, which is too bookish, all our high-sounding schemes of national reconstruction would come to grief.

The problem of land redistribution has also not been tackled in Etawah. This is the fourth short-

coming. There is poignant land-hunger in our country today, and it has to be satisfied at the earliest opportunity. Acharya Vinoba Bhave has shown us the way. Suitable legislation can be enacted to facilitate transfers of land. Experience in China, Japan and several European countries has demonstrated the efficiency of small-scale farming. No hasty attempts should, therefore, be made to pool the land into large scale farms either on individual or co-operative basis. There can be ample scope for co-operative effort even under peasant proprietorship. More emphasis should be laid on compost manuring and the use of artificial

fertilisers should be reduced to the minimum. This aspect also requires special attention in Etawah.

It is unnecessary to multiply other points in favour or against the Etawah Project. We have to approach this task in a spirit of constructive criticism. I have invited Mr. Mayer and Mr. Dey the Administrator of the Community Projects, to visit Wardha and Sewagram and study the Gandhian institutions as well. Gandhiji devoted a major portion of his life to the problems of village reconstruction and we will neglect his fundamental ideas of rural welfare at our great peril.

THE GAMBIA

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

The Gambia—the oldest British settlement on the West Coast of Africa—is the subject of a book* just published, written by Lady Southorn whose husband, Sir Thomas Southorn, was for five and a half years the Governor of the Colony. The history of the Colony is traced from the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese were the first European traders to enter the river, down to the present day.

Lady Southorn has written a book of quite exceptional charm. She has genuine love and admiration for the people and place. She does not write *de haut en bas*. 'In looking at Africa one should put on African spectacles first.' Through her eyes, in the few hours traffic of her pages, the Gambian scene materialises. It is a fascinating picture. For, in these days of easy communications and an ever-shrinking world, the peoples of the Gambia remain entirely unsophisticated. It reminds one of the Forest of Arden—was one comment I heard on this book. Certainly the Gambians, or the men at all events, have one great thing in common with the royal exiles of Shakespeare's play who loved to 'fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world.' They too love to sit for hours gossiping in the shade. In every village, beneath a huge locust bean or silk-cotton tree, a wooden platform known as the *bantaba* is erected expressly for this purpose.

The Colony takes its name from the river—the Gambia. Its source is in the Futa Jallon Mountains in French Guinea and it flows for a thousand miles to the Atlantic. Only the last three hundred miles comprise the Colony (or rather the Colony and the Protectorate which together are The Gambia). At its mouth it is twenty-seven miles across. But eighteen

miles above, at Bathurst, the capital, it narrows to about two and a half miles. Along these three hundred miles, on either bank, only a strip of land varying from seven to fifteen miles in width is included. So that in very truth, as the writer points out, the river dominates the Colony. Like the Thames, it is 'liquid history.'

In *The Gambia* authentic history begins with the arrival of the Portuguese in the middle of the fifteenth century. Their famous Prince, Henry the Navigator, sent several expeditions to the Western Coast of Africa. It was the spring time of the world when exploration was in the air—and when so many explorers had not only a great zest for adventure but a great gift for describing what they saw. Such a one was Cadamosto, a Venetian in the service of Prince Henry, who visited the river in 1455 and again the following year. In the account which he left of his two voyages the peoples of the Gambia first come into view. The extracts quoted by Lady Southorn make us long to know more. Already the Gambians show that engaging simplicity which is so characteristic of them at the present day. They marvelled at his ship and said 'they were of opinion that the portholes in the bows were really eyes by which the ships saw whither they were going over the sea.'

Portuguese ascendancy did not survive for long in the River. But many strands in Gambian history go back to them. They began the quest for rumoured gold—a quest which would not be abandoned until the eighteenth century. They originated the tragic and terrible slave trade. They introduced from Brazil the groundnut, which today represents 96 to 98 per cent of the total export of the Gambia. They have greatly influenced the language. Nearly three hundred years after their arrival, Francis Moore, a writer, employed by the Royal African Company, was to speak of

* *The Gambia: The Story of the Groundnut Colony* by Lady Southorn, O.B.E. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 21s.

Of all these schemes, there is only one comment to make. We should consider a proverb prevalent in the Gambia: 'Softly softly catch a monkey.' We might also pay more attention to the man on the spot. Generations of Governors, for instance, have wished that there were money to pay for the drainage of Bathurst. The Home Government has haggled for years. In 1939 it would have cost half a million pounds. Why could we not have begun with this?

And here we must leave this book on the Gambia. It has not been possible to deal with it in all its aspects. An important omission, for instance, is the very interesting kind of self-government which is growing up in the Protectorate. The reader

will seek it out for himself. Another important omission—and this time on the part of the publishers—is that there should be so few photographs. One longs for some really good pictures of the River and its inhabitants, human and otherwise.

For anyone interested in Colonial life, and its development towards self-government, this book can be recommended, written, as it is, from the point of view of one who loves the people and the place. It is all the more useful in that it does not gloss over the mistakes that have been made, but points out how these can be avoided in the future. Would that all Governors and their wives had the same attitude towards the people that they govern.

Westminster, London, July, 1952

—G:—

INDEPENDENCE DAY

By PROF. NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

IN describing the significance of the Independence Day, I shall try to relate the role played by Mahatma Gandhi in relation to India's struggle for political emancipation. This is however a subject with which the present generation of men and women in India are so closely bound that one finds it difficult to view the matter with as much detachment as one would wish to. The memory of the trials and sufferings through which the nation has passed, the comrades whom we have lost, the many unnamed men and women of India who laid down their lives in one way or another in course of the long, though interrupted, struggle for independence, touches our emotion in a manner which naturally prejudices a critical understanding of the series of events which eventually led to the emancipation of an ancient people from political subjugation. Yet, I shall make an endeavour to present the salient features and the objectives of our recent political history in an impersonal manner, as far as possible.

One of the most significant events in the recent past was the defeat of Russia in the hands of the Japanese in 1905. This unexpected event stirred the heart of India and raised a new hope and confidence in the mind of the educated classes of our country. Many began to feel that we should follow in the footsteps of Japan, and incorporate such elements from the civilisation of the West as had given strength to the Japanese to struggle successfully against a first-class European power. The history of Italian emancipation, the story of anarchist movements in Ireland and Czarist Russia were all read with avidity, and their lessons were put into practice wherever it was found possible.

In the meanwhile, a second section of educated India looked upon our relations with the English people in a somewhat different light. These Liberals, or Moderates as they began to be popularly called, felt that India was largely to blame herself for the loss of her freedom. They, therefore, interested themselves generally in political education, and advocated the use of purely constitutional agitational methods for the redress of political wrongs.

It is however well to remind ourselves that except for a vague feeling of injury, against which the common people reacted from time to time in a violent manner, the latter were generally not interested in the feelings or passions which swept the heart of the educated and politically conscious classes of India. Higher education being given solely through the medium of the English language, a division had been created between the educated and the uneducated in our land which may appear amazing to any visitor from other countries. As a consequence of this, the Santal Insurrection of 1855-57, the numerous Munda risings in Chotanagpur in the 19th century, and even the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, did not evoke any sympathy or co-operation from among the upper and middle classes of our land, just as the political feelings of the latter hardly created a stir among their less fortunate rural countrymen in later times.

The first achievement of Mahatma Gandhi in 1921 was that he succeeded in bridging this gulf which divided the educated from the uneducated, or, as we may also put it, between the towns and the villages of India. The villages began to occupy a place in our political consciousness which they had never done before.

There was a second element in Gandhiji's line of action to which attention may profitably be drawn at the present stage. Gandhiji always tried to act through an existing democratic organisation instead of trying to found a political organisation of his own. As a result, when Gandhiji virtually took charge of the Congress and converted it from an instrument of agitation to one of direct collective action, the Liberals left its fold and the organisation passed into the hands of those who wanted to gain Swaraj, not by constitutional means, but by the methods with which Gandhiji made the country familiar.

It should however be noted that the meaning which Gandhiji attached to the term Swaraj or self-rule was not quite the same which others belonging to the Congress generally attached to it. Ever since the year 1909, when Gandhiji defined his political credo in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule*, he held that true freedom was to mean the freedom of "the agriculturists and working classes" of a country. His logic of non-violence was a very simple one. It was his firm conviction that if violence was employed successfully in the solution of any particular problem, it always resulted from the centralization of authority to a greater or less extent. A successful violent revolution therefore concentrated power in a few hands; and consequently made that class separate from the rest of the people, who were to play no more than a passive role in the revolution. At best, they were to be active only at particular moments, and slip into an obedience which was often blind, at other times.

His endeavour, therefore, was to fashion a tool of collective action by means of which even unarmed men and women could assert their will against mighty forces, provided their cause was just. Satyagraha was Gandhiji's substitute for war for the effective solution of various forms of human conflicts. We may recall in this connection that Gandhiji's model civil resister was the hero Prahlad of Indian mythology. He also referred to Jesus Christ on several occasions as the prince of passive resisters. Thoreau's writings as well as those of Tolstoy helped him in no small measure in strengthening his faith in non-violent resistance. Gandhiji's special genius was that he fashioned a tool of collective action meant for common people, from something which had so long been exclusively used on a personal scale by perfect or nearly perfect individuals.

In any case, it is significant that even when Gandhi functioned as the supreme leader of the Indian nation, many neither subscribed to his ideas about the content of freedom, nor to his faith in the need on effectiveness of non-violence. Yet they gave him allegiance because he stood as a symbol of the struggle for India's freedom against British subordination.

Thus Gandhi led the battle of Indian freedom for over quarter of a century. Like a good general, he always tried to keep the initiative on his own side. Sometimes Gandhi carried the war into the enemy's camp, sometimes he retreated in order to consolidate gains or to prepare the ground for a fresh advance. But it is a great tribute to the moral quality of his leadership, that Gandhi held firmly to the belief that a good end could never be served by indifferent means. As a consequence, he sometimes took political decision against the advice of his close associates. Yet, whether alone or in company, Gandhi tried to remain true to his two fundamentals of truth and non-violence.

Another tribute to Gandhi's leadership is supplied by the fact that although the Indian nation struggled hard and long against the British, there is less bitterness today, when the war is ended, than has ever been the case anywhere else in history. This has obviously been the result of a more-or-less non-violent attitude which the nation succeeded in maintaining under her great general.

India won her way to a peaceful transfer of power in 1947. We cannot say that all went well all along the way. The country was torn by communal riots; her trusted national representatives dared not go the whole way with Gandhi in his implications of non-violence. Yet, we did succeed in winning our freedom with less hatred, less bloodshed and within lesser time than has generally been the case with other nations.

It is our duty to recall at this stage the fact that independence came not as a result of the Gandhian movement alone, but as the combined effect of many forces, several of which were not of our own making. The British Empire had been considerably weakened by World War II. The revolt of the Indian National Army of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose inspired a large section of the Indian armed and naval forces with a strong sentiment of nationalism; and thus the dependence of Britain on native forces for the maintenance of the Empire was rendered precarious. It is also true that European troops could not be drafted for this purpose at home, after six years of exhausting warfare. All these helped the cause of Indian freedom considerably. Yet it cannot be claimed that these by themselves were enough for bringing about the political emancipation of the land. The stern revolt of the Indian National Congress in August, 1942, at a stage when she was completely misunderstood by the Allied powers, was a very great factor in steeling the heart of the nation in the latter stages of the war. The practice of revolt through which India had progressively been led from 1921 to 1942, along with the fact that her attitude was more or less of a non-violent character, touched a chord of sympathy in the hearts of the labouring classes of England; and when this was joined with the factors mentioned above, it led to

a victory of the nationalist cause which stands almost unique in the history of the contemporary world.

On and about the 15th of August, 1947, when the transference of power took place, Gandhi happened to be in this very city of Calcutta. He was then on his way to East Pakistan, on a mission which was peculiarly his own. Gandhi felt that the freedom which had come to India fell far short of his ideal of Swaraj. It was undoubtedly a step in that direction; but the complete freedom of the "agriculturists and working classes" from all forms of economic, social and political bondage seemed to him to be yet a long way off. And it was in order to prepare the ground for that freedom that he wanted to dedicate himself as soon as he found nationalist India in the enjoyment of political emancipation.

I remember that on the historic 15th of August in 1947, while Gandhi had encamped in one portion of riot-affected Calcutta, he prepared himself for the day's task with a fast and a prayer. When the report of rejoicings was brought to him, he said that he was not lifted off his feet by them, for all round him he found people dying of hunger, and suffering from the want of even the bare necessities of life. He wanted us all to dedicate ourselves to the upliftment of the common people by a decentralization of industry and by a diffusion of political strength and power through the organization of non-violence. For, he held, it was only thus that we could prepare ourselves for playing our rightful part in the world's comity of nations.

If India stands for equality and justice, for complete freedom from all forms of exploitation within her own territory only then can she, by brave self-dedication, bring about peace between warring sections of our common human family, with regard to economic freedom. Gandhi once said that the ideal, when men will no longer suffer from want of food or clothing or from the ability to get enough work when they wish to, can only be "universally realized if the means of production of the elementary necessities of life remain in the control of the masses. Their monopolization by any country, nation or group of persons would be unjust. The neglect of this simple principle is the cause of the destruction that we witness today not only in this unhappy land but in other parts of the world too."

On this auspicious day, when Gandhi is no longer with us, let us recall the words which inspired him one day, and let us work strenuously for the Swaraj which was his dream.

Gandhi was indeed an internationalist in his political outlook. In 1924, he wrote:

"Isolated independence is not the goal of the world States. It is voluntary interdependence."

He also said:

"There is no limit to extending our services to

our neighbours across State-made frontiers. God never made those frontiers."

Gandhi also firmly held that the true emancipation of the common people all over the world could only come when they became perfect in the use of the instrument of non-violent warfare. That is why he wrote as long ago as 1925 that "fundamentally the disease" appears to be "the same in Europe as in India, in spite of the fact, that in the former country the people enjoy political self-government."

"No mere transference of political power in India," he wrote, "will satisfy my ambition, even though I hold such transference to be a vital necessity of Indian national life. The people of Europe have no doubt political power but no Swaraj. Asian and African races are exploited for their partial benefit, and they, on their part, are exploited by the ruling class or caste under the sacred name of democracy. . . ."

"Violence on the part of the masses will never remove the disease. It has led to greater violence. It seems to me, therefore, that sooner or later, the European masses will have to take to non-violence if they are to find their deliverance. That there is no hope of their taking it in a body and at once does not baffle me," he wrote. And in spite of his love and faith in the common people of India, he wrote then, perhaps with a touch of sorrow, "It may even be that what seems to me to be so natural and feasible in India, may take longer to permeate the inert Indian masses than the active European masses."

Let us end now by recalling what Gandhi held to be India's political aim and true meaning of freedom as he understood it. In this city of Calcutta, in a hall built by the Young Men's Christian Association, Gandhi defined the meaning of Indian Independence in course of a speech which he delivered in September, 1925. In it, he said:

"We want freedom for our country, but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries. For my own part, I do not want the freedom of India if it means the extinction of England or the disappearance of Englishmen. I want freedom of my country so that the resources of my country might be utilised for the benefit of mankind. Just as the cult of patriotism teaches us today that the individual has to die for the family, the family has to die for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province, and the province for the country, even so a country has to be free in order that it may die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world. My love of nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole country may die, so that the human races may live. There is no room for race hatred here. Let that be our nationalism."

*An address delivered at the United States Information Service on August, 13th, 1952.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA

A Forgotten Chapter of our National History

By NAGENDRA KUMAR GUHA ROY

The contribution of Surendra Nath Banerjea towards nation-making is ever memorable in our national history. This popular leader was at a time called a high priest of Indian nationalism. In the days of Anti-Partition and Swadeshi Movement his popularity reached its climax and his countrymen used to call him the "Uncrowned King of Bengal." He was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress. In course of the last sixty years since the foundation of the Congress, the Bengalis had the proud privilege of adorning the presidential chair of the great National organisation on as many as fifteen occasions. Surendra Nath had the good fortune of being elected President twice—once in 1895 in the eleventh session of the Congress at Poona and for the second time in 1902 in its eighteenth session held at Ahmedabad.

After passing the I.C.S. Examination he started his service career as an Assistant Magistrate of Sylhet. Due to the machinations of Mr. H. C. Sutherland, an Anglo-Indian I.C.S., the then District Magistrate of Sylhet, whose mind was corrupt with racial hatred, Surendra Nath Banerjea had, in the fourth year of his service, been unjustly removed from the Indian Civil Service. This removal ultimately proved beneficial to the national cause. Had his service life under an alien Government not ended at an early stage and had he not been removed from the coveted 'heaven-born' service, the nation could not find in the days to come Surendra Nath as an orator of all-India fame, a high priest of Indian Nationalism, a fearless leader of the people and a journalist of high order and an ideal educationist.

After his removal from the Indian Civil Service Surendra Nath devoted himself to the service of his motherland and his countrymen. At that time the country was politically backward. Political consciousness was not roused extensively even among the intelligentsia. He realised that the Press would be the proper medium for making the educated class of the people progressive and politically conscious and in the matter of forming and regulating public opinion. He selected the platform also as one of the means to achieve this great end. The writings and speeches of Surendra Nath were such as would create an impression in the minds of the readers and listeners that his pen and voice had the blessings of Banee, the Goddess of learning.

He started an English weekly, periodical under the name and style of *The Bengalee*. After a few years this paper was converted into a first class daily and under the able editorship of Surendra Nath Banerjea it earned the reputation for its fearless espousal of the people's cause. While editing his weekly paper *The Bengalee* Surendra Nath was prosecuted on a charge of contempt of court and sentenced to simple imprisonment. In this article we shall narrate the story of his prosecution and

imprisonment and its subsequent reaction upon our national life and cause. Surendra Nath in his autobiography *A Nation in Making* while relating this story has, at the outset, written:

"The next incident in my journalistic career that I think should be placed on record is the contempt case, for which I was sent to prison for two months. I claim the honour (for such I deem it) of being the first Indian of my generation who suffered imprisonment in the discharge of public duty. The Swarajists now make imprisonment a qualification for public service. Well, I claim that I possess it, even from their standpoint, and that I was qualified long before any of them."

In the year 1883 after nine years of his removal from the Indian Civil Service he was involved in this contempt of court case which became famous in the annals of our nation. At that time Mr. John Freeman Norris, an Englishman, was a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. Holding the office of a Judge in the highest tribunal of the land Mr. Norris took a prominent part in the "Ilbert Bill" controversy and this was considered by the public as unbecoming of his exalted position and thus he was lowered in the estimation of the public.

During the trial of a suit in the court of Mr. Justice Norris an order was passed by him directing one of the parties in the suit to bring a *Salagram* (a stone idol) in the court. Accordingly, on the appointed day the idol in question was brought in the court compound. The Judge thought it necessary to personally examine the idol for ascertaining whether it was a hundred years old and whether that was the identical idol. This fact was published in the now defunct *Brahmo Public Opinion*, an influential weekly organ, published in English language from Calcutta. The late Mr. Bhuban Mohan Das, a well-known solicitor of the Calcutta High Court and father of the late Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, was the editor of the paper. As no contradiction appeared Surendra Nath accepted the version as fully correct especially in view of the fact that the editor of the paper being a solicitor and an officer of the court might be thoroughly aware of what happened there. He reproduced in his paper *The Bengalee* in its issue of the 28th April 1883 the substance of the news as appeared in the *Brahmo Public Opinion* and commented upon it. The alleged contempt of court was contained in the following article:

"The Judges of the High Court have hitherto commanded the universal respect of the community. Of course, they have often erred and often grievously failed in the performance of their duties; but their errors have hardly ever been due to impulsiveness or to the neglect of the commonest considerations of prudence or decency. We have now, however, amongst us a Judge who, if he does not actually recall to mind the days of Jeffreys and Scroggs, has certainly done enough within the short time that he has filled the

High Court Bench to show how unworthy he is of his high office, and how by nature he is unfitted to maintain those traditions of dignity, which are inseparable from the office of the Judge of the highest court in the land. From time to time we have in these columns adverted to the proceedings of Mr. Justice Norris, but the climax has now been reached, and we venture to call attention to the facts, as they have been reported in the columns of a contemporary. The *Brahmo Public Opinion* is our authority, and the facts stated are as follows:

"Mr. Justice Norris is determined to set the Hugli on fire. The last act of 'Zubberdusti' on his Lordship's part was the bringing of a Salgram (a stone idol) into court for identification. There have been very many cases both in the late Supreme Court and the present High Court of Calcutta regarding the custody of Hindu idols, but the presiding deity of a Hindu household has never before this had the honour of being dragged into Court. Our Calcutta Daniel looked at the idol and said it could not be a hundred years old. So Mr. Justice Norris is not only versed in Law and Medicine but also connoisseur of Hindu idols. It is difficult to say what he is not. Whether the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta will tamely submit to their family idols being dragged into court is a matter for them to decide, but it does seem to us that some public steps should be taken to put a quietus to the wild eccentricities of this young and raw dispenser of Justice."

On the 3rd May, i.e., within five days after the publication of the offending leaderette Surendra Nath Banerjee, editor and proprietor of *The Bengalee*, (together with its printer and publisher, Ram Kumar De) was served with a rule calling upon him to show cause on the day following why he should not be committed to prison or otherwise dealt with according to law for contempt of court, in his having published the above article, containing contemptuous and defamatory matters concerning Mr. Justice Norris. The time was very short and he found it difficult to arrange proper defence as he could not get any barrister to take up the brief on his behalf. Mr. Monomohan Ghosh, Barrister, was then ill and confined to bed. He then approached Mr. W. C. Bonerjee, Barrister, who at last agreed to defend him but on the distinct understanding that he should apologise and withdraw the reflections he had made in his editorial comment upon Mr. Justice Norris. He readily consented to the proposal, as he realised that the comparison, which he made in the incriminating leaderette between the Judge and Scroggs and Jeffreys, was unfair and unjustified and was written in a moment of heat and indignation.

It subsequently transpired at the time of trial of the contempt case that the orders passed by the Judge directing a party in the suit to bring the idol in the court compound was quite justified under the circumstances. It was suggested by the counsel on both sides that the idol should be brought into the court for the purpose of identification. Despite that suggestion Mr. Justice Norris hesitated to follow that course. He then enquired from the attorneys on either side, who were Hindus, whether there would be any objection to the

idol being brought into court. Though the Hon'ble Judge was told by them that there was no reason to object to the idol being brought into court, still he asked Gouri Kanta Burman, the representative of the plaintiff present in court to give his opinion in the matter. Gouri Kanta submitted to the Hon'ble Court that the idol could not be brought into court as the floor was covered with coir matting; but it could be brought into the courtyard of the court without any objection. In spite of this favourable opinion Mr. Justice Norris sent for his interpreter Benimadhab Mukherjee, a senior officer and a highly respectable Brahmin. He expressed his full agreement with Gouri Kanta's views. After that the idol was brought into the courtyard.

The contempt case was heard on the 4th May, 1883 before the Full Bench consisting of Chief Justice Sir Richard Garth, Justices Cunningham, McDonell, Norris & Romes Chunder Mitter. Surendra Nath and Ram Kumar De personally appeared in court and submitted written statements. Surendra Nath took upon himself the full responsibility of the charges against him and withdrew the observations against Mr. Justice Norris and tendered apology to the court. It was stated inter alia in the sixth para of his written statement that he had no personal knowledge whatsoever about Mr. Justice Norris and that he was simply guided by the ideal of doing public good. The hearing of the case was concluded on that very day and the next day, i.e., fifth of May was fixed for delivery of judgment. Both the editor and the printer had to furnish two sureties for Rs. 5,000 each for their appearance in court next day and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, Barrister, and Jogesh Chandra Dutt, a Municipal Commissioner, stood sureties for both.

At that time Surendra Nath used to reside in his house at Manirampur (Barrackpur) and his paper *The Bengalee* used to be published from 33 Neogypukur East Lane, Calcutta. On the 5th May while leaving his country house he came prepared for going to jail and brought with him beddings and other necessary articles and some books he wanted to read during his enforced leisure. He told his wife the possibility of his imprisonment and took leave of her.

Surendra Nath appeared in court at about 10-30 A.M. and Ram Kumar De, printer also put in his appearance just in time. It appears from the detailed description given in his autobiography *A Nation in Making* that long before the Judges took their seats in court, the courtroom, corridors and courtyards and the adjoining streets were crowded with people who were awaiting the pronouncement of judgment. The students of Calcutta formed the majority of the huge crowd that gathered. A large body of Police, both European and Indian, were in attendance there long before the Judges took their seats. At half past eleven the five Judges took their seats. Signs of excitement and uneasiness were visible among the crowd that gathered both inside and outside the court. There

was concurrence among the Judges with respect to the finding they arrived at. But Mr. Justice R. C. Mitter could not agree with other judges in the matter of punishment. He insisted upon fine only following the precedents created by two previous cases of similar nature. Under such circumstances the decision of the majority of the judges would, according to law, prevail. The Chief Justice read out in court the judgment of the concurring Judges and Justice Mitter read out his dissenting judgment.

Below is quoted the last portion of the concurrent judgment:

"We feel that it is absolutely necessary to vindicate and maintain the authority of the Court, and to guard against the repetition of the grave offence which you have committed, by imposing upon you not a fine, which in your case would be mere nominal penalty, but a substantial punishment as may serve as a wholesome warning to yourself and others.

"The Court's order is that you be imprisoned on the civil side of the Presidency Jail for the space of two months."

Ram Kumar De, printer and publisher, was discharged.

Justice Mitter stated in his judgment why he was in favour of a sentence of fine only instead of that of imprisonment. It appears from his judgment that there had been in that court two cases of similar nature. In the first case no sentence was awarded as the accused tendered an apology. Mr. Tayler, the then editor of the *Englishman*, was the accused in the second case. In the present case the accused at the very beginning admitted their guilt and expressed deep regret; but in the case of the *Englishman* Mr. Tayler, who committed similar offence by publishing a libel against Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitra, did not do that. He was convicted and sentenced to be committed for one month to the civil side of the Presidency Jail and to pay a fine of Rs. 500. The above order was passed on the 24th April 1869 and on the 27th April following Mr. Tayler made a suitable apology which was published in the *Englishman* of that date. Thereafter he was released the remaining term of his imprisonment having been remitted. The sentence of fine was not altered. The concluding portion of the judgment of Mr. Justice Mitter is given below:

"I have gone into these details, because it seems to me that in determining the amount of punishment to be inflicted on Surendra Nath Banerjee, we should take these cases as our guide. The complexion of guilt in the case of Mr. Tayler is certainly not of a lighter character than that of Surendra Nath Banerjee.

"On the question of punishment, therefore I should have been inclined to adopt the course which was adopted in these cases."

Surendra Nath writes in his Autobiography that on the day preceding the announcement of judgment the Chief Justice had seen Justice Mitter in his private residence and tried to convince him of the propriety of a sentence of imprisonment. But the latter could not

find any grounds for changing his decision to which he stuck.

What happened immediately after the pronouncement of judgment has been described vividly in his Autobiography by Surendra Nath in his inimitable style and language. A portion of this description is reproduced below:

"I was in Court by half past ten. The Court premises and the environments were swarming with a surging crowd; and a large body of Police, European and Indian, were in attendance. The student community had mustered in strong force, and among them I noticed some who rose to high distinction as servants of the Crown. In the demonstration that followed the passing of sentence they took a leading part in a fashion common among young men all over the world, smashing windows and pelting police with stones. One of those rowdy youths was Ashutosh Mukherjee, subsequently so well known as a Judge of the High Court and as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University."

The prison van was at the court gate ready to convey Surendra Nath to the jail, but in view of the excited attitude of the surging crowd, that gathered in the court premises and the environments and in the adjoining streets, he was conveyed in a private carriage leaving the court by the Judges' entrance and was taken by a round-about way to the Presidency Jail.

Mr. Larymore, an Irishman, was Jail Superintendent. Surendra Nath was known to him from before as both of them worked together as Municipal Commissioners sitting round the same table. Mr. Laryman gave him comfortable quarters in the upper storey of the Civil Jail. His friend Mr. B. L. Gupta (Beharilal Gupta), I.C.S., who was then Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, called on him the same afternoon to express his sympathy and to make him comfortable so far as lay in Mr. Gupta's power. It may be mentioned here that Surendra Nath sailed for England on March 3, 1868 with Romes Chandra Dutt and Behari Lal Gupta and all the three passed Open Competitive Examination for Indian Civil Service in 1869. A semi-official newspaper made adverse comment against Mr. B. L. Gupta for such an open expression of sympathy. But an Indian I.C.S. Officer of his calibre did not feel worried at all due to such criticism. Mr. Gupta's efficiency and merit made his official career a great success. He was elevated to the High Court Bench and also became the Dewan (Chief Minister) of an Indian State.

Surendra Nath was allowed to receive visitors in jail every day and they were counted by scores. Letters and telegrams from sympathisers in different parts of India were received by him daily and they were so numerous that, the Jail Superintendent told him, he had to employ a special messenger for the purpose. Surendra Nath's wife once came to see him in jail escorted by Mr. Robert Knight, Editor of the *Statesman* who was held in high esteem by Surendra Nath and other patriotic Indians of his time for his sincere sympathy with the legitimate political aspirations of the Indians. To express his veneration for Robert Knight Surendra Nath has

termed him as "Venerable" in his Autobiography while mentioning his name. He writes :

"My wife came to see me escorted by the Venerable Robert Knight, Editor of the *Statesman*. The *Statesman* wrote a series of articles condemning the sentence of imprisonment passed on me. The *Statesman* valiantly championed the cause of right and justice, and the Indian Public showed their appreciation of Mr. Robert Knight's services by holding a public meeting and raising a fund to help him when involved in a defamation case brought against him by Burdwan Raj. I was a speaker in that meeting."

Surendra Nath's imprisonment agitated not only Bengal but the whole of India. After the pronouncement of judgment Indian merchants of all classes in the city of Calcutta stopped their business for the day and all Indian shops were closed. This cessation of business was spontaneous and during the Gandhian age in our national history of political struggle this has come to be known as *Hartal*, a Gujarati word which means strike of work. Nearly forty years before the beginning of Gandhian age, Calcutta, the then capital of India, was the first city in India to observe *Hartal* on the occasion of Surendra Nath's imprisonment. The practice of holding open-air meetings was started during this time as the public halls in Calcutta could not accommodate huge audience who used to assemble to record their protest against the order of Surendra Nath's imprisonment and to express sympathy with him. The agitation following his imprisonment spread from the rural areas and it was not confined to the upper ten thousand or the educated classes; the masses also participated in the demonstrations in their thousands. The students went into mourning. The imprisonment of Surendra Nath brought about new awakening in the political life of the Indians and tied different provinces with a common bond of brotherhood and comradeship. Public meetings were held on this occasion in Lahore, Amritsar, Faizabad, Poona and other big cities of India to record their feelings of sympathy with Surendra Nath and protest against the judgment. Surendra Nath writes in his Autobiography that so strong was the feeling that in some cases even Government servants took part in them and suffered for it. The story of his imprisonment was the subject-matter of songs, poems and essays written on the occasion and these writings added a new chapter to Bengali literature on national upheaval. Below is given Surendra Nath's version on the matter from his Autobiography :

"When the public mind has been roused by some great event, it struggles for expression in all directions, in melodious songs, in passionate utterances in the Press and from the platform and in enterprises which bear on them the ineffaceable mark of daring and originality. This is illustrated in the great events of history, in the stimulus to national life and enterprise that was witnessed in the Elizabethan epoch. Poetry, original research, commercial and naval enterprise for the discovery of new worlds, all went apace. The soul of England was bodied forth in them all. The

beginnings of such a stimulus, though on a much smaller scale, were witnessed in the upheaval that sprang from the contempt case."

Surendra Nath's imprisonment was indeed a blessing in disguise. The late Mr. A. M. Bose, the famous barrister of Calcutta High Court and a national leader of eminence, who was then Secretary of the Indian Association, the premier public body of Bengal, referring to the political consequences of the imprisonment observed in the annual report of that institution for the year 1883 :

"That 'good cometh out of evil' was never more fully illustrated than in this notable event. It has now been demonstrated, by the universal outburst of grief and indignation which the event called forth, that the people of the different Indian provinces have learnt to feel for one another; and that a common bond of unity and fellow-feeling is rapidly being established among them. And Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee has at least one consolation, that his misfortune awakened, in a most marked form, a manifestation of that sense of unity among the different Indian races, for the accomplishment of which he has so earnestly striven and not in vain."

The late Tarapada Banerjee of Krishnagar, a well-known national leader of the time and an ardent follower of Surendra Nath, started the idea of a National Fund as a memento of the imprisonment. The idea, though quite a new one, got public support and the amount collected for the purpose came up to Rs. 20,000. It was decided at a meeting of the subscribers to make it over to the Indian Association for political work. This National Fund at the disposal of the Indian Association rendered substantial help in furthering its great cause. It may be mentioned here that Surendra Nath was one of the founders of the Indian Association.

On July 3 the day preceding his release Mr. Stevens, the then District Magistrate of 24 Parganas, met him in jail and told him that there would be a huge demonstration at Barrackpur on the occasion of reception to be accorded to him. Mr. Stevens apprehended trouble and requested his help in the matter. Surendra Nath promised him all possible help and told him that he would see that no trouble was created and expressed his belief that nothing untoward would happen at his reception. In spite of such assurance from him military force stationed in Barrackpur Cantonment was kept ready for fear of any eventualities. It was not unlikely that the British officials of that area became possessed by the horrible memories of the Sepoy War and that was perhaps the cause that led them to take necessary precautionary measures.

Surendra Nath's term of imprisonment began on May 5 and he was released on July 4, a memorable day in the world's history, the day of American Independence of which his friends and admirers and followers took the utmost advantage. The usual time of release of a prisoner was six o'clock in the morning. But to avoid demonstration a device was planned. The authorities, in disregard of the existing rule, arranged to release him two hours earlier, i.e., at 4 a.m. He was taken out of the

jail at 4 a.m. and put into a hackney carriage which was waiting at the jail gate. The Jailor also accompanied him in the same carriage and after two hours' drive through different parts of the city, Surendra Nath was dropped at *The Bengalee* office at 6 a.m. This device helped to create two demonstrations one at the jail gate and another at *The Bengalee* office.

Tremendous ovation was accorded to Surendra Nath on his arrival at Barrackpur. The officers of the military force stationed there at the time were all Indians. Government order of keeping military force ready on the occasion of his release quickened their interests in the

—:O:—

PAKISTAN BECOMING AMERICA'S HEADACHE

By ARNOLD K. ISREELI

ACCORDING to press reports, the American Ambassador to Pakistan was asked to come to Washington recently, in order to report on Pakistan's "foreign policies, her internal politics and her economics."

Pakistan is only a young State, not more than five years old. However, it has already managed to become quite a nuisance on the international scene. Now that China's red armies are massed on the borders of Pakistan and India, prepared to invade the border provinces, it is not at all surprising that our (American) government should desire to obtain first-hand information as to what is going on in that area.

During the few short years of its existence Pakistan has concocted one intrigue after another. Recently she has played an unsavoury role in the Tunisian affair and has been quite persistent in her attempt to impose her demands and the demands of the Arab coterie on America and the world. At the same time, the whole of South Asia is being kept in a state of suspense by Pakistan's so-called "differences" with India and Afghanistan and by her own inner frictions with East Pakistan and the Northwest Frontier Province. On top of that, it has recently become apparent that this Moslem Republic is suffering from an economic crisis that may cost America millions of dollars.

Is it any wonder, then, that Washington desires to get a clear picture of economic and political conditions in that new country? While we do not have the report by the Ambassador, we may, from the facts before us, obtain some idea of conditions in that country which presumes to play a pivotal role in the UN and in the entire Middle East.

Pakistan is a protégé of the British Empire. Without England's help to the famous "Moslem League" of India, which created the Republic of Pakistan, the Pakistanis would have never been able to break away from India and obtain independence. For centuries the people of present-day Pakistan have lived together with the people of India as one nation. Together they have struggled for liberation and

case. They came and saw him in his house secretly and they wanted to know more of the case than they did before. He apprised them of all that had happened.

Surendra Nath had once more in his public career to face another prosecution in a contempt case in April 1906 before Mr. Emerson, the then District Magistrate of Bakhargunj. That was in connection with the historic sitting of the Bengali Provincial Conference at Barisal which was broken by force during Sir B. Fuller's regime in the newly created Province of East Bengal and Assam after Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal.

together they have developed India's social and economic life. The only claim of the Moslem League for a separate state was that the Moslems pray to God in a different way.

England always considered the Moslem League her own "pet baby". From the moment Pakistan was born, the Labor Government supplied her with weapons and ammunition, with tanks and jet-planes of the very best and latest design; accepted Pakistan in the "sterling family" and made her a member of the British Commonwealth.

It is not important to delve here into the motives for England's conduct. In India, Great Britain has always followed the policy of "Divide and Rule". By showing friendship to the Moslems, she succeeded in keeping the Hindus down. We may assume that by creating a puppet state in Southeast Asia, British diplomacy had hoped to gain the friendship of the entire Moslem World.

But whatever the reasons, as soon as the State was founded, even before it was definitely established, it immediately began to weave a chain of intrigues on the international arena, trying to get allies and forming blocs with other countries. Its leaders immediately became close associates of the Arabs and the other Moslem leaders. On becoming a member of the UN, Pakistan at once became active in the group which occupied itself with anti-Israel policies. In short, England has derived little pleasure from its "pet baby."

During the past few years, all the feudal lords of Asia, all the Moslem agitators—including the arch-plotting Mufti—have held their conclaves in Karachi, the capital of Pakistan. There, elaborate plans for the domination of large parts of our world are being hatched. England has gained nothing by it; her prestige is decreasing from day to day. In the rest of Asia, conditions have become more acute as a result of the Kashmir affair. The odor of gun-powder is in the air.

Kashmir is a former province of India, with a mixed population of Hindus and Moslems. Pakistan insists that

this province should become part of the Republic, but it appears that the people of Kashmir haven't the least desire to join this Moslem country. The problem had been taken up by the United Nations, which sent a mediator to that part of the world, but with no evident results so far. The Legislative Assembly of Kashmir decided to join the richer and more peaceful India, but the government of Karachi refuses to accept this decision.

In the meantime, as a result of this situation, India is forced to maintain a large army on the borders of these provinces, spending a goodly sum on it, instead of using this money to save its own population from starvation and to raise the economic level of the country.

The internal conditions of Pakistan are also in a very precarious state. One reason for the internal stress is that the country is geographically divided into two parts, East Pakistan and West Pakistan, separated by a thousand miles of Hindu territory. And it cannot be said that under these conditions the two parts are working in full harmony with each other.

At the present moment the language question has become quite acute. Karachi desires to impose Urdu as the language of the entire country, but the inhabitants of East Pakistan maintain that Bengali is their native language and demand official recognition for it. There have been reports of disorders as a result of the language conflict. These disorders are still continuing. Demonstrations and counter-demonstrations are of frequent occurrence; blood has been shed; curfews have been ordered and the streets are being patrolled by the army.

In connection with this state of affairs, it would be interesting to read what the Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin, has to say about this conflict. At a press conference in Karachi he made the following statement:

"As I see it, the language question could cause serious strife between the two parts of our country. If these differences are allowed to continue and grow, it may lead to a serious conflict between us. I feel that in connection with this language question, which concerns the entire state, and may endanger its existence, I have the right to ask your full support."

Certain circles in India have expressed the conviction that East Pakistan will eventually be forced to rejoin India, because that province, they say, has gained nothing but trouble from the partnership with the Karachi politicians. Perhaps these people are somewhat too optimistic regarding the future of East Pakistan. It would therefore be of interest, I believe, to read the opinion of a young Moslem on these matters. Zaimy Mahmud comes from India and is a student at Columbia University. Quite recently he presented an essay on Pakistan to his Professor, from which I quote the following:

"Pakistan is not likely to outlive her usefulness to England. Indications are clear that Pakistan has

failed in a number of respects. She has failed to produce a rift between India and the Moslem countries and it has suffered setbacks in her bold attempt to gain leadership in the Moslem world. Despite the atrocities, mass imprisonments and secret trials the Pakistan regime has failed to subdue the Pathans of the North-West Frontier and the people of East Pakistan. In these areas the opposition is daily gaining strength."

And he prophesies:

"Some day, when reality emerges out of chaos and the people of Pakistan become aware of the true foundation of their country, the leaders of the Moslem League shall have to pay the price of treason. We may then look forward to an era of peace, understanding and true co-operation among the countries of Asia."

These words have a special significance just because they come from a Moslem writer.

The correspondent of *The New York Times* in Karachi, Mr. Michael James, cabled to his paper the following about Pakistan's economy:

"Pakistan is finding it extremely difficult to sell her raw material on a glutted market. Her principal export of jute is hardly moving. Her long-staple cotton very slowly and short-staple cotton not at all. Economic experts believe Pakistan will probably need considerable aid from the United States, something that has not been necessary before."

Thus, it would appear that the report brought here by the American Ambassador, Mr. Avra M. Warren, is part and parcel of a plan to promote the aid that Pakistan hopes to obtain from America.

At this point it is interesting to note that only a few months ago, the Government of Karachi published a report that its budget has been balanced and that its financial position is on a solid foundation. And now, Pakistan is putting forth its hand—for help!

Of course, one reason for this crisis is probably the fact that the Korea front does not need now as much jute for sacks, the only real product Pakistan is exporting. Another reason is that England has probably ceased to be lavish with its financial aid, as it was in the first years of the State's existence. This is due to the fact that England is now not as flush with funds and also that she is probably no longer very enthusiastic about her Pakistani friends, in view of their behaviour in the international field and at home.

Pakistan, then, is becoming more and more of a headache to the statesmen of the world.

Along with Mr. Warren, Mr. Chester Bowles, the American Ambassador to India, also arrived in the United States for consultation. Mr. Bowles has been trying for some time to carry through a project for assistance to India and both Ambassadors will take up these matters with our State Department.

India, however, is an entirely different matter. It may

HOW THE GREAT MUGHALS GOVERNED INDIA

207

be taken for granted that in the course of the next several years, India will surely be in a dominant position in Asia. India is rich in natural resources and its industrial development has made considerable progress. Its farmers and artisans are willing to learn the new methods of production. Besides, the Hindus are a peaceful and highly moral people.

Pakistan is poor, the population is ignorant and fanatical. The Government has involved the country in intrigues and wars. The main justification for Pakistan's existence as a separate state was its particular religion, Islam. But there are more than forty million Moslems

living in the rest of India and not only do they live in peace and contentment with their Hindu neighbors, but they occupy high positions in the country. They are members of the Indian Cabinet, leaders in the ruling Congress Party and close friends of Mr. Nehru.

Washington will certainly have to weigh the matter very carefully before deciding whether it pays to support such a government as that of Karachi and to what extent such aid should be given. American statesmen must bear in mind the interests of India. England has armed Pakistan against India—America cannot and must not do this.

New York, June 20, 1952

—:O:—

HOW THE GREAT MUGHALS GOVERNED INDIA

By PROF. N. B. ROY, M.A.,
Visva-Bharati

INDIA under the Mughals became fabled for her wealth. The account of the splendour of the royal court, the majesty and beauty of the palaces and mosques in Delhi and Agra, Lahore and Ajmer, travelled to distant parts of the world. The blind poet Milton by "darkness and dangers compassed round" visualized the wealth of India, when he wrote:

"High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
Satan exalted sat"

while the poet Dryden in his drama *The Tragedy of Aurangzeb* unveiled the scenes of the War of Succession amongst the sons of Shahjahan.

At the root of this opulence, the fame of which had spread abroad, lay the high political ideal of her rulers, their talent for government, and certain institutions of which an outline is given here.

First and foremost in importance was the new pattern of kingship that was evolved under the Mughals. The interests of the brethren of the faith was the sole concern of the Sultans of Delhi; they took little account of the wishes and aspirations of the children of the soil who differed from them in faith. The motive force behind their government was the expansion of the sway of Islam with a view to the aggrandizement of the Moslems and the propagation of their creed.

MUGHAL KINGSHIP

This policy was completely discarded during the Mughal period and the aim of the royal ideal was declared to be "the alleviation of the distress of the times and improvement of the condition of man." Royalty was now pronounced to be "a light emanating

from God," manifested in a "paternal love towards the subjects," in disregard of the sectarian differences. Abul Fazl defined *Padishah* as the origin of stability, from the compound of *Pad* meaning stability with *Shah* signifying origin or Lord, and found its *raison d'être* in "the subduing of the wickedness of men and their evil propensity and in the removal of that cloud of ignorance which cause people to look upon the perpetration of bloodshed and cruelty as a religious command."¹

According to him:

A king "possessing a ray of divine wisdom independent of other men, perceived the element of harmony in a multitude of things or sometimes as reversely, a multitude of things in that which is definitely one, and was removed from joy and sorrow."²

Kingship was thus conceived to be an institution for the good of man and not an office designed for the propagation of a particular creed or for the gratification of the vanities of a particular individual. It was thus lifted from the narrow pedestal on which it stood to a majestic height from which a king could view, unaffected by considerations of personal gain or loss, the welfare of all men. Between this Mughal or rather Akbari conception of kingship, and that of contemporary Europe, scholars have detected a remarkable coincidence. *Farr-i-Yezdi* of Abul Fazl had its near parallel in the Grand Monarque's conception of his "holding as it were, the place of God and of his having full disposition of the goods of subjects, both lay and clerical, and the English king James's idea of ruling by 'Right Divine,' but this resemblance is more

1. Blochmann: *Ain-i-Akbari*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1, p. 3.

2. *Ibid*, p. 247.

3. *Ibid*, p. 172.

apparent than real. Indian polity of the 16th century with its principle of *sulh-i-kul* (peace to all) and freedom of religious worship had a wider basis than the European dispensation of the contemporary epoch, with the slogan of *Cujus regio, ejus religio*. There was another very important aspect in which the monarchies of the East and the West differed. The oriental kingship was untrammelled in its exercise of power by any human institution and could ride roughshod over popular sentiments and aspirations. Not so the monarchies of the West who were opposed by the Parliament or the Estates or the Diet. Louis XIV who gave utterance to his absolutist pretensions in the phrase *Le tat ces moi* had to use bribery on a large scale to purchase the recalcitrant members of the Estates, while the history of the Stuart kings was the account of a long struggle between them and the Parliament. The political evolution of Europe was determined by two ideas that the Middle Ages had given birth to; (i) the grouping of the people into organized political bodies, and (ii) the system of representation. In India, where no such things existed, except in the remote antiquity, despotism was the norm across the ages, crippling the initiative of the people for material improvement and stunting their growth into articulate self-reliant individuals.

CENTRAL STRUCTURE

It is a patent fact that the Mughal kingship hedged round by the divinity was of the typical absolutist form. All authority, executive, legislative and judicial was centred in the hands of the king, but he delegated his powers to four ministers: (i) the High Diwan or the Wazir, (ii) the Mir Bakhshi (the Inspector-General of the Army), (iii) the Khan-i-Saman or Lord High Steward and (iv) Sadr-us-Sadur (the Royal Almoner).

Finance is the bed-rock upon which all governments rest and the High Diwan, being in charge of it, naturally held the key to the administration and enjoyed precedence over his colleagues. He initiated the policy which led to the alleviation of the agriculturists' burden and the material prosperity of the country. He distributed the assignments (*jagirs*) among the high officers who naturally looked to him for support. Next in importance but possessing co-ordinate powers was the Mir Bakhshi who checked the branding (*dagh-o-tashih*) of the Mansabdars' contingents and held their review. He was thus charged with the supervision of the military apparatus that guaranteed internal peace and defence of the country. He issued a certificate (*sarkhat*) detailing the number and the state of the contingents, after the necessary branding and inspection, which entitled the Mansabdars to the enjoyment of their pay in cash or kind, granted by the Emperor. He recruited the Ahadis and Dakhilis and drew up the roster of the

watches of the palace. These functions gave him a commanding influence in the court where he occupied a seat to the right of the Emperor. The third Minister, Khan-i-Saman, was vested with the control of the Imperial household, the state manufactories producing varieties of stuffs, such as jewellery and equipments of the army, and maintenance and supervision of the aviary, menagerie, parks for deer, draught cattle for the army and a host of supplementary duties. The royal palace at Agra or Delhi, with the Darbar halls and the seraglio inhabited by five thousand women under Akbar and a host of eunuchs, valets and guards formed a city by itself. The administration of this city, including the supply of delicacies of royal table, e.g., ice from Kashmir, fruits from Iraq and Central Asia, and drinking water from the Ganges endowed him with high prestige and put him on a footing of equality with the other officers mentioned above.

The government of the Mughals was secular in character; yet a high religious functionary who commanded the universal respect of the Moslem world by his religious lore and probity in life was regarded as an indispensable adjunct of the administration. The Quran speaks of the saints (*awliyas*) as friends of God "on whom no fear shall come and who shall not grieve." These ascetics and mystics who were raised to the status of Perfect Men (*Insan-i-Kamil*) by the mystical speculations of the 13th and 14th centuries were believed to be the motive force behind "the invisible government of the universe." Their maintenance as well as that of the theologians and jurists who constituted the guardian of the Moslem society was considered a sacred obligation and the first important charge of the Sadr. The vast power of patronage left in his hands, virtually arrogated to him the position of a Pontiff of the Indian Islamic Church. No wonder, the Emperor Akbar honoured Shaikh Abdun-nabi (Sadr from 1563-1587) by holding the slipper before his feet. The High Sadr was, however, shorn of much of his dignity in 1581, when his function of appointing the Qazi was taken up by the Emperor personally, and exercise of charities distributed among the six provincial Sadrs.⁴ Sayyid Miran regained some dignity of this office by his liberal endowments and promotion to 4-hazari; Sayyid Jalal Bukhari rehabilitated still further the influence of the office under Shah Jahan, but under Aurangzib who supervised the minute details of the administration, Sadrs like Abid Khan and Rizwi Khan, degenerated into mighty clerks.

These four high officials under the supreme direction of the crown directed the mighty machine that determined the lot of the millions of people in India. They were not bound by any ancient usage or any

4. Von Grunbaum: *Medieval Islam*, pp. 138-39.

5. *Akbar Nama*, A.S.B. Text, III, p. 37.

body of rules to meet together collectively in a committee or council to arrive at a common agreement on any matter, nor were they accountable for their actions to any authority other than the king. The essence of good government, says Sidney Low, is the power to find the proper man to hang if things go wrong. In the system of government under the Mughals, the people had no Buckingham to arraign or Earl of Strafford to execute. The remedy against misrule was rebellion. Notwithstanding this defect in the Central Government inherent in absolutism, the salient feature was that its different parts rested upon equipoise, and worked without any jerk or jolt. The Diwan, in control of the department of Finance, supervised and regulated the expenditure on the army and the imperial household and thus acted as an indirect check on the Mir Bakhshi and Mir Saman. The former, on account of his influence and authority over the armed forces of the empire, could aspire to upset the equilibrium, but he was handicapped by the control of equipage by the Mir-Saman. Thus the system of checks and balances was so devised that the different parts of the machine could work smoothly.

These official heads, barring the Mir-i-Saman, had their counterpart in the *subahs* of the provinces where, again, the administrative machinery was kept in gear by their mutual dependence and collaboration.

MANSABDARI SYSTEM: ITS MERITS

A salient feature of the Mughal government was that it was not conducted by an army of occupation distributed in various garrisons; but by a bureaucracy of officials. All the grandees and dignitaries of the empire, from Subahdar, Faujdar, Mushrif (accountant), police official (kotwal), Superintendent of posts (Darogha-i-dak-chauki), down to the table-attendant of the emperor⁶ were enrolled in the graded military hierarchy known as the *Mansab*. The basis of this system was the old feudal obligation of supply of troopers in return for service and the obtaining of cash allowance or a *jagir*. But the emperor Akbar who was the founder of this system gave the old feudal institution a new mould by incorporating civil officials e.g., poets like Abul Fazl, Fayyazi (4 Sadi), physicians like Hakim Misri (4 Sadi), painters and calligraphists like Khwaja Abdus Samad Shirin Qalam (4 Sadi) into this aristocratic order and making their rank nominal. That is to say, freeing them from the obligation of contributing the contingent equivalent to the number of the rank. The Mansabdars were divided into 33 grades, commencing from 5,000 down to 20 in the beginning, of which those from 3,000 upwards were designated as Umrab-i-Azam or Umdat-ul-Mulk, from 500 to 2,500 as umrahs (nobles), while from 20 to 400 were called only Mansabdars. An additional differentiation in rank was introduced by division of each

class (from 5,000 downwards) into three grades. Each of these classes carried a fixed rate of salary, paid either in cash or in assignment, out of which he was required to maintain draught cattle and troopers. Abul Fazl's table given by Blochmann in the *Ain* will help to make the matter clear.

Comman-der of	Horses	Elephants	Beasts of burden, and carts with strings of mules	Salary, monthly (in rupees)		
				1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade
5000	340	100	260	30000	29000	28000
500	30	12	27	2500	2300	2100
10	4	—	—	100	82½	71

The important feature of this system was that this rank was a nominal mark of distinction and did not necessarily imply any obligation to maintain the number of troopers corresponding to the respective ranks. Hence it was called *zat*. Towards the close of Akbar's reign an additional mark of distinction called *sawar* was introduced. Thus a Mansabdar was henceforth designated as 5,000 *zat*/3,000 *sawar*, 4,000 *zat*/2,000 *sawar*, and so on, the number of the *sawar* rank determining the precedence in the hierarchy. This rank, again, was nominal without the officer being required to maintain the contingent equal to the *sawar* rank.

SAWAR RANK, NOMINAL

Some scholars would have us believe that the holder of this rank had to maintain the full complement of the cavalry denoted by the number of the rank. But the evidences which are adduced by them contradict rather than support this contention. Shal Beg Khan, Khan-i-Dauran 6,000 *zat*/5,000 *sawar* brought to the master only 1,000 cavalry which caused satisfaction to the Emperor Jahangir. At the time of Shah Jahan's coronation, Asaf Khan Yaminuddaula 8,000 *zat*/8,000 *sawar* passed in review, only 500 troopers for which he was promoted. Mr. Abdul Aziz would, however, explain this fact by saying that the *sawar* mansab had become a fiction at the end of Jahangir's reign and that Shah Jahan made a regulation limiting the number of contingent to only one-third and one-fourth of the *sawar* rank.⁷ At what period, then, did the rank and the number of troop correspond?

The contingents supplied by the Mansabdar constituted the main element of the Mughal army which was not necessarily a vast and unwieldy force. According to Monserrate, Akbar's force during the Kabul expedition in 1581 was only 45,000 cavalry, 5,000 elephant and many thousand infantry.⁸ In 1646

7. Abdul Aziz: *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, p. 76.

8. Monserrate's *Commentary*, p. 89. Vincent Smith holds that the expeditionary force included part of the Imperial service troops.

6. Blochmann: *Ain* I, p. 534.

daughter into his harem where she was murdered by one of his servants. On the guilt being proved, Jahangir punished the Khan by confiscating half of his *jagir*, the proceeds of which were paid to the aggrieved woman by way of compensation.²⁵

(vi) *Mirza Tajakhkhur vs. Crown*: Tafakhkhur was the son of the Prime Minister, Asad Khan's daughter and closely related with the Emperor Aurangzeb. This fellow had won notoriety by his lewdness and villainy. Once he caused the bride of Ghanshyam belonging to the Imperial artillery to be forcibly dragged into his harem by beating off her people. There was a sensation over this matter in the ranks of the artillery who were pacified by the governor Aqil Khan. The molested woman was rescued and taken to Aqil Khan's house. Aurangzeb punished his relation by ordering his internment in the fort of Delhi and of his mother Qamrunnisa as well, in case of her resistance. The Prime Minister passed the sentence of fifty stripes upon his grandson which, however, was not given effect to, on account of the Emperor's objection.²⁶

During the first half of Akbar's reign, the department of judiciary was headed by the Sadr-us-Sudur who appointed the Qazis and the Muftis, but after the dismissal of Shaikh Abdun Nabi, the Qazi at the court assisted by Mir Adl constituted the highest court of justice. This inference is suggested by the (i) tenor of the counsel administered by Akbar to Shah Beg Tabrizi, Mir Adl of the camp and also (ii) by the appointment of a special tribunal consisting of the Sadr Mir Fatehullah Shirazi, Bakhshi Shahbaz Khan and Shah Beg Tabrizi for the trial of Shiqdar Alahwardi Khan of Sialkot. Under Jahangir the Qazi and the Mir Adl of the court occupied positions of high honour and were exempted from making *sijdah*. Under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb they acted as high priests in the weddings in the royal family. But during the same period the High Sadr continued to function. For instance, during the term of Abdul Wahhab as Chief Justice²⁷ Abid Khan and Rizvi Khan acted as Sadr. How, then, the statement of certain writers that the offices of the Sadr, the Qazi-ul-Quzat and Mir Adl rolled into one can be taken as correct?

THE IMPERIAL CHARITY

Charity administered through the Sadr was on a scale befitting the high state of the Emperors. The recluses and the needy who thronged at the royal gate were given liberal bounties by Akbar and Jahangir. The former kept small bags of coin on his person and in the royal palace ready for distribution among the supplicants. Jahangir ordered crowds of these needy people to be brought to his presence after two watches

of every night. All the Emperors made gifts of the articles including gold and silver against which they were weighed on their birth anniversaries. Akbar included the Brahmins as well within the circle of beneficiaries. He and his successor Jahangir set up poor houses throughout the empire. Almost every year the Emperors made endowments of land to the Ulema which rose to high proportions. For instance, Jahangir in the ninth year of his reign gave away 1,90,000 bighas of land, fourteen entire villages.²⁸ Shahjahan on his accession granted 4,00,000 bighas of land and twenty entire villages,²⁹ a large bulk of which must have been awarded to the scholars and theologians.

THE RYOT AND LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

The munificent charities, the high state of public officials and the grandeur of the court were maintained out of revenues derived from a variety of sources of which land revenue was the most important. In this sphere as well Akbar, assisted by the genius of Raja Todar Mall gave shape to a system that continues to be the superstructure of our present land revenue organisation. His system defined as *Zabti* was based upon three things: (i) a survey and measurement of the land for which the unit of measurement was fixed; (ii) the classification of land on the basis, not on the quality of the soil but the continuity of cultivation and (iii) the fixation of the assessment rates on the basis of the prices current during the ten years preceding the settlement of cash price, for which Akbar gathered a vast mass of statistical information regarding the gross yield of the various kinds of crops and their relative value in cash price during a period of 19 years (1561-1580).

Akbar's main concern in introducing this system was to secure a contented and a civilized existence for the poor ryot upon whom rested the chariot of the *Juggernaut* of the empire. He put the peasant in secure possession of his holding, made provision for necessary loans in cases of need, and relieved him of the burden of innumerable cesses. As a consequence the poor husbandman could enjoy the fruits of his own garden, graze his own livestock, effect the sale of his house without paying any cess whatsoever to the government. An era of agricultural prosperity ensued, but this seems to have been limited mostly to the crown lands which formed a fragment of the total land under cultivation, the bulk being set apart in assignments to the Mansabdars. In the latter regions the assignees were under orders of constant transfer, specially from the time of Jahangir onwards, so that the officers tried to screw out as much money out of the peasants as possible, in violation of the regulations in force. As Sir William Hawkins points out:

25. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

26. Sarkar: *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*: pp. 101-103.

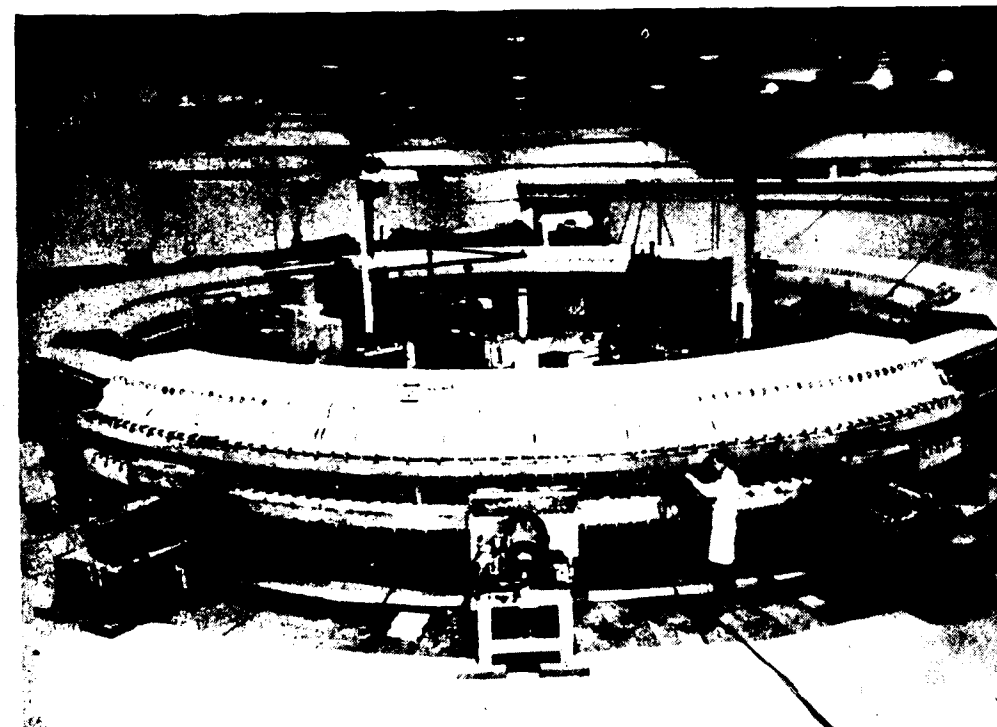
27. Sarkar: *English translation of Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 82.

28. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Ibid.*, p. 138.

29. Abdul Hamid Lahari: *Badshahnama*, p. 251.



The White House, official residence of the U. S. President in Washington, as it nears completion of its renovation



The giant cyclotron at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, New York, the first ever made by man to generate a billion-volt charge, can lead to the creation rather than the destruction of matter, reversing the process of the atomic bomb

Prince Murad was deputed to the Balkh expedition at the head of 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 footmen, though the real strength of Shah Jahan's army is reckoned at a much higher figure.⁹

DID THE MUGHALS RULE BY FORCE ?

Force is the basis upon which every government rests. The large array of the commissioned officers graded in serried ranks with their high-sounding titles, such as Itimaduddaulah, Yaminuddaulah should not create the illusion that the Mughals ruled by mailed fist. They ruled rather by a show of force than actual resort to it, so that to the great mass of the Indian people the great Mughal remained the symbol of a beneficent authority that cherished and protected the peace-loving against the violence of the wrongdoer. In 1788, occurred an incident which illustrates the truth of the statement. That year an English civil servant Thomas Twining was returning from Delhi with a small escort of sepoy, when a band of Gujar horsemen was seen galloping towards him. At once the escort put a screen round the *sahib's palqi* and shouted forth saying *Padishah ka harem ka Bibi* (a lady of the imperial seraglio) and the cry produced magical effect upon the brigands who galloped back to their place without laying their violent hand upon the travellers.¹⁰

The merit of this system was that it was not the monopoly of the privileged few; but its members were drawn from the reservoir of the ancient ruling dynasties of Rajputana, the Hindu fighting tribes and professional castes of Upper India, the shoals of immigrant Iranian adventurers, and from the casteless fraternity of Islam long settled in India, such as the Shaikhzadas of Lucknow, the Khanzadas of Mewar and the Barha Sayyids of Muzaffarnagar.

The Government of China under the T'ang dynasty is said to have become a marvel of efficiency¹¹ because its civil service being democratically selected from the people by a system of open competitive examination, came ultimately to be restricted to the ablest of them. In Mughal India there was no written test for appointment to the government service as in China, but the Mansabdari system was so designed as to grant opportunity of competition for leadership to all ranks of people recruited into the service. Humble men like Medini Rai Chauhan, Patra Das and Todar Mal rose by sheer ability. The recruits ascended step by step up the rung of official ladder, a fact attested

besides considerable contingents. Blochmann computes Akbar's cavalry, musketeers and artillery force at 25,000. The Imperial stable contained 12,000 horses from which he estimates the number of cavalry to have been only 12,000 (*Ain*, I, p. 256).

9. Blochmann : *Ain*, p. 254.

10. Sarkar : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, p. 458.

11. "Seldom," says Dr. Latourette, "has any large group of mankind been so prosperous and so nearly contented as were the Chinese under this governmental machinery when it was dominated by the ablest of monarchs."

by Badauni¹² and Bernier. It is "an invariable custom" says the acute French observer, "to pass gradually from small salaries and inconsiderable offices to situations of greater trust and emoluments. The Omrahs therefore mostly consist of adventurers from different nations . . . and are generally persons of low descent, some originally having been slaves."¹³ Leadership in the public service was thus achieved not necessarily by means of low flattery and servile cunning, but by exhibition of superior practical ability and devotion to the cause of the Emperor as compared with those of his compatriots. The system kept the members employed in a fierce competition throughout life and as such contributed to the administrative efficiency. It was thus a singular device contrived by the master mind of Akbar to solve the problem of government by reconciling the aristocratic bent of Hinduism with the democratic genius of Islam.

DEMERITS OF THE LAW OF ESCHEAT

The advantages of the system were, however, rendered nugatory by the inexorable operation of the Law of Escheat as a result of which, says Bernier :

"The Omrahs of Hindustan cannot be proprietors of land or enjoy an independent revenue like the nobility of France. Their income consists exclusively of pension which the king grants or takes away according to his pleasure."

This strange law under which all income earned during a lifetime was forfeited to the State, was productive of the most baneful consequences.

Firstly, it intensified the tendency for vain display, wastefulness and frivolous indulgences and thus sapped away the vitality of the warrior elements of the nation. There were, no doubt, nobles like Sayyid Shahib Khan Nishapuri, Ali Mardan Khan who contributed to the country's development by irrigation works, but the large majority of them cared, as De Laet says, "only to indulge themselves while they can in every kind of pleasure."¹⁴ On *harem*, money was lavished with unstinted liberality.¹⁵ A nobleman, Asaf Khan Qiwamuddin, sent away 100 damsels during the last illness preceding his death out of his harem. Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka openly avowed his profligate tastes by saying :

"A wealthy man needs four wives, an Iraqi for companionship, a Khorasani for house-keeping, an Indian for cohabitation and a Transoxanian for flogging (*shalaq*)."¹⁶

Another Said Khan kept 1,200 well-shaped comely eunuchs.¹⁷ The harem containing bevy of ladies and platoons of eunuchs was a sore spot in the medieval

12. Badauni : *A.S.B. Text*, p. 190.

13. Bernier : *Travels*, Constable Ed., p. 212.

14. Hoyland and Banerji : *Empire of the Great Mughal*, p. 90.

15. Shah Nawaz Khan : *Maasir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 113.

16. *Ibid*, I, p. 690.

17. *Ibid*, II, pp. 405-40.

Moslem life. Secondly, having no permanent ties to the soil, the nobility were ready to transfer their services to the highest bidder, thus accentuating the rivalry among the princes and indirectly fomenting the struggle for succession. Thirdly, the want of attachment for any particular region or locality militated against their natural tendency for standing forth as the spokesmen of the common man during the time of political turmoil. A stable and conservative element of population is often an effective safeguard against violent political changes. The absence of a land-owning nobility in India thus tended to accelerate the disintegration of the Empire with the aftermath of political anarchy and chaos in the late 18th century. Fourthly, it stifled the development of the country's industry and commerce by taking away from the nobility the incentive for the accumulation of *capital* which is indispensable for the economic growth of a nation. Lastly, the upper strata of society by their example of luxurious and profligate lives tended to degrade the national tastes and the cultural level of the country. The practice of keeping concubines and the expenditure of all savings on the ornaments of the womenfolk became the fashion among all classes of men, so that Bernier regretfully remarks :

"Although the Empire of the Mughals is such an abyss for gold and silver, these precious metals are not in greater plenty than elsewhere, because a large quantity is melted, remelted and wasted in fabricating women's bracelets, both for the hands and feet, chains, ear-rings, nose and finger rings and a still larger quantity is consumed in manufacturing embroideries; alchas or striped silken stuff, touras or fringes of gold lace . . . All the troupes from the Omrahs to the man in the ranks will wear gilt ornaments; nor will a private soldier refuse them to his wife and children, though the whole family should die of hunger."¹⁸

In the face of these drawbacks, some scholars would persist in maintaining that the law of escheat acting as a sort of death-duty "was an advantage rather than a shortcoming."

JUSTICE AND PUBLIC CHARITY

The ideal aimed at by the great Mughals in the administration of justice was indeed very high, but the system was very different from that of the British system in vogue at present in our country. In the semi-feudal order of society justice could not take the abstract and universal character of the present age. It was regarded as a possessory right, bound up with the possession of land or the holding of a high administrative portfolio. Thus there existed a variety of courts—that of the Emperor, the Diwan, the Chief Qazi at the capital, the courts of the opposite numbers in the provinces, Qazi's courts in the cities and *qasbas* (townlets) and panchayats in the villages. Besides these government courts, there must have

existed unauthorized tribunals for the settlement of petty disputes, under the authority of the Jagirdars, Aimadars, trade and caste guilds. These courts were not linked together in a hierarchy like those of the present times, nor were they guided by a single jurisprudence. Yet, the measure of social security achieved by them was great. This happy feature was due to the Emperor's love of justice. Akbar declared :

"I would rise in judgment against myself, if I were guilty of an unjust act."

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar in his court made "no difference between the relative and the stranger, no distinction between a chief of chiefs (*beglar begi*) and a tangle-haired beggar (*julidahmui*)."¹⁹ According to Ovington, there was no "pleading of peeridge or privilege before the Emperor (Aurangzeb) . . . The meanest man is soon heard by him as the Chief Omrah."²⁰ This high standard of justice is well-illustrated in the cases decided by them and recorded in the chronicles. Here are a few of them cited from the reign of Akbar, Jahangir and Aurangzeb.

(i) *Chengiz Khan vs. Mother of Jujhar Khan* (1574) : The above grandee had put to death Jujhar Khan. On the complaint being made by his mother, Akbar ordered a full investigation and when the culprit was declared guilty, he was sentenced to death and executed. These events came as a surprise to the people of Gujrat so that Abul Fazl records that this act of justice lit the lamp of guidance to the people (*umum-i-khelaye azin daddehi chiragh-i-hidayat afrokhta gasht*).²¹

(ii) *Mirza Aziz Koka vs. Father of Alauddin (Amil)* : The Amil was beaten to death by one of the Mirza's servants. When the complaint was made by the father of the murdered officer, Akbar ordered the trial of the Mirza in an ordinary court of justice. The latter, however, paid compensation to the plaintiff as sanctioned by the *Shara* and went into voluntary retirement.²²

(iii) Father Monserrate records that Akbar had caused his "Chief Trade Commissioner to be strangled to death for having debauched a Brahmin girl."²³

(iv) *Husang vs. Crown* : The nobleman who was a nephew of the Khan-i-Alam had caused the murder of a man of humble circumstance. The news having reached the ears of Jahangir, he ordered an investigation into the case and condemned the culprit to death when his guilt was established.²⁴

(v) *Muqarrab Khan vs. A Widow* : The above dignitary had forcibly taken away the widow's

19. Akbar Nama, III, p. 32.

20. Ovington : *Voyage of Surat*, p. 120.

21. Akbar Nama, III, p. 32.

22. Akbar Nama, III, p. 266.

23. Monserrate's *Commentaries*, p. 212.

24. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan : *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 357.

18. Bernier : *Ibid*, pp. 223-4.



Andres M. Sada of Mexico, far right, is checking the radio-activity of a piece of petrified wood with a Geiger counter at the museum with S. T. Shah of Bombay and Pares Bhattacharya of Calcutta who were among the 15 Massachusetts Institute of Technology students who recently visited the American Museum of Atomic Energy at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, U.S.A.



Members of a unique goodwill delegation, consisting of eleven students from the University of California, reached Bombay recently and were welcomed on their arrival at Santa Cruz airport by G. N. Dasgupta, Minister of Education.

HAROLD LASKI'S CONCEPT OF LAW

213

"A man cannot continue half a year in his living, but it is taken from him and given unto another, or else the king taketh it for himself. . . . By this means he racketh the poor to get from them what he can. . . ."

Thus notwithstanding the vigilance of the Emperors and their exertions, the pincers of the revenue officials were applied on the hapless man behind the plough so that Pelsaert writes, "So much is wrung from the peasants, that even dry bread is scarcely left to fill their stomachs." Bernier states:

"The land was seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion and as no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and canals for the conveyance of water . . . the whole country is badly cultivated and a great part rendered unproductive for want of irrigation."

20. Moreland Geyl: *The Remonstrance of F. Pelsaert*, p. 45.
21. Bernier: *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7.

The peasant's lot was not, therefore, as joyous as we are told to believe by certain authors. He lived his life amidst abject poverty, yet did not necessarily lose the mother-wit and joviality which distinguishes him even under the present *system of control*. He still indulges in repartee with his fellowmen in the fields and on the highways; he still sings full-throated songs in chorus when he reaps the harvest and shows his curiosity and interest in his neighbours' affairs. The caravan of the Indian State has passed from age to age without materially affecting the lot of the ryot, until the sweeping agrarian reforms sponsored by the Free Republican Government foreshadow the dawn of a new era for him.*

* My thanks are due to B. S. Koevan and Y. M. Mule, C. R. Banerjee and the Assistants of the National Library for the facilities of study granted me in course of the preparation of this paper.

—:0:—

HAROLD LASKI'S CONCEPT OF LAW

By RANI MUKHOPADHYAYA, M.A.,

Lecturer in Economics and Political Science, Hooghly Women's College

I

THE object of this paper is to deal with the nature and object of law as conceived by Professor Harold Laski. According to the concept of law, as developed by the traditional school of jurisprudence, law is a command of the State-Sovereign who, as will appear from what follows later on, knows no legal limit to his power. Laski's view of law appears to be a challenge to that of the traditional school.

II

Before, however, we deal with Laski's view-point, we may refer to Austin—perhaps the best representative of the classical or traditional school of jurisprudence.

"Every positive law," says Austin, "or every law simply and strictly so called, is set by a sovereign body of persons, to a member or members of the independent political society wherein that person or body is sovereign or supreme. Or (changing the expression) it is set by a monarch, or sovereign number, to a person or persons in a state of subjection to its author." "Even though," he continues, "it sprung directly from another fountain or source, it is a positive law or law strictly so called, by the institution of that present sovereign in the character of political superior. Or (borrowing the language of Hobbes)¹ 'the legislator is he, not by whose authority the law was first made, but by whose authority it continues to be a law'."

Again, "Every positive law, or every law simply and strictly so called, is set, directly or circuitously, by a sovereign person or body, to a member or members of the independent political society wherein that person or body is sovereign or supreme. Or (changing the expression) it is set, directly or circuitously, by a monarch or sovereign number, to a person or persons in a state of subjection to its author."

Austin also says² in this connexion that the sovereign power is "incapable of legal limitation." "Supreme power limited by positive law," he observes, "is a flat contradiction in terms." And a political society, according to him, cannot "escape from legal despotism." "The power of the superior sovereign," he maintains,³ "immediately imposing the restraints, or the power of some other sovereign superior to that superior, would still be absolutely free from the fetters of positive law." In short, the State is, *juristically speaking*, unlimited in power and authority.

Such a conception of law does not appeal to Professor Laski. He repudiates the traditional view that, because the State is the ultimate, co-ordinating and unifying authority, one must accept its orders unquestioningly and give one's unqualified allegiance to it against the demands of any other body or association of which one may happen to be a member,

1. See John Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence or the Philosophy of Positive Law*, Fifth Edition (Robert Campbell), 1911, Vol. 1, Lecture VI, p. 220.

2. See in this connexion Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Ch. XXVI.

3. See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

4. See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

or irrespective of the moral adequacy or otherwise of the orders themselves. Nor does he accept the view that a rule of conduct laid down by the sovereign authority is law simply because it has been so laid down.

"Law for men", says Laski,⁷ "is not the voice of an authority related permanently to some given organ, but the voice of the authority they are prepared to accept."

Further, law for them "has the authority of its substance and not the authority of the legal organ that is its source of reference."⁸

"It is my activity," he maintains, "which gives legality to the law." Elsewhere he has said,⁹ "that positive law must run in the leading-strings of principle, that it is the thing it is seeking to establish which makes it binding upon those whose behaviour it is to control. Men struggle, in fact, against being imprisoned in the categories of formal law because they realise that unfettered authority as such cannot give rise to an obligation which, *a priori*, is entitled to claim allegiance. The very ideal of a *Rechtsstaat* is an effort to make the legal sovereign the subject of purposes outside itself. It is a denial that it can will what it pleases. It is an insistence that it is justified in willing only what satisfies the demands of those over whom it rules."

"Law is, of course," Laski admits,¹⁰ "the origin of social peace," and he does not deny for a moment the value of social peace. But he will judge its implications by experience of their result in terms of his own life.

"Law will, in general," he holds,¹¹ "only appeal as legal to the citizen according as it seems to him genuinely, and not merely on *a priori* grounds, the reflection of a moral order. He will mean by that an order in which the rights he recognizes as valid find place and sanction." And "where they are absent he will," Laski maintains,¹² "feel entitled to rebel against the demands of law. The experience of citizens, in other words, is the true maker of law."

"Admittedly," he declares,¹³ "this involves the thesis that the exercise of authority is surrounded by a penumbra of anarchy."

"Law, therefore," according to Laski,¹⁴ "has to make its way to acceptance through the channels of the mind. And it will convey a different meaning to each mind it encounters because the experience of each mind, the system, therefore, of its wants, are different."

"We can, therefore," he continues,¹⁵ "never guarantee respect for law. We can never say, for instance, that because the King in Parliament has spoken, therefore its will is bound to prevail."

7. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 250.

8. See Laski, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

9a. See Laski "Law and the State," *Economica*, November, 1929.

10. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 250.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

"The real problems," however, he points out,¹⁶ "occur at the margin and not at the centre of law-making." But "those margins are the urgent and controlling facts in any political philosophy which seeks to be true to its total environment."

"Legal right," he insists,¹⁷ "has no meaning for the individual save as he himself makes it have meaning. It has no sanctions save the authority he lends to it by articulating it with his own experience. We are loyal to the demands of the State just to the degree that the articulation accomplished results for us in a satisfied activity." A law to be valid must, therefore, be made "by compounding it from the experiences of its citizens."¹⁸

"Justice," he also observes,¹⁹ "implies law." Laws, however, he thinks²⁰ are morally neutral; "they are merely decisions which get accepted in the presence of social forces." Laski rejects²¹ that view of law "which regards it as just merely because of its source of origin."

He even refuses²² "to take as urgent in the estimate of its claim the fact that it proceeds from good intent." For "good intent may be ignorant or mistaken. It may come from a view of the facts too narrow to hope for adequacy. It may be blind to the extent of the forces it is its business to satisfy."²³ "For the end of law," according to him,²⁴ "is the satisfaction of human wants." But that means "not the wants of a few, not the wants deemed right by those applying the law, but the totality of wants encountered by law." Law, therefore, "to be justice, must be the expression of relations found adequate in the experience of men." And "the body of members in a given society" who "desire that their desires should be fulfilled," are the proper judges of its adequacy. "Law, therefore, to be found adequate must," he maintains,²⁵ "be built upon an induction from the widest possible experience it can know. It must attempt 'the reciprocal fitting of needs one to the other.' And this 'reciprocal fitting only takes place where there is equality of power between the parties to the adjustment.'"²⁶

But, although Laski holds that laws "must be built upon a right induction from human experience," so as to "order human relationships rightly," he is aware of the practical difficulties in the making of laws.

No such human experience, he says,²⁷ "can be rightly interpreted unless it is systematically organised and systematically recorded." For "to co-ordinate the innumerable and often conflictin

16. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 275-276.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

social interests into a sufficient wholeness for the purpose of order is the most subtle and delicate of all tasks."

Laws under the present social order seldom express the 'general will' of the community. It is the industrial class which has been controlling the law-making machinery since the beginning of the nineteenth century and the result has been that laws have been passed in favour of those "whose genius has been specialised to the acquisition of fortune under the intricate conditions of a world-market."

These people, Laski points out,²⁸ "sell their service as they can and for what they can, and if public difficulty is involved in their activities, that is no concern of theirs." And "because they are involved in a narrow circle of special interest, they are too limited in their view to grasp the multiform relation of which law must be the expression."²⁹ "Their power," he observes,³⁰ "to equate their partial experience with the total social need inevitably results, not in the making of effective adjustments, but in the undue precipitation of conflict."

Laws passed in such circumstances, fail to meet the needs of the situation.

That is why Laski suggests that an "approximate equality of property" is necessary in a state for enabling "the individual to make his experience duly felt" and for ensuring that its law is "suffused with justice." For, according to him,³¹ "law is not found but made. It is written out of the experience brought home to those who have its ultimate definition in their hands." Otherwise, the law becomes "biased against those whose speech, as law is formulated, goes unheard."³² As a consequence, the law "loses authority because they do not recognise it as implicit with the substance also of their own desires."³³ Further, "it fails to bind them to allegiance because what it ordains benefits, not themselves but others."³⁴

Thus, according to Laski,³⁵ "only when it is based upon an induction to which each interest in the community has contributed does it truly co-ordinate, by creating a genuine, because general, satisfaction." All men, therefore, must "have an equal right to share in the making of law."³⁶ For "the sharing is important to the sanction needed" by the law. Further, "only as our social arrangements make provision for that sharing will they win the loyalty of citizens."³⁷

Moreover, this will make "the concepts of jurisprudence grow out of the facts of life" and thereby

28. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

enable us "to supplement the special perspective of the jurist by bringing him into contact with experiences and ideals from which his own environment is alien."³⁸

"Law has," he emphasizes,³⁹ "no moral appeal in any other terms. The legal order only makes itself valid by being the expression of the social order; and the social order means not one only, but the whole of the myriad forces in our midst which are striving to fulfil their wants."

Laski thus refutes the idea that "law is a simple command" of the State—"legal by virtue of the source from which it comes." It is, in truth, "not the will of the State, but that from which the will of the State derives whatever moral authority it may possess."⁴⁰

"It assumes," Laski continues,⁴¹ "that the rationale of obedience is in all the intricate facts of social organisation and in no one group of facts. . . . It insists that what is important in law is not the fact of command but the end at which the command aims and the way it achieves the end." It views "society not as a pyramid in which the State sits crowned upon the summit, but as a system of co-operating interests through which, and in which, the individual finds his scheme of values."⁴² This alone gives to law "whatever moral rightness it contains." Law, therefore, according to him, is made valid by one's experience of it, and not by the fact that it is presented to one as law.

"Law then," Laski concludes,⁴³ "emerges as the evaluation of the interests by the inter-weaving of interests. It is a function of the whole social structure and not of some given aspect of it. Its power is determined by the degree to which it aids what that whole social structure reports as its desires."

Thus we find that Laski deals with law not so much as a jurist but as a political philosopher. Rather he has often mixed up political philosophy with jurisprudence. While jurisprudence recognizes no legal limit to the power of the State, political philosophy puts a limit to it. Further, he has laid emphasis not on the legal, but on the moral aspect, of law. The authority of the State's will, according to him,⁴⁴ "should have 'not merely a legal pre-eminence but also a moral pre-eminence, as the fountain of social peace.'" Thus he becomes a virulent critic of what he considers to be the view of the traditional school of jurisprudence.

III

It may be interesting to note here that, although Austin belongs to this traditional school of jurisprudence, his conception of the purpose or end of law

38. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

does not materially differ from that of Laski. Austin has never said, as is generally believed, that brute force is the basis of obedience to law. He has repudiated any idea of compulsion or coercion as the cause of such obedience. He makes this very clear when he declares in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence*⁴⁵ that:

"The proper purpose or end of a sovereign political government, or the purpose or end for which it ought to exist, is the greatest possible advancement of human happiness." "Though," he continues,⁴⁶ "if it would duly accomplish its proper purpose or end, or advance as far as is possible the weal or good of mankind, it commonly must labour directly and particularly to advance as far as is possible the weal of its own community." Further, he maintains⁴⁷ that, although the "habitual obedience" to the sovereign by the bulk of a society "is partly the consequence of custom," or although this "habitual obedience is partly the consequence of prejudices," it "partly arises from a reason bottomed in the principle of utility."

"It partly arises," he continues,⁴⁸ "from a perception, by the generality or bulk of the community, of the expediency of political government: or (changing the phrase) it partly arises from a preference, by the generality or bulk of the community, of any government to anarchy."

The permanence of every government, Austin observes,⁴⁹ "depends on the habitual obedience which it receives from the bulk of the community."

For "if bulk of the community were fully determined to destroy it, and to brave and endure the evils through which they must pass to their object, the might of the Government itself, with the might of the minority attached to it, would scarcely suffice to preserve it, or even to retard its sub-version."⁵⁰ And though "it were aided by foreign governments, and therefore were more than a match for the disaffected and rebellious people, it hardly could reduce them to subjection, or constrain them to permanent obedience, in case they hated it mortally, and were prepared to resist it to the death."⁵¹

Austin has also stated⁵² that

"In all or most cases of human superiority, the relation of superior and inferior, and the relation of inferior and superior are reciprocal. Or (changing the expression) the party who is the superior as viewed from one aspect, is the inferior as viewed from another."

For example, he adds,⁵³ "to an indefinite, though limited extent, the monarch is the superior of the

governed: his power being commonly sufficient to enforce compliance with his will." But "the governed, collectively or in mass, are also the superior of the monarch: who is checked in the abuse of his might by his fear of exciting their anger; and of rousing to active resistance the might which slumbers in the multitude."

All obedience, therefore, according to Austin,⁵⁴ is ultimately *voluntary* or *free*, and "every party who obeys *consents* to obey." In other words, he says,⁵⁵ "every party who obeys *wills* the obedience which he renders, or is determined to render it by some *motive* or another." And "that acquiescence which is purely involuntary, or which is purely the consequence of physical compulsion or restraint, is not obedience or submission."⁵⁶

Lastly, he remarks⁵⁷ that

Since "a government continues through the obedience of the people, and since the obedience of the people is voluntary or free, every government continues through the *consent* of the people, or the bulk of the political society . . . and that if the bulk of the community ceased to obey it habitually, the government would cease to exist."

It is, therefore, evident from what has been shown above that Laski hardly does justice to Austin when he says⁵⁸ that

"The State for Austin is a legal order in which there is a determinate authority acting as the ultimate source of power;" that "its authority . . . is unlimited;" that "it may act unwisely, or dishonestly, or, in an *ethical sense*, unjustly" that "for the purpose of legal theory the character of its actions is unimportant;" that "if they emanate from the authority competent to issue the particular command, they are the law;" and that "*command . . . is of the essence of law*."⁵⁹

The implication of this view of Laski is that, according to Austin, the power of compulsion possessed by the State is the basis of obedience to law on the part of the subject.

But, as we have shown above, this is not the view of Austin, according to whom, the object of law is the greatest possible advancement of human happiness. Thus there is no fundamental difference between the view of Austin and that of Laski so far as the question of the purpose of law and the basis of obedience to it are concerned. Austin has dealt with the question of law as a utilitarian jurist, and Laski has dealt with it as a political philosopher.

54. See Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 296. (Lecture VI).

55. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

58. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 50-51.

59. The italics are mine.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF NON-CO-OPERATION AND NON-VIOLENCE

By PROF. K. RAY CHOWDHURY, M.Sc.,
Aligarh University

I. INTRODUCTION

(a) *Origin of the Paper*: To begin with it may be mentioned that I was made ambitious to write such a paper by the remarks of Dr. Gardener Murphy, Professor, City College, New York, on Mahatma's personality as something obscure during his lecture over the topic "Culture and Personality" under the auspices of the Lucknow University on October 5, 1950. I am quite afraid to draw psychological significance of the philosophy of non-co-operation and non-violence lest it should lose some of its properties. Of course, I shall only deal with one aspect of the principle which has appeared to me due to a sort of reaction to Dr. Murphy's remarks over Gandhiji's personality as revealed from his philosophy of non-co-operation and non-violence. It is rather too much to deny the multifarious aspects the philosophy of non-violence and non-co-operation has, and the magnificent role it has to play for the progress of human society. The first grade nations are quite conscious of that today. And as it does not support Darwin's principles like "struggle for existence" or "survival of the fittest," the capitalistic countries like America or England, etc., cannot realise its importance. Nor even can Russia swallow it in full.

(b) *Frustration-aggression-hypothesis and Gandhiji's Personality*: From a careful analysis of the philosophy it can be well understood that Gandhiji's very weapon of non-co-operation and non-violence is nothing but his firm belief in co-operation as a constant factor in the progress of human society. While discussing about the personality set-up, Dr. Murphy pointed out:

"Frustration without aggression is a lost personality. A child must show the expression of aggression after he has been frustrated. But Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of Non-violence seems to show the contrary view. Hence his personality remains obscure to the European and American writers."

In fact, Dr. Murphy failed to understand the relation between non-co-operation and non-violence as understood by Gandhiji. Non-co-operation is surely an expression of aggression and so non-violence, which is rather a rational way to avoid destruction, cannot cause repression over the mind of a growing child to develop into a successful personality.

II. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

(a) *Personality-traits-approach Not Suitable*: Strictly speaking from the social psychologist's viewpoint it is not possible to draw an overall description of Mahatma's personality as according to their definition of personality, we find that it includes a total

quality of an individual's behaviour. Allport defines personality¹ as "the individual's characteristic reaction to social stimuli* and the quality of his adaptation to the social features of his environment."

Now, for an overall description of an individual's personality, one of the methods the psychologists pursue is the measurement of the commonly recognised personality traits. Allport brings them under the following five heads: (1) Intelligence, (2) Motivity, (3) Temperament, (4) Self-expression, (5) Sociality.²

But, for the study of these traits of Mahatma's personality we have no scope after his death. In spite of that, from the success in his life it can be assumed that Mahatma's personality traits were definitely of a much higher degree than any one of the normal Indians of his time.

(b) *Psycho-analysis as a Suitable Approach*: So actually speaking one of the methods we can use is the analytical study of the mechanisms which regulated the energy of Gandhiji's tendencies and thereafter we can understand the nature of his personality from the analysis of the mode of social life apparent in his philosophy. The study of these mechanisms is possible with the help of Psycho-analysis. Some of these Mechanisms are: (1) Deflection and Sublimation, (2) Canalisation, (3) Objectification, (4) Subjection, (5) Idealisation and (6) Platinisation.³ Of course, we can analyse these mechanisms from his life-history.

(c) *Freudian Psycho-analysis Misjudges Gandhiji's Personality*: The mechanism of deflection consists in merely resorting to a substitute activity, whether socially desirable or undesirable. And sublimation is a special case of it. Thus sex-energy may be sublimated into music, religious devotion to a personal deity, etc. The evidence of Mahatma's devotion to Rama, a mythological figure can be obtained from his song *Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram*, etc. Self-assertion may be sublimated into the fight of spirit against the flesh, and pugnacity may be sublimated into fight against the inner or social evil. So, Coffin rightly says:

"It is not simply a redirection but a transformation. It is energy lifted from the bio-psychological level to the psycho-social level; it represents a reorientation not just a substitution."

Even Freud and Unwin say that civilisation itself

1. F. H. Allport: *Social Psychology*, Chapter on Personality.

* A social stimulus means a person or a thing which has a social significance. A red traffic light is as much a social stimulus as a policeman is.

2. *Ibid.*, Chapter on Personality.

3. Thouless: *General and Social Psychology*.

is a deflection of sex-energy. If sex-behaviour had not been regulated, man would have remained at the primitive level.

Comparing the shortness of the paper reference to all the mechanisms mentioned above may be omitted. But the mechanism of subjectification is unavoidable for the study of Gandhiji's personality in the context of our subject-matter. Subjectification means turning a tendency on to oneself. For example, aggression may be turned upon oneself resulting in self-torture and delight in self-torture. Now, how should we account for Gandhiji's fasting without the help of subjectification-mechanism? Definitely his aggression turned upon himself was expressed through his habit of fasting. And, how often did he not fast when he had launched his non-co-operation movement during the twenties of the twentieth century.

(d) *Influence of Darwin's Principles and Defects of Freudian Analysis*: Still, the question remains unexplained as to why Gandhiji became masochistic in his adjustment to the environment? The answer of this question and any explanation of his behaviour from Darwin's principles of "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest" will surely fail to grasp the new aspect of human adjustment in the evolution of the society. The answer of the question should really be derived from Peter Kropotkin's view that mutual aid (i.e., co-operation) is a very important factor in the evolution of animal species. If the answer of the question is sought over the background of mutual aid (i.e., co-operation) the sense of humiliation attached to the process of masochism will lose much of its generally accepted and expected value. In fact, the defect of Darwin's theory in organic evolution has been rightly observed by Kimball Young who says:

"Perhaps Charles Darwin overstressed open conflict for survival, but the work of Peter Kropotkin and a host of students of animal behaviour since has shown us that mutual aid also plays a part in the development of both species and individuals."⁴

Hence the theory should not always be tried upon the social phenomena in connection with the evolution of the society or, in other words, upon the personality of an individual who is a component of the society. For, it is liable to make the same kind of error as observed in the organic evolution.

(e) *Justification of the Present Method Adopted*: Now as regards our method of analysis the objection may be raised that the explanation of a personality with the acceptance of the principles like "struggle for existence" or "mutual aid" is not psychological but rather biological. In fact, the objection is not genuine. For, we know that psychology has now-a-days become a science that deals with human experience and

behaviour. As such any expression of behaviour of an individual can be studied under psychology. Moreover, there is a branch of psychology which is known as Genetic and Comparative psychology. For the better understanding of human behaviours this branch of psychology collects facts about the behaviours even of the animals from its simplest form to the most complicated one in different life-situations. So, the modes of social life of the human beings can be traced back to the lower animals. Hence the knowledge of the evolutionary ideas is used for the explanation of human behaviours. Even the sociological or political ideas may be utilised for the better understanding of the workings of the human mind. So far psychology utilises these evolutionary or sociological or even political ideas and thoughts for the understanding of the human mind, it does not lose its own entity. Here also in this paper these ideas will be utilised just after getting a brief account of the different modes of social life of the human beings.

III. CO-OPERATION Vs. OPPOSITION AS A FACTOR OF EVOLUTION

As regards the human beings' modes of social life Kimball Young says that

"Two basic social and individual interactional processes are revealed in the relations between in-groups and out-groups: opposition and co-operation. Opposition may take the form of competition or conflict."⁵

The same thing has been told in different languages by Katz and Schank. They have classified these human responses into co-operation, competition (rivalry), conflict and accommodation.⁶

The social modes like competition, conflict and accommodation confirm Darwin's principles, "struggle for existence," and "survival of the fittest." It has been a very common practice for the sociologists and social psychologists to draw the analogy of struggle for existence in almost all the aspects of social evolution. To show the union of two cultures it has been a dangerous practice to talk of fight between the cultures. One dominates and the other becomes submissive. Evidences can be obtained from literatures of almost every first grade nations. Very often they speak of cultural conquest. In fact, such explanations prepare only an attitude for fighting. What could be best termed as a union over a co-operative basis is most cautiously depicted as a conquest of one culture over another. Not only that even a personality like that of Mahatma Gandhi remains a puzzle for them. It is because they cannot see it from the angle of co-operation. They are ready to commit blunders but not ready to correct their path.

5. *Ibid*, p. 6.

6. Katz and Schank: *Social Psychology*, Ch. II.

4. Kimball Young: *Handbook of Social Psychology*, p. 14.

IV. CO-OPERATION AS A SOCIAL MODE OF BEHAVIOUR

Co-operation as a social mode of behaviour is not an invention of the human beings. The tendency to co-operate seems to be as much fundamental as those of competition, conflict and accommodation. It is found in animals, in primitive people, in children and in civilised adults. Empedocles, Shaftsbury, Espinas, William Patten and many others advocate that along with a drive for self-preservation these are also drives that go beyond personal advantage. Cells remain attached together even after their division. W. M. Wheeler asserted that among insects there is "a general reservoir of pre-social traits from which, given the proper opportunities, society really emerges." He pointed out that even the "solitary" wasps are co-operative members. Now about the nature of the co-operative response Alec has said that at the lowest levels it is unconscious, a sort of "automatic mutualism" but its effect is the same, namely, an advantage to all concerned.⁷

V. GANDHIAN NON-CO-OPERATION AS A POSITIVE AGGRESSION Vs. PSYCHOTIC'S NON-CO-OPERATION AS A NEGATIVE AGGRESSION

So in terms of W. C. Alec co-operation gives advantage to all the members of the society. In other words we can say that it constructs the society and non-co-operation is what destroys it. Non-co-operation, therefore, is surely an expression of aggression. In this sense the expression of non-co-operation on the part of an individual does not imply that his libido energy is withdrawn from the objective reality and made to reside in the subjective reality as the psychotic patient does. But rather the individual is in a position to punish the society by stopping his interactional process of co-operation even without applying any physical violence. In this sense the philosophy of non-co-operation and non-violence is no longer a philosophy of divine nature and must be avoided by worshipping it (as it is now-a-days happening in the hands of the present Indians) or a philosophy of a lost personality (as it is understood by Dr. Murphy and others) but rather a scientific truth. If the scientific value of the philosophy is any day realised and accepted, it shall give a knock-out blow to many of the psychological theories which are based upon Darwinisms and compel a revision of many of the mechanisms in an individual's life-adjustments, which have been forwarded by psycho-analysis—say, for instance, subjectification associated with the process of masochism which again carries a sense of humiliation. In fact, the error of interpretation is due to an error in the angle of approach to the problem.

VI. GANDHIAN NON-CO-OPERATION IN KROPOTKIN-SITUATION Vs. PSYCHOTIC'S NON-CO-OPERATION IN DARWIN-SITUATION

The situation where non-co-operation is a sign of positive aggression (i.e., opposite to the negative aggression over the self) and needs no physical violence further, differs from the situation where non-co-operation means the loss of interest in the environment and signifies the behaviour of a lost personality (i.e., a result of negative aggression). In the former the society primarily depends upon the individual whereas in the latter the individual primarily depends upon the society. In the former the individual is in an advantageous position to help the society whereas in the latter the individual seeks help from the society. In the second situation the individual lives in fantasy or imaginary world after he has met frustration, being deprived of the help from the society. But in the first situation the individual stops giving help to the environment after he has met frustration. For simplification let us term the first situation as Kropotkin-situation and the second situation as Darwin-situation. It can be best explained with the help of an example from a unitary family composed of husband and wife only. Say for instance, if a loveable wife upon whose management the whole household affairs depend suddenly stops co-operating for any reason whatsoever, the husband will surely be punished as an act of this kind threatens the very existence of his comfortable nest. So in the Kropotkin-situation the process of non-co-operation is accompanied by the process of non-violence. In the Kropotkin-situation, the type of aggression is non-violent and constructive as well, for it can be controlled to a large extent if it is properly handled within certain limits whereas in the Darwin situation the aggression through the physical force is violent and destructive, for it cannot be controlled against destruction of some degree, be it major or minor.

VII. NO EQUIVALENT INSTINCT FOR GANDHIAN NON-CO-OPERATION IN FREUDIAN LITERATURE

Now as regards the corresponding instincts for the aggressive behaviours in Kropotkin and Darwin situations, Freudian literature stands vague. Hence the explanation of Mahatma's personality remains obscure. In Freudian literature the non-violent and constructive aggression meets no equivalent instinct although the violent and destructive aggression find its equivalent instinct in Thanatos. Thanatos is the death-instinct. While proposing death-instinct in opposition to Eros, the principle of life and growth Freud said to himself:

"Very well, the instincts of self-preservation and propagation of the species, though having different immediate goals, are ultimately alike in being aimed at growth and increase of life. Let them be combined into an inclusive life instinct and what have we got left to oppose them? What, indeed, except a death instinct!"⁸

7. W. C. Alec: *The Social Life of Animals*, Ch. II.

To speak in Woodworth's language, Freud's explanation of the two polarity principles, (1) Eros, the principle of life and growth, the loving and constructive and (2) Thanatos, the principle of decay and death, the hateful and destructive, we may say :

"Just as the libido is generated within the organism but attaches itself to the external objects, so also with the death instinct. It maintains itself for the most part not as a desire to die but as a desire to kill. Turned outward it is the urge to destroy, injure, conquer. It is the hostility motive, the aggressive tendency, which certainly manifests itself abundantly. Finding something outside to destroy, it does not need to destroy the self. But when frustrated in external aggression, it is likely to turn back upon the self as a suicidal tendency."

All through these explanations, it is clear that Freud based his psychological theories derived from Darwin-situation and has confused the Kropotkin-situation by merging it into the former. That is why Freud thinks, "Man's constructive activities are at the same time destructive." In fact, it should be clearly defined and instincts should be classified for both the situations. That is why we find that the non-violent and constructive aggression of Gandhiji's non-co-operation or better say, aggression in Kropotkin-situation, finds no equivalent instinct in Freudian literature. Moreover, in Freudian literature there is no suitable mechanism to explain the life-adjustment in Kropotkin-situation. For, we have already tested the sense of humiliation which the subjectification-mechanism imports through a process of life adjustment, better known by the psycho-analysts as masochism, i.e., the passive form of Allogagnia.

Now, questions may be raised against the view that Freud's psycho-analytical theories on many occasions fail to explain the social phenomena as they are mostly based upon Darwin's theories of organic evolution. To prove this point it is necessary to understand Freud's conception of the human society and the nature of its leader from the quotations of Freud himself where he admits that he has taken the help of Darwin's conjecture. Freud says :

"In 1912, I took up the conjecture of Darwin's to the effect that the primitive form of human society was that of a horde ruled over despotically by a powerful male."

So Freud sees the leader as the most powerful male in the group. He must have the power to subjugate all the members physically. That is to say, Darwin's "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest" have been fully supported by Freud. That is why Freud can write :

8. Freud, S. : *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, 1st Ed., German, 1920 (G. XIII).

9. Woodworth, R. S. : *Contemporary Schools of Psychology*, p. 184.

10. *Ibid*, p. 185.

11. Freud, S. : *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, translated by James Strachy, p. 90.

"He (leader), at the very beginning of the history of mankind, was the Superman whom Nietzsche only expected from the future. Even today the members of a group stand in need of the illusion that they are equally and justly loved by their leader ; but the leader himself need love none else, he may be of a masterly nature, absolutely narcissistic, but self-confident and independent."

In fact, from the angle of co-operation and with the theories of Kropotkin it is possible to say that the members of the group sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously select their leader for the safety of the society. It is unfortunate that Freud never tried to understand the nature of a leader like Mahatma Gandhi who never tried to subjugate his followers with physical force. Once there was a conflict between Deshabandhu Chittaranjan and Mahatma Gandhi during the session of A.-I. C. C. at Gaya. Mahatma Gandhi approached Mr. Das thereafter with folded hands and said :

"We are the two brothers of Mother India. I am on the wrong side of the track, just lead me. I shall follow you."

Mr. Das accepted the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This type of leader cannot be realised from Freudian angle.

Rather with the conjecture of Darwin's,

Freud "attempted (in Totem and Taboo) to show that the fortunes of this horde have left indestructible traces upon the history of human descent, and, especially, that the development of totemism, which comprises in itself the beginnings of religion, morality and social organisation, is connected with the killing of the chief by violence and the transference of the paternal horde into a community of brothers."

Well, if this be the interpretations of Freud as regards religion, morality, or social organisation, what more can we say except that Freud's theories are influenced by those of Darwin.

VIII. CONCLUSION

So we find, Psychology in its present structure cannot do justice to Mahatma's philosophy of non-co-operation and non-violence. We see that Freudian literature has been influenced by Darwin's writings and again that the modern schools of psychology have been influenced somehow or other by Freudian principles. So psychology requires modifications in the "Frustration-aggression" hypothesis, in the two opposite classes of instincts, i.e., Eros and Thanatos, in the subjectification-mechanism, in the masochistic type of sexual perversions and in such other things before we attempt any such analysis of Mahatma's personality or his philosophy. Otherwise his philosophy that can give peace to every fighting nation and lead them to the road of co-operation and construction for the safety of the humanity will ever remain a philosophy of a lost personality in the hands of the psychologists.

12. *Ibid*, page 93.

13. *Ibid*, p. 90.

IN THE LAND OF THE GADDIS

By DHARM DEVA SHASTRI

GADDIAR in Himachal Pradesh is the home of the Gaddis, an aboriginal tribe. This poor and backward tribe is spread over the entire Tahsil of Bharmour. Previous to its merger with Himachal Pradesh in 1948 this Tahsil formed part of Chamba, a tiny native state. Chamba was founded by Raja Sahil Varma. And he named it after his daughter Chambawati. Raja Sahil ruled about A.D. 920. Bharmour was the capital of the State. In the wake of Mahammad Gazanavi's invasion there was wide-spread disorder almost everywhere in the country. Up in the hills and difficult of access Bharmour was but little affected and remained undisturbed. This led some Rajput families from the foot of the Himalayas to seek shelter and settle down in Bharmour Tahsil and areas adjacent to it. As time went on, the settlers adopted the language, customs and costume of the original inhabitants. Culturally more advanced and intellectually better equipped they soon came to rule over the natives. And with that the racial factor asserted itself ; the settlers began to regard themselves as Shuchis (unpolluted) and the aborigines as Ashuchis (polluted). While negotiating an ascent I met an old Gaddi, a shepherd who traced his descent back to Chauhan Rajputs. A Gaddi doctor, a man of reformatory views told me that his ancestors had migrated to Bharmour at the time of Aurangzeb to save their honour and religion. To-day you cannot tell a Suchha (settler) from a Bhatta (original inhabitant), by the language he speaks, by the dress he wears, or the customs he observes.

Bharmour has had historical importance. On the top of a beautiful hill there is a Siva temple built in the fourteenth century. It has stood well the ravages of time. Not far from the Siva temple, is the temple of Narsingh Bhagawan as old as its neighbour. It is a fine specimen of ancient Indian architecture. Exquisitely carved the idol of Narsingh Bhagwan, inspires reverence. In front of the temple on a raised platform stands a full-size image of the Nandi-bull in brass. Bharmour has always been the nerve-centre of Gadiyar. In the lap of the Kailas valley, Gadiyar, though just 7000 ft. above sea-level, has a post-office, a government dispensary, a junior middle school.

The famous sacred place Man Mahesh which is in the lap of Kailas is only twenty miles ahead of Bharmour. Pilgrims by thousands go there every year to have a dip in the sacred lake there. Their mind is lifted up as their body is braced up. On their way back pilgrims break journey at Bharmour and

visit the eighty-four shrines there built by the the Maharaja to commemorate the pilgrimage of the sage to Kailas who had likewise on their way back broken journey at the place.

At Bharmour I met a saint known as Naga Baba. He is well-built and wears his hair long. The aborigines regard him as the Avatar of Man Mahesh. Verily He is the spiritual head of Gadiyar. I had half-an-hour's talk with him. And he impressed me as having great respect for the constructive activities initiated by Gandhiji. Gadiyar is a virgin field for social work. It eagerly awaits social work. Ashoka Ashram has recently started a Gandhi Vidyalyaya there with plans for social work in other directions.



Khajiyal Lake in Chamba

EDUCATION IN GADIYAR

Chamba district has a population of 168938, in it 2316 sq. miles. Bharmour Tahsil is rather thickly populated. Bharmour which is Gadiyar has 1639 males and 14547 females as its population. Literacy figure is low, as low as it can be ; 273 souls in 30,94 or less than one in a hundred. Of 14547, three can read and write. The Gaddis are averse to education. They think that if education spreads in their community they would cease to rear sheep and goats.

LIFE OF THE GADDIS

Theirs is a very hard life. They live hardly four months in the year in their dwellings. During the rains they ascend the higher hills towards Lahol, with their flocks. During winter they descend to Kangar and Gurdaspur. Gadiyar does not yield enough food grains to feed its people. It has no industries. Cattle-rearing is their main-stay. Land revenue is paid out of the proceeds they get from selling wool.

The physical features of Gadiyar have made the

Gaddis a nomadic tribe. A roving people have but little opportunity to send their children to school. To constructing dwelling houses they prefer the open country. The reason is obvious. They have to roam about grazing their flocks. The junior middle school that Bharmour has, owes its start to Naga Baba. Attendance during winter is very poor, often not as many as there are teachers.



In a village in Gadiyar

Under State rule education was free. Books were supplied to needy and deserving students. Now they have to pay school fees up to class V. Even poor students do not get books and stationery. Not fond of learning, this has provided them with a pretext to keep away from school. The Himachal Pradesh education department should recommend to the State Government that education be made free up to class VIII. The State should also give stipends and scholarships to Gaddi boys and girls. If any one need incentive and State patronage more than any other, it is they. Everything should be done to induce girls to attend school.

SEX-WISE DIVISION OF WORK

At Khanni a school-master was holding his class under a green-wood tree. There were some 25 boys in the class. Not many yards from the class a group of girls were playing. I gave them biscuits and sweets. And then in a persuasive tone I pleaded, "Why don't you join the class?" Readily the following answer came from a quick-witted girl, "That is a man's business, not ours." And she proceeded to add, "We women have to fetch water, collect fuel, gather grass and leaves, spin wool, wash clothes, manure fields, weed plants, harvest crops and graze cattle." "And a man's work," she added, "is to weave the spun wool, cut wood and plough the field." The man's work is so light and easy. Gadiyar must be an idler's paradise. As the conversation was going on some Khanni men and women gathered round me. They were amused listeners. I asked the dear child, "Well, will you just tell me whose work, man's or

woman's, is it to eat food, to smell with the nose, to see with the eyes, to hear with the ears?" The pretty little thing paused a moment and then returned smartly, "These are no works at all. They are done by men, as by women." I remarked, "To read and write, is just so the concern of both men and women."

The argument worked amazingly well. In a moment she took a front seat in the assembled class, her liquid eyes seeking the approval of her father which he signified with a nod of the head. An old Gaddi with a hundred cubit long woollen girdle round his waist could contain himself no longer. He said as he tended his sheep, "All's well with the Congress regime! To-day our girls are going to school, to-morrow our lambs will sit for learning."

THEIR COSTUME

The costume of the Gaddi is all woollen. His typical attractive dress is made up of a carefully stitched loose-fitting coat flowing to the knee, a *kaupin* is used as under-wear, and a circular cap as head-gear. Besides these, a woollen cord some fifty yards long which the Gaddi girds round his waist is an inseparable part of his or her dress, as shoes are a necessity in towns of the plains. This girdle gives comfort to the body and also makes movement easy. The cord is of another important use. It provides the Gaddi with ample bags or, if you like, big pockets waist upward in his loose-fitting coat for carrying a world of things from cooked food and dishes to young lambs. I



A village school of Khanni

saw a Gaddi, who was preparing to stay with his flock for the night on a mound, take out from inside his coat as many as four justborn lambs. He took nearly ten minutes to remove the girdle. He arranged his goats and sheep in a circle, kept the dog on watch, and made room for himself amidst his cattle. He fell asleep in a minute, his great coat now covering his legs bent close to his stomach. The coat pieces are so closely woven that a Gaddi's coat serves him as well during the rains as a rain-coat.

The woman's costume, as man's, is again all wool. It consists of a long kurta, a long kerchief that protects her head and hair from dust and frost, a bodice and a Lahanga much like a petticoat. She also wears the woollen long girdle. At Gahara I found a girl in woollen dress weighing about eight pounds even in mid-June when temperature is pretty high there.

The principal industry is the shearing and processing, the curding and combing of wool. Weaving is also there. You meet a Gaddi, and he is twisting yarns with a Takli. Even in a public meeting most of them were found twisting. Spinning is the woman's work. There are charkhas (spinning wheels) in every home. I found some women spinning pretty fast in spite of interference by their children. To one I said, "Give me your charkha for a while. Let me try my hand on it." Men never do spin there. So half in disbelief and half in curiosity she moved her charkha towards me. Wool-spinning was not new to me. I began and spun as fast as she. I could notice surprise in her face. I said to her, "A charkha is no small thing. It is through the charkha that Mahatma Gandhi made the British quit India." "Ah, he span, such a great one as he span! Did he do that tire-some job of the woman?" She enquired. "Yes, he did," I said in reply adding, "If men will wear clothes, they must spin also." In every Gaddi hut many a ball of combed wool, big and small, are seen hanging from the thatched roof. They spin at night, as they sing folk-songs in soft low pitch.

Gaddi women are fond of wearing strings of red, white and green beads. Silver ornaments of old style are much in use. Gold ornaments are rare. They insert in their braids green leaves and flowers. It is almost invariably champa. Silver rupees and eight-anna pieces go to make necklaces for Gaddi girls. Gaddis always have with them a flint and striker to strike fire when they want to smoke.

THEIR PHYSIQUE AND FEATURES

The Gaddis resemble to an extent the Jats of Hissar in the East Punjab. They are as tall, robust and well-built. Other tribal people of the Eastern Himalayas though as good-looking are short in stature. The Gaddis are attractively beautiful. This difference is probably due to the fact that they never marry before they have reached full maturity. Parents take good care in the character-building of their adolescent boys and girls. Promiscuity is almost a thing unknown. There is, therefore, absolutely no venereal disease there. Outsiders working in the forests are now importing this evil there.

CULTURE

The Gaddis are poor in riches, but are high in character. At two different stages of our journey we met two young girls, with ornaments on, each going by herself, from their husbands' homes to their mothers'.

Between start and destination, the distance in one case was eight miles, and in another nine. And the way lay through jungles. That young girls move about without the least apprehension of discourtesy from men bespeaks a moral excellence of the Gaddis of a very high order. With one of them I had the following conversation:

"Where are you going to?"

"To my mothers'."

"Don't you fear doing the journey alone?"

"Fear whom? Bears and other animals do not attack in the day-time."

Her concluding sentence left me in a wondering admiration of her race. A beautiful young girl with ornaments on, has no fear from men. She dreads not men, but beasts!



A Gaddi father and his son carrying snow for sale

"You are going alone. Have no apprehensions from men?" I asked the other girl whom we met four or five miles on from Rakh.

"Dare one take liberties with another's wife? Things have not become so dark," the sprightly young maid firmly returned.

To take liberties or cut jokes with any one but one's own wife is not regarded so much as a wrong in the cities and towns of the plains, though a society's culture should be measured by the extent of security it provides to women and their honour. If that be the ideal desired, the Gaddis, the aborigines, provide it. The Gaddis do not lock their houses when they go down to the plains during the winter to graze their flocks. They fasten a short iron chain in an iron hook

fixed in the door and seal it with goat-hair and mud. When they return, they find everything intact.

RELIGION AND LANGUAGE

Hindu by religion the Gaddis observe Dashera and other Hindu festivals. Marriage rites are gone through with sacred fire as witness. They wear long pigtails hanging loose towards the back. Brahmans, as illiterate as they themselves, are consulted on ceremonial occasions.



A Gaddi girl

Bharmouri is their language. It has no script of its own. It is being preserved by its songs and folklores. Punjabi and Laholi exercise much influence over Bharmouri. Gaddis can follow Hindustani. They worship gods and goddesses. They believe in spirits and ghosts. Witchery is also there. To atone for sins, goats and sheep are offered as sacrifice. Lord Siva is universally worshipped. Wool and woollen clothes are offered to Him. There is not anything like daily prayer or worship in their society. They attach no importance to bathing. They bathe once or twice in the year. The climate is semi-arctic in winter and temperate in summer.

MARRIAGE

Marriage is quite a problem there. To get a wife a young man—he marries at mature age—must furnish cash to, or must serve as a serf with, the girl's father for a term sometime extending to years. Three types of marriage are in vogue there.

Marriage in exchange is known as *Santa*. The family you seek a girl from, you must give a girl of yours to, in betrothal. In such marriage the girls are often unhappy. Ill-treatment meted to your girl

by her husband's relations at that end leads to counter-ill-treatment of their girl at yours.

A Gaddi who has no girl to offer in exchange, has to offer a big sum to the would-be father-in-law or serve him as a slave for at least seven years. His day begins at dawn and ends late at night. He gets two meals to eat. Generally it is Kodra or Elo bread, very rarely wheat bread, that is given. No clothing he gets. Magzi, an aged Gaddi, said to me as he twitched his eyes at his wife sitting by, "For her I had to give twenty years of my life to her father. So invaluable they are." Invaluable certainly, for to a Gaddi death as a bachelor is a dog's death. While he serves as a slave he is not allowed even to chat with his prospective wife. Courtship is out of the question. This second type of marriage like the first type makes the wife's life miserable. Oftener than not the husband exacts labour from her as from cattle. And to the bargain he reminds her now and then that she has not come to him as a gift, he has had to slave for seven years for her.

The third type, Jhanjara, is a forcible form of marriage recognized as valid. If a young man takes away by force the young wife of another with her consent and makes a round of a temple with her, the marriage is complete. The young man need not wait for the consent of the parents of the girl even. To avoid pursuit they go to a distant temple. The former's husband is, however, entitled to compensation, if only he will go to court.

CONSCIOUS OF FREEDOM

At the residence of Shri Daulat Ram Gupta, a reputed leader of Chamba, a Gaddi woman named Nepali gave us the story of her married life. It was piteous. Her husband beat her inhumanly. She left him. She now worked for wages and span to maintain herself and her two children, a son and a daughter. The girl she had given in marriage to a young Gaddi without taking any money. "My girl shall, therefore, be happy," she said, her face wearing an expression of happy satisfaction. She added, "Congress Raj has come to us as a blessing. We are now free and shall no longer have to submit to brutal treatment." A Pangwal who was nearabout protesting said, "Ugh, we shan't then get wives to marry. And that will be the end of family life." His remark caused laughter.

DIVORCE

Divorce is practically unknown. But since the merger of the State with Himachal Pradesh the courts at Chamba have been receiving quite a great number of maintenance petitions. Gaddi women are taking full advantage of the opportunity to escape from their husbands' ill-treatment. Rather than pay monthly allowances, the husbands relieve them for a small consideration. They are then free to marry any one they like.

After marriage, girls stay at their mothers' homes for full one year. At the end of that period the husband (Lada) goes to the wife's home with two of his relatives, and requests her (Ladi) to accompany him. The members of her family, as also her near relatives accompany her to her husband's home. As they go they play on musical instruments. The whole thing looks like a procession. They stay for three days at the Lada's house feasting and drinking. Goats are killed. They ferment Kodra bread, powdered herb, Muktakeshi, walnuts and other local fruits in molasses to distil the liquor they drink. This ceremony is known as Sadnoj. Persons making up the Sadnoj sometimes number over three hundred.

BANGLO

Every village has a number of constructions, roofs of wood or thatches without any walls. They are called Banglors, and are erected to commemorate dead relatives. Panchayats are held in them, and any one may use them as resting place. On application, wood for this purpose can be had from the forest department free or at nominal cost.

MUSIC

Music is in the very make of a Gaddi. He or she is full of song and dance. No sooner new songs are composed and set to music than they are on the lips of all, men, women and children. Gaddi women sing as they graze their flocks, as they gather leaves, or as they work in the field. Seated on a raised platform keeping watch on her maize field a Gaddi lady was cheerfully repeating a strain. It made us stop. We drank the melody. She paused.

"The healthy, green, growing maize plants have filled me with joy and out of that fulness I have been singing."

She said, as it were, an explanation was necessary. She added:

"God willing, we shall get to eat this year."

SCARCITY OF WATER

Following a stiff ascent of clear three miles on the road to Bharmour is the village Khanni. There is no water there. A pitcherful of water costs eight annas. And that too is not easily to be had. For water they have to go two miles down to *khad*. The attention of the authorities at Chamba has been drawn to this. The village is willing to contribute labour as well as some money.

The Tundah area of the Bharmour Tahsil is badly infected with leprosy. There is not a house that has not a leprosy case. Squalor and ignorance were responsible for the spread of the disease. A doctor at Bharmour

interested in leprosy relief work is willing to volunteer his services. Let the Gandhi Memorial Trust's Leprosy Wing start leprosy clinics in Himachal Pradesh.



A Garba dance-party at Chamba

AN APPEAL

Our land is large in area. And big is its poverty. But the poverty of Himachal Pradesh is appalling. regards ignorance and want of education they in Himachal Pradesh may come first. Access to it being difficult this part of the country has failed to draw social workers. I beseech social workers and leaders taking interest in social work to visit this man-forsaken part of the Union. I earnestly request Shri Sushila P. Secretary, Kastur Ba. Gandhi Memorial Trust, to go to Gadiyar, Kinnar Desh and Jaunsar-Bawar to see for herself the plight of the women there and something to ameliorate their condition.

Aahok Ashram, Himalayas,
July 18, 1952.



SALT LAKE CITY : CAPITAL OF UTAH

SALT Lake City, the Capital of the State of Utah, one of the large cities in the western United States, is claimed by those who live there, and by many who have visited it, to be "the most beautifully situated city" in the nation. The only metropolitan area in the thousands of square miles of the Rocky Mountain region between the State of Colorado and the Pacific Coast States, the city is the natural distributing point and shopping center for at least 1,000,000 people living in the region.



This busy street in the heart of Salt Lake City, capital of Utah, appears to extend to the foot-hills of the nearby Wasatch mountain (a Rocky Mountain range) which partially encircle the city.

Salt Lake City is also the world capital of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). It is important culturally, as well as industrially and commercially, to the western States.

Its site once a desert valley, this modern metropolis of a vast mountain region in western United States, was designed by its pioneer builders to be a city of churches, schools, and homes; it is the world religious capital for hundreds of thousands of Mormons.

In July of 1847 the Mormon pioneers, after a long and arduous journey of 1,500 miles across the western plains from the Missouri River in the central part of the United States, were told by their leader, Brigham

Young, that they had reached the end of their travels. Some of his followers were incredulous. What they saw was a barren valley, a dreary waste lying at an altitude of more than 4,000 feet above sea level, with Great Salt Lake gleaming in the distance and the Wasatch Mountains (a Rocky Mountain range) in the background. They wanted to push on. Their leader, however, believed they had reached the promised land, the realization of a vision he had carried in his heart all those weary miles.

Brigham Young was resolute; he set his followers to work to put into effect his definite plan. The city they were to build was first dedicated to God. It was to be a city of churches and homes. The desert was to be made to blossom with gardens and parks, and education and culture were to keep pace with the beauty of the land and the life of the spirit. Only four years after they staked out their municipality, which they had decided was to be called "City of the Great Salt Lake," they ordered to be brought by ox teams the nucleus of an impressive library carefully selected and purchased in New York City, the Atlantic Coast metropolis.

By the summer of 1849, the pioneers had surveyed 8,000 acres of land and divided it into five- and ten-acre farms. These parcels were given by lot to families who were expected to build their houses, fence their land, and help dig irrigating ditches from the main canal. The family produced the necessities of life. All its members had their special duties, including tending flocks and herds; weaving and dyeing, and cultivating the garden.

Every family, too, was a religious center in which the day began and ended with a gathering for religious devotions. There was a healthy rivalry between families in the beautification of the homes as trees were brought from the canyons and planted in the gardens. Above all, every family was made to feel that it must contribute to the welfare of the whole community. It was the rule to build the meeting house (church) and school-house immediately after locating the homes and planting crops. The intention was that education should have a spiritual basis and that education in turn might further enlighten the spirit. By 1852, there was a "Social Hall" where drama was performed and the young people were encouraged to study the classic writers. Ten years later the Salt Lake Theater was built; it became known as one of the great playhouses of America.

Salt Lake City today is the result of the labors of those pioneers who had faith in themselves and a definite plan of action. It is a city of churches. Many social and religious centers have been created there. All denominations have their own edifices. The city's

mayors have been Mormon and non-Mormon; Protestants and Jews and Mormons have all been elected and have served as governors of the State of Utah.

selected and had to be hauled about 300 miles by ox teams over mountains and deserts.

Salt Lake City lies directly on main railway, motor bus, and air transport lines. It is the natural distributing point and commercial center for a vast area. It is located in a region that is rich in minerals, many of which are shipped elsewhere for conversion into various commodities. But more and more, in recent years, the city has attracted plants and manufacturing concerns which transform the ores into finished metal products, and which fabricate the metals in tools, furniture, and the many types of goods typical of a technical age.

The sturdy efforts of the early pioneers in their struggle to build their own civilization are memorialized in the Church Museum which was founded in 1860 by a son of Brigham Young. Here are to be seen the press which printed the *Deseret News*, one of the first newspapers of the American West, established in 1850; two large square pianos hauled across the plains by ox teams in the



Utah State Capital at Salt Lake City

Education has kept pace with other phases of civic development in the city and the State. A recent survey showed that 93 per cent of the youth of Utah (ages 6 to 18) were enrolled in the schools and that 95.6 per cent of its young people of high (secondary) school age were attending schools. On a hill above the city are the impressive buildings and campus of the University of Utah, founded in 1850, only three years after the pioneers reached their chosen site.

The great Tabernacle of Salt Lake City, which seats 12,000, was begun in 1863 and was 40 years in the building. It was a labor of love and devotion. Considering the crude facilities of transportation and construction in that region a century ago, the achievement reminds a visitor of the origin of the medieval cathedrals. The acoustics of this auditorium are world-famous and concerts by the

300-voice choir and organ recitals given there are heard by radio listeners throughout the United States. The organ was handcarved and hand-built; the materials which went into it were carefully

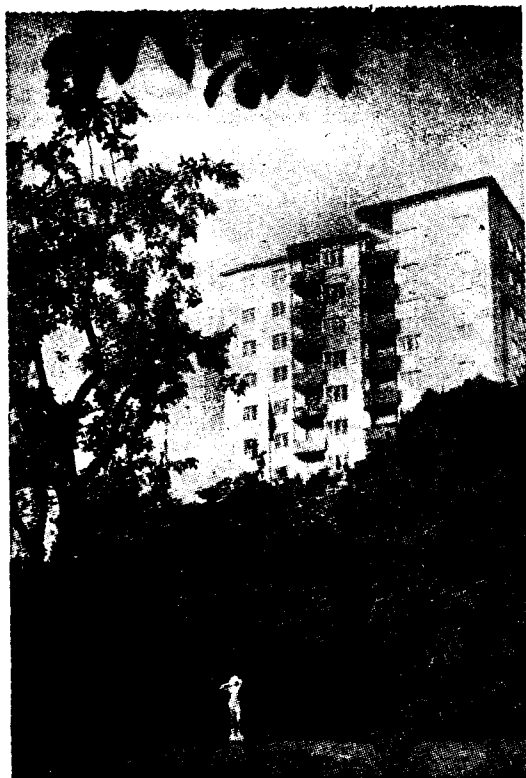


The Tabernacle (left) and Temple of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) are outstanding features of Salt Lake City, capital of Utah and world capital of this religion.

late 1850's; and relics of the old Salt Lake Theater. Here too is a treasured relic bearing this inscription: "This plough was used by Elder William Carter to plough the first half-acre in Salt Lake Valley, July, 1847."—From *Think*.

SWEDEN

Sweden is one of the oldest nations in Europe. For centuries its population has shared the same dangers, the same difficulties and the same good fortune. From a linguistic and ethnological point of view the country as such is exceptionally uniform.



An ultra-modern Apartment House of Sweden. Ultra-modern business complexes are the order of the day in big Swedish towns

Its geographical position, too, has been largely responsible for a pronounced national culture. Sweden for the greater part is surrounded by water, while in the north-east comparatively desolate tracts join it to Finland, and in the west, mountains and forests cover the area all along the Norwegian frontier. If this geographical position has helped to create and preserve certain customs and traditions which still characterize Swedish life, it has not, however, brought about any cultural or economic isolationism. The sea not only separates countries, it also provides vital routes of communication. For the very reason that Sweden is situated on the periphery of Europe, Swedes throughout the ages have felt a specially strong need of maintaining and developing their contacts with the rest of the world.

As far back as the Middle Ages quite a number of Swedish students went to the leading university towns in Europe to acquire a more complete and

qualified education than their own land could offer them. Even after Uppsala University was founded in 1477 and Sweden during the 17th century had another university at Lund, it remained a tradition amongst the upper classes and the intellectuals if possible to supplement their education at home by studying abroad. The same tendency was, of course, much more noticeable when Sweden, after the industrial revolution, was changed from a poor to a comparatively rich country.

Industrialization took place in Sweden later than in western and central Europe. At the end of the last century it was still mainly a nation of small farmers, hardly able to support its population, even though this was rather sparse. Today Sweden possesses perhaps the most modern and efficient organised production in Europe. Its foreign trade embraces all parts of the world. Housing shows a high standard of living, and the great work of social construction which has been carried out during the last decades has given the whole population a feeling of security and well-being in the community.



All Swedish school children have free dental care. The picture shows a typical Swedish school clinic

When explaining how Sweden, from being a poor country, could in such a short time become quite a rich one, judged by European standards, it must be remembered that it has enjoyed an unbroken peace for more than a century. Even if it is true that the importance of peace to social, economic and cultural development cannot be overestimated, it must not be forgotten, however, that this transformation of Swedish life is based on several concurrent factors.

Of these perhaps the most important are the technical inventions which have made possible the exploitation on a big scale of Sweden's foremost

SWEDEN

229

natural resources: forests, iron and water power. Thanks to new methods about the turn of the century, production in the paper and wood-pulp industries, which give Sweden some of its chief articles of export, was doubled many times over. At approximately the same time a way was found to exploit the great iron-ore deposits in the far north. As these come right up to the surface, mining could take place under particularly favourable circumstances. Kiruna and Gallivare, both lying north of the Arctic Circle, soon became important communities. Swedish iron ore was shipped to the industrial countries of the old and the new world, and the Swedish engineering industry developed rapidly.

If material progress has greatly improved the living conditions of the Swedish people and if the intensive building activity thereby made possible has given Swedish cities an entirely new appearance, this does not mean that the modern Sweden has pushed aside the old. Not only the form of government and structure of society, but also the mentality and way of life of the people evince a homogeneous and harmonious development. This continuity and stability is partly based on a pronounced civic spirit, which is also no doubt one of the reasons why modern Swedish life has developed the way it has.

It is obvious however that Sweden at the same time has become more and more dependent on her connections with the outer world. Every crisis in the rest of Europe affects the country's economic and political life. Even if it was possible to preserve the traditional Swedish neutrality during the Second World War, Sweden has not been able to escape the international economic difficulties of the post-war period. And with a new world conflagration threatening, the prospects of being able to keep the country's peace are very uncertain.

While actively supporting all efforts to safeguard peace and surmount the severe crisis facing international trade, Sweden therefore is compelled annually to set aside considerable sums in order to maintain a strong defence. It is worth pointing out that in this connection unity prevails between the Social Democrats and the Farmers' Union, the government parties on the one hand, and the two leading opposition parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, on the other. The additional fact that the above parties have very much the same views regarding the aims of social policy justifies the statement that Sweden, more than

most European countries, is spared the internal discord so apt to weaken a country's defensive spirit and to hamper its social progress.

Sweden is rightly known as a country of vast forests. But the first thing seen by the tourist arriving from the south is a fertile plain with thriving plants and trees usually only to be found further south. If on the other hand he arrives by boat at Sweden's chief port, Gothenburg, he sees, as the coast-line rises out of the water, a treeless archipelago whose innumerable rocky islands have been polished smooth by the sea. If his journey then takes him from Gothenburg to Stockholm, he goes through a varying countryside of gentle plains, woods and lakes, containing some of



Nursery-school pupils are taught gymnastic movements in a Stockholm gymnasium

Sweden's richest agricultural land. North of Stockholm the scenery becomes more severe; firs and pines gradually replace the deciduous trees, and the towns and villages are few and far between. It is wrong, however, to imagine that these forest regions are gloomy or monotonous; on the contrary, the country is much grander than further south. It is here that several of Sweden's foremost natural resources are concentrated, and although this part of the country is sparsely populated, it is of exceptional importance to its economic life.

The mountains on the Norwegian frontier to the north-west have no very high peaks and lack the rugged outlines typical of the Alps, but they are extremely beautiful both in the winter, when they form an ElDorado for skiing, and during the short, but intensive summer. It is not surprising, therefore, that several of the mountain villages are among the most frequented tourist resorts in Sweden.

One's work is one's life. Vinova's work is just now before the public. And it is an ample page. Yet men look backward, as they look forward to size up a thing. It is in them.

Born in 1894, Vinova will complete his fifty-seventh year on September 11. Vinayak Vinova Bhavé was the eldest of five children, four sons and a daughter born to Narahari Bhavé and Rukmini Devi. The Bhavés of Gagoda, Tahsil Pen, District Kolaba in Maharashtra are fairly well-to-do Saraswat Brahmins. The youngest of the four brothers died young. Balkrishna Vikaji Bhavé the second brother is in charge of the Nature Cure Centre, started by Gandhiji at Uruli Kanchan. The third brother Shivaji, a great Sanskrit scholar, lives at Dhulia unattached to any Ashram or institution. He takes order from the eldest brother and is engaged in language reform work. Under instruction of Vinova he has given shape to the *Loka-lipi* which avoids use of compounds.

Rukmini must have been a wise lady, a sensible mother. Vinova got a lot from her. He often fondly refers to her in his writings. In the obituary notice in Sarvodaya of Raman Maharshi the following occurs: "One day while reading *Bhakta-Vijaya* I remarked, 'Mother, such saints were there only in ancient times.' 'Mother said,' Vinova continues, 'they are there even today. Only we do not know them. Without such as these the world cannot go.'" *Gita-pravachan* contains many a like reference to his mother. Vinova writes:

"Like so many, I also once said to mother, 'Here is a beggar strong and plump, come to beg. To give alms to such a one is to encourage indolence and lassitude. And I cited in support the *Deshe kale cha patre cha* sloka from the Gita. Mother said, 'The beggar that is come is God Himself. Now distinguish the deserving from the undeserving. Would you rate God as undeserving? Who are you and who am I to distinguish one from the other. I do not see there is much to consider. For me he is the God.'" And then Vinova observes, "I have not to this day found a fitting reply to what mother said in meeting my objection."

Instances such as these could be multiplied. But that is unnecessary. She died rather young in 1918, a victim to the influenza scourge.

In childhood Vinova was most unmannerly. He had possibly in him an extra dose of surplus energy that led him to monkeyish things which often invited a fastidious father's birch. But morally Vinayak was all right, all high.

Father Narahari secured a diploma in dyeing from the Maharaja Gaekwad's Kala Bhavan. He belonged to the first batch of students. He served for some time in the dyeing department of the Buckingham Mills. British India khaki was a contribution of Kala Bhavan. In order to give his children proper education Narahari left the Buckingham Mills job and shifted to Baroda as a typist clerk in State Government service.

Narahari was a man of modern outlook and had a bias for industrial education.

Up to sixth standard Vinayak always stood first. He then lost interest in routine studies, and somehow passed his examinations. Nevertheless his store of knowledge kept increasing in volume. He was selective in his studies, things enduring appealing rather than things transient. A great Sanskrit scholar, he has not read *Sakuntala*. Mathematics and philosophy were his favourite subjects. Of mathematics only recently (*Sarvodaya*, March 1952) he wrote, "Next to God if I love anything best it is mathematics." And mathematical precision marks all his actions as *anasakta* actions enjoined by the Gita should be. A marvellous memory aided by selective studies laid the foundation of his profound scholarship. Vinova had French as his second language. His father had a mind to send him to Europe.

In those days there was no spiritual or ascetic trend in him. Politics drew him. And politics then meant getting rid of the British. It was partition days then. Chiplanker and Tilak were his heroes. Young Vinayak and friend started a Vidyarthi Mandal which might any day become a bomb-throwers' association.

Vinova was to appear in I.A. examination in 1916. Ostensibly he left for Bombay for the purpose, but went to Sabarmati instead. He joined Mahatma's Ashram.

Gandhi wrote about him thus:

"... He is a Sanskrit scholar. He joined the Ashram almost at its inception. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And practically at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before he walked into it without notice. I had forgotten that he was to arrive that day. He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialized as very few have... Being a born teacher he has been of the utmost assistance to Asha Devi in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts.

"... He is responsible for producing a young-man who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers."

This Gandhi wrote introducing Vinova to the public as the first individual Satyagrahi.

"In 1917, when Mr. Andrews was at the Ashram," wrote Mahadev Desai in *Harijan*, October 20, 1940, "I remember Gandhiji describing to him Vinova in these terms: 'He is one of the few pearls in the Ashram.' They do not come, like others, to be blessed by the Ashram, but to bless it, not to receive, but to give."

Did he not get anything in return from the Ashram? Let Mahadev say. In *Young India* of 1923 he wrote:

"... Though Gandhiji said that he had gone to the Ashram to give and not to receive, this is what Vinova said in a talk: 'Only I can know what I have got in the Ashram. It was an early ambition of mine to distinguish myself by a violent deed in the service of the country. But Bapu cured me of that ambition. It is he who extinguished the volcano of anger and other passions in me. I have been progressing every day of my life in the Ashram. Every year I have been making one of the *mahabratas* my own'."

Vinova was not keeping well at the Ashram. He got one year's leave. He first went to Wai, a health resort in Satara District and thence to Banaras. Wai is a sacred place, a beauty-spot on the Krishna river, and at the foot of the Mahabaleswar hills. There the Bhavés of Gagoda have a temple dedicated to Sankara. At the time Narayan Shastri Marhatta, a great Sanskrit scholar, had his Prajna Pathshala there. During his stay at Wai, Vinova took lessons from the Shastri not as a regular but a casual student. From there he went to Banaras for further studies in Sanskrit referred to by Gandhi in his *Who is Vinova Bhavé?*

Marhatti is his mother language. Vinova speaks English, French, Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu and possibly Kanarese and Oriya. At Sevapuri he opened his talk with Sarvodaya Sevaks from Bengal with a Bengali sentence: "I do follow Bengali, but can't speak it." He is learning Bengali. He learns the languages of the people of India, because he wants to appeal straight to their heart, which you never can unless you do speak to them in their own. And this also induced him to learn Arabic, the language of the Koran, the sacred book of Muslims, our neighbours. And he has a peculiar language sense. He will detect in your speech flaws of language even it be that his acquaintance with your language is of the slightest. His language is simple and direct. The words he chooses are appropriate and are such as any one would understand. There is no verbiage in him. He has a rare economy in the use of words. The following excerpt from him will give an idea of the literary skill he prizes:

"Choose every word carefully. For, if the words you choose are not appropriate, your expression instead of being substantial may be just airy. Some words carry inadequate sense, some more than the adequate, and some again have contrary connotations. One must avoid all these three defects and express a thing exactly as it takes shape in the mind."

Gandhi initiated the people into truth and non-violence, and through them (Satyagraha) gave India political freedom. It has been left to Vinova to initiate the people into *aparigraha* (non-possession) and *asteya* (non-stealing) and through them (Sarvodaya) to construct the other half of India's freedom—economic independence.

"Shri Vinova saw that the root of the malady of the present world lay in its faith in wealth. It was therefore necessary to depose Money, the symbol of possession (and of power, if we are permitted to add) from its sovereignty over life. After deep reflection accompanied with fast, Shri Vinova made a resolve not to accept money gifts. And there never was with him a question of earning money."

"Labour and money are the two forces in the world. In order to escape from labour one has to lay by money. As long as money occupies the place of pride, labour cannot attain dignity, however much it may improve in its quality and volume. Vinova has deposed money and raised the dignity of labour. Only after bringing about this transformation in his own person Vinova has earned for himself the right to preach non-possession, i.e., curtailing the possession of wealth. And owners of land have supplied the proof that Indian nation has not forgotten its ancient tradition of being influenced by the higher law—the law of Spirit."—Kaka Kalelker.

At Paramdham Pavnar, Vinova's Ashram, they produce by body-labour primary necessities of life. They forgo for the time being the use of any such item they need but have not produced. They do not go to market for it. Vinova defines this effort to depose money, the realization of this ideal as *Samya-yoga*. And his *Bhoo-dan yajna* is an extension of this ideal to society, for without returning lands to the tillers of the soil, there is no doing away with the sway of wealth. Vinova attributes his achievements in Telangana and Uttar Pradesh to this experiment of his at Paramdham Pavnar. He says also:

"But for that experiment, I might not have the confidence which marked all my actions; but for that I might not have shed my timidity, and my shyness might have perished. Then too the labour I put on good earth acknowledging the cultivator as my guru, has given me a humility I never have had."

Vinova was not what he is today. According to Tukdoji Maharaj, the celebrated *bhajan*-singer from Maharashtra, Vinova was not accessible. He writes:

"God is for the good of all. What was Bapu if he was not god. Today revered Vinova has become god. Vinova was not what he is today. His was a secluded life. He did not meet any one, nor did he talk to any. Had Bapu been with us today, you would not have found Vinova going from village to village. He talked at you, never talked to you. He has now come to realize that seclusion, cold reserve, does not pay. He now addresses people as brother, as cousin. To some he says he is his brother, to some other he says he is his son. Who will say this Vinova is that Vinova? Father gone, the son has now to shoulder the burden. Now Vinova to us is what Bapu was to us then. After Gandhi's death he has become as loving as he."

With all his humility—he ends his speeches and letters with *Vinova ke pranam* (Vinova's salutation)—a little ruggedness seems still to persist in him, which

time and his daily increasing contact with people will round off. Or it may be, he retains something of the old reserve that is mistaken by casual visitors as ruggedness. The character of that reserve is revealed from the following written by Mahadev Desai in *Young India* of 1917 :

"You may stay days and days with him without knowing him and even when you know him you only begin to know him. You meet with a reserve which you cannot easily break. He does not talk much, rarely does he say anything about himself. And yet if you could get at the bottom of his profound depths, you are sure to exclaim, 'Nowhere have I struck such treasures!'"

The Gita has been and is his guide. He turns to it at every corner for direction and he gets it. The Gita sustains him, gives him energy, gives him drive. In his own words :

"I have no words to explain the place the Gita occupies in my life. It has done me infinite good." And again,

"In all my actions the Gita has been my guide, as it is today. It has always given me peace of mind, energy and wisdom. Whenever I needed an incentive or the drive to do a thing, it came from the Gita."

And what, according to Vinova, the Gita teaches? To him the Gita does not emphasize action alone, or devotion alone, or realization alone. Neither would he accept the opposite view which regards it as an amalgam of the three. A little of all the three has also no appeal for him. That it is a gradual progress from action to devotion and from devotion to realization is neither acceptable to him. Nor does he like the view that seeks to reconcile the three. "I would rather say," he writes in his commentary, "what is action is devotion and what is devotion is realization."

Vinova's *Gitai* is a good seller. Of it Mahadevbhai wrote : "He has produced a Marathi translation of the Gita in parallel verse which reproduces the haunting music of the original in an amazing degree and hundred thousand copies of it have been sold in Maharashtra." His *Gita-pravachan* in Hindi, a translation from the original in Marathi, has gone through five editions, number of copies running to sixty-six thousand.

Now a brief reference to his work that is just now before the public and that has given him publicity. *Bhoo-dan yajna* initiated in Telangana has now spread to Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Three lakhs of acres have come to him. More important than acres is the atmosphere that he has created. Every post brings him land from all parts of the Union. Next he enters Bihar. Then he comes to Bengal, and goes to Orissa and Tamilnad. He hopes to cover 25 thousand miles, that is India, in six years and collect 5 crores of acres.

Establishment of equality, to bring about Sarvodaya (the greatest good of all, and not the greatest good of the *greatest number*) is the object of *Bhoo-dan yajna* which Vinova has called his five-year plan. Vinova says :

"Now that political freedom has been attained, we have to work for the establishment of equality. I have called that Sarvodaya. You may, if you like, call that Samyayoga or Sarvodaya. It is for the establishment of this Sarvodaya that I have been going from village to village."

"I call this my five-year plan. If all of you take up this work for the next five years and during that time succeed in transferring five crore acres of land, then a great non-violent revolution has taken place in India."

It is a historical necessity.

"What I am doing is not against the trend of history. You have to recognize that what have not happened before may happen. Russian revolution had had no precedent, yet it came. So too this may come about. Whatever that may be, what I am doing is not against history, but is a historical necessity."

Vinova does not beg, he teaches :

"I demand land," Vinova says, "as of right on behalf of the poor . . . I do not beg it of you. I say I am here to teach you to do the right thing."

For, "if the thirsty do not get clean water to drink, they quench their thirst with foul water."

His is the third way, the non-violent one.

"A great revolution is taking shape in India. I see it before me. Russia passed through a kind of revolution. America is passing through a second kind. I have observed the both. Either of them is foreign to the culture and genius of India."

India's is the third way, with its embryo in the *Bhoo-dan yajna*. Vinova is confident of success. And his confidence—confidence of a man who has reduced himself to a zero, speaks :

"Those who do not give me land today, will give tomorrow. They cannot but give. There is none who may refuse me."

Vinova is resolute. It is always "do or die" with him. Appealing to all for support he says :

"I invite you all to work for this revolution. I seek to revolutionize thought, to revolutionize the means. The sages say, youths delight in new creation, new mission. Here is a mission for them, a new world to create."

Vinova is beginning to draw masses as Gandhi did. He is forging a tremendous sanction. It is in us to make it compelling. When it is, the people straying away from Gandhian way, shall walk back. Or there is struggle. And struggle will only add to Vinova's stature.

EAST-WEST COLD WAR AND A WAY OUT

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

It was with no inconsiderable effort that the diplomatic unity of the war years was maintained by the Allies up to 1947, but from 1948 onwards a new period of post-War clarification began as a consequence of which the world has become more and more dis-united than it has ever been before in peace-time particularly between the Russian-directed East Europe and the American-inspired West. This so-called East-West cold war has become increasingly intense as each side attempts to exercise direct or indirect pressures over its neighbours.

This amazing change in the world situation is, however, no accident, for it has been the inevitable aftermath of the situation created by World War II. It is only necessary to remember that the so-called Grand Alliance of 1941-45, whatever the nature of its war-time propaganda, was in fact a make-shift combination of Powers with different, if not contradictory, interests, united only by the common danger from Nazi Germany. So, once the war was over, one disagreement gave way to another, and within three years the memory of the Grand Alliance had all but disappeared and a situation had followed wherein the rival blocs have grown accustomed to picturing the world in terms of black and white.

This East-West cold war has now become a potential threat to peace and civilisation as each side is busy preparing for an atomic warfare in anticipation of the coming World War III. As a matter of fact, many have now begun to think that in the circumstances created by East-West tensions a final showdown is unavoidable and may not be put off indefinitely. While this sombre feeling is gaining ground day by day, the great debate goes on, "Is War inevitable, and is there no way out?" The more familiar assumption is that the third world war between the capitalist and communist blocs is not far off, for the world is aware of the fact that the rival blocs are arming on a scale and with the speed that could not be dreamt of before.

Now, let us see how the Western Powers justify their stand. Their chief argument is that their war preparations are intended actually to avert world war and not to bring about one. They maintain that atomic preparations cannot be given up at present and that the need is all the more pressing as the morale of the democracies has to be sustained in the present situation. The sorely tried Western peoples are mortally afraid of Communism, and they believe they should rather brave all the risks and sufferings of a vast war programme than be a slave of Communism. Even the horrors of war seem to be preferable to dictatorship and concentration camps.

To the Communist bloc, the nations of the West seem to be no better than imperialist war-mongers.

So, Soviet Russia and its satellites explain their own war preparations as an essential move to catch up with the West and counteract the so-called aggressive intentions of the Western Powers. Thus, what to the West appears to be a threat as dangerous as the menace of Nazism, is, from East's viewpoint, nothing more than mere military security and economic reconstruction.

To the detached observer, it would seem that fear is the underlying cause of East-West tensions, for the talk about ideological conflict is, in fact, more plausible than convincing. All propaganda for or against Communism and capitalism is at this moment inspired more by suspicion than by anything else. This sense of suspicion has permeated even the sacred precincts of culture. Literature, art, music and even science have been made to conform to the orthodox tenets of rival ideologies. The growing apprehension that the maintenance of one's cherished ideals and way of life are at stake accounts for the growing war propaganda on both sides, even though this apprehension has little basis other than probably the fear that ideological differences cannot co-exist.

Before one may talk of finding a way out, it is necessary to understand certain fundamental facts of history. War is never inevitable, yet it always results from preventable circumstances. In the midst of suspicion and fear even a petty mistake can produce a war, and in a state of tension and also misunderstanding it is scarcely likely that Powers would go on year after year without making a mistake. Between two Powers, one may always feel inclined or tempted to hope that it could dominate the other and then find, when it would be impossible to go back, that the other party is as determined to fight against odds as it was itself when the roles were interchanged. Besides, people have always been moved in the last resort by ideas, although they decide to fight for an idea when it is blurred or distorted by hate, prejudice or fear. It is only when psychological tensions generate fear and hate that war mentality comes in. History, however, proves that the dynamics of any idea cannot be crushed by anything other than intrinsic frustrations.

It is easy to argue that logic is not a dependable basis for reasoning in the tense situation of today, yet that is in reality, and at any rate is at present the only basis, for it is only through a rational approach that peace can be preserved and tensions can be relieved. There is a certain cynical scepticism about the possibilities of an East-West rapprochement. But why? Perhaps this is chiefly a result of the perverse and irrational way of thinking which the cold war has encouraged. As the last war merged rapidly into the cold war, the illogical arguments about the inevitability of a showdown have been freely bandied about

with such zeal that war talks have gripped the public mind. No one would deny that another global war would destroy humanity along with the civilisation it has built up during thousands of years. It is likewise undeniable that war and fear always constitute a vicious circle of cause and effect.

What then is the way out? The peace-loving peoples all over the world have reason to think that a way must be found. But, the ever-yawning gulf can be bridged, only if there is right thinking on both sides. And, right thinking in this case demands that we initially agree on certain basic postulates:

First, no particular way of life should be regarded as necessarily superior to others.

Second, no political organisation is inherently good or bad in itself.

Third, imposition of one's own way of life on others against their own free will amounts to imperialism.

Fourth, imperialism is an outmoded policy which no freedom-loving people will willingly tolerate.

Lastly, any two ideologies, no matter how antithetical they are, can co-exist, if there is no undue fanaticism or intolerance on either side.

Having accepted these assumptions, one has to admit that the fear-complex must be resolutely fought and got rid of. It was the late President Roosevelt who had once uttered these prophetic words, "The only thing that we need fear after the war is fear." Indeed, peace is impossible, unless mankind achieves freedom from fear. It is worthy of note that although the present situation is cheerless in every respect, there are certain hopeful features which might tend to lessen fear and suspicion on either side. East and West are both in agreement on the need for maintaining world peace. Both are agreed on the urgency for the promotion of human welfare, and both have duly subscribed to the great objectives of the United Nations. Both profess to find an end of war in collective security, and each has proclaimed its desire for peace in Korea, for the abolition and regulation of atomic weapons, for a general disarmament, for a unified Germany, for the removal, in fact, of all those obstacles which are at present perpetuating East-West tension. Now, if there could be so much of agreement in basic principles, one fails to understand why the gulf cannot be bridged.

It will be no exaggeration to say that the cold war has now become a struggle for world opinion, and it is in this fact that there may lie a way out. World opinion in favour of peace and unity may yet bring the East-West wrangles to an end. It is heartening to think that the Asian Powers in general, and India in particular, have been playing an historic role in focusing world opinion on the need for an East-West understanding. India has always cherished the ideal of unity in diversity throughout her long and chequered history, and that is why India is peculiarly fitted to throw all her weight on the side of peace. India's non-

alignment policy has been misunderstood at times, but the fact remains that the policy is basically sound, and it alone is likely to strengthen the forces of peace and mould the public opinion in smaller countries. It is in deference to this growing world opinion that even East has lately come out with new proposals for the abolition of atomic weapons on lines which bring it a little closer to the Western Powers.

Thus, the crux of the matter lies in the growth of world opinion, and it is possible for the neutral parties to exert their combined influence in favour of peace and unity. After the last war, world opinion has become the strongest single compelling factor of peace, and it is worth remembering that both East and West are aware that they cannot afford to disregard, much less defy it. The only danger is that the economically less advanced Powers may be misled by the kind of double propaganda which has replaced the cruder propaganda of the pre-war years. Still, it is a fact that a mass of public opinion has been growing up against the talk of war, and against such public opinion even the atomic bomb is of no use.

But, when all is said, the fact remains that there are no short cuts to a speedy solution of the outstanding disputes. Impatience, in fact, will aggravate the malady, rather than lessen it. A reckless armament race as an ostensible method of averting war will hasten rather than postpone it. History shows that there cannot be an armament race without leading into the war it was meant to avert.

As a matter of fact, the gulf has to be bridged slowly and gradually, step by step and agreement by agreement. It is through a process of progressive agreement that a basis for co-existence may be found. Let us face the facts in a realistic spirit and concede that real unity will not be easily or quickly attainable. But, it is more than likely that even partial agreements will lead to a better state of affairs. In other words, we must be prepared to go through a fairly long period of lessening tension by accepting local and even limited settlements, and, above all, by scrupulously avoiding needless provocation. It is through preliminary agreements in small matters that gradually a wider agreement to live and let live might eventually emerge. At any rate, it is good to remember that there is no magic-wand which could produce a real agreement all at once.

Thus, a pre-condition for the desired consummation is an offensive on the moral front. This need not be confined to the diplomatic level alone, or even in the debates of the United Nations. It should mean the universal promotion of those ideals of human welfare without which peace can have no meaning. Mankind is to be spared a collective destruction, the great powers must see to it that all political action is founded on the welfare of the common man. The lasting basis of a new world unity lies perhaps only in this direction.



Book Reviews



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

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE AFTERMATH 1818-1838: By R. D. Choksey. Published by New Book Co., Bombay. Pp. viii + 380 and three plates. Price Rs. 18.

Dr. R. D. Choksey is to be congratulated on his having brought his chosen task to completion. People outside Bombay State (and many even there) do not know that the historical papers of the Peshwas' record office down to the year 1783 (when the first Anglo-Maratha War was ended by Treaty) and a vast mass of family documents all over the province which were seized by the Inam Commission, have been edited by G. S. Sardesai and published by the Bombay Government in 45 volumes named *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar*. Then came the English letters sent out and received by the British Residents at the Maratha Courts (Holkar excluded) from 1784 onwards, which have been completely published by the same Government in 15 volumes, entitled *Poona Residency correspondence (1785-1818)*. After the fall of the Peshwai in 1818, the Maratha districts were administered by a band of exceptionally able British civil officials and "politicals" who sent valuable reports while they organised a new administration for ten years. Of these Elphinstone is best known, but Chaplin Briggs, J. Grant Duff and Robertson are second only to him. Though these reports and letters have been typed, their printing by Government is now not to be hoped for.

The public ought to be satisfied with the four volumes in which Dr. Choksey has printed the cream of these records, illustrating the economic condition, education, state of society, law and justice, and attempts at social reform during that period. These volumes ought to enrich the library of every serious student of Maratha history.

J. SARKAR

A RIGHTEOUS STRUGGLE: By Mahadev Haribhai Desai. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. October, 1951. Pp. vii + 97. Price Re. 1-8.

This 'Chronicle of the Ahmedabad Textile Labourers' Fight for Justice' in 1918 was originally published in Gujarati. It has now been translated and compressed for the sake of a wider circle of readers into English.

Gandhiji's greatest contribution was the method of collective action which he eventually came to designate by the term Satyagraha.

There have been numerous Satyagraha movements in India for the removal of social, economic and political disabilities; some of them directly under

Gandhiji, while others were by others, but definitely under his inspiration. Gandhiji claimed that Satyagraha was an infallible remedy and a complete substitute for war, capable of being wielded by either small or large groups of men for a right cause. War is one of the most urgent problems which beset the modern world, and it is therefore all the more necessary that its moral substitute in the form of Satyagraha should be subjected to critical examination wherever it has been tried, either successfully or unsuccessfully. The conditions under which it succeeds have to be investigated with scientific precision.

The present study by Mahadev Desai should not however be taken to be a contribution in that direction. It is frankly partisan, and therefore not critical from the point of view of a historian or social scientist.

The Ahmedabad Textile Labourers' Union went on a strike for higher wages, and Gandhiji took up the leadership at a certain point, toned down the demand until he felt that the rock bottom had been reached from the point of view of pure justice, and then advised the strikers to hold on even under the severest prospects of suffering. The employers, in the meanwhile, lifted the lock-out, and, as a result, some of the strikers began to waver in their determination. At this stage, Gandhiji went on a fast in order to touch the heart of the workers and steel them in their determination to continue the struggle. The employers felt, on their part, that they had been hit below the belt by the fast and quickly came to terms in order to get out of an ugly situation. In any case, a victory was ultimately registered on behalf of the workers.

But what is significant is that success in the struggle under question was contingent upon the presence of a very superior type of moral leadership. It is not clear if the labourers themselves, or their Union, gained in strength in so far as their own fighting ability was concerned. It is not also clear how far the heart of the employers was touched in regard to the justice of the workers' cause; and, even if it did so for the time being, if the effect of it endured for any length of time. In a critical account and assessment of any particular Satyagraha campaign, these are the points which require special consideration. The present book, however, leaves an exaggerated impression of the moral eminence of the leader and does not carry us very far in regard to the other questions relating to the character of Satyagraha as a social instrument to be used by common men and women.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

GANDHARVAS AND KINNARAS IN INDIAN ICONOGRAPHY: By R. S. Panchamukhi. *Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. Pp. 58 and twenty plates. Price Rs. 2.*

The Gandharvas and Kinnaras with other fabulous creatures in our mythology have played a large part in our literature and plastic art throughout their history. With the exception of the late Dr. Coomaraswamy's amazingly learned monograph on *The Yakshas*, however, the subject has not been systematically treated so far. The omission is now sought to be made good to some extent by the author of the present work. It consists of six chapters of which the first three deal respectively with reference to "the Gandharvas and Kinnaras in literature" (really, Sanskrit literature from the *Vedas* to the *Puranas*), in the Buddhist and Jaina texts, and lastly, in North and South Indian inscriptions from the 1st to the 13th century A.D.: the fourth chapter consists of literary references to the iconographical peculiarities of these deities as set forth in the texts "from the Vedic hymns to the literature of the 17th century A.D.": the fifth chapter deals with sculptural representations of "Gandharvas and Kinnaras" in *Gandhara Art*, in *Gupta, Chalukya and Pallava Art* and in *Medieval Art*, as well as those of "Kinnara figures" in "pre-historic and historic periods." The sixth and last chapter has a short note on the iconometry of these deities according to the testimony of the technical treatises. The imperfections of this work have been pointed out in the friendly and discerning criticism of the well-known scholar, Sri O. C. Gangoly, who writes a Foreword to it. These consist of imperfect literary references, inadequate list of illustrations and lack of comparison with the parallel figures of European art. To the above we may add a few more, viz., inadequacy of the epigraphical and other archaeological references, occasional lapses in chapter-headings (as in the title of the first chapter referred to above), and a few slips in the detailed descriptions (as in the inclusion of Kushan sculptures from Mathura under the caption "Gandhara Art" and that of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri sculptures under the head of "Gupta, Chalukya and Pallava Art"). In spite of these and other deficiencies, the book is a notable addition to the growing literature of Indian iconography.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MUGHAL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION: By Principal Sri Ram Sharma. Published by Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. xvii + 290. Price Rs. 6-8.

During the last two decades, the study of the political theories and institutions of our country under Hindu, Mughal and British rule has engaged the serious attention of our scholars. Of the Mughal period more than half a dozen treatises have appeared, of which Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* and Ibn Hasan's *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* hold the pride of place in relative value and importance. Another tome, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* otherwise a good work has, however, fallen off the scholarly standard by the author's tendency to show off his learning. I have shown casually in the paper published in the present issue that his hit against the master-historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in connection with a point about judicial administration has no justification.

The present work under review embodies the result of the author's years of study and teaching in Lahore, Srinagar (Kashmir) and now in Sholapur College in the State of Bombay. The author claims the present work to be "the first systematic attempt to cover all phases of Mughal governmental practices during the entire Mughal period," and incorporates here the substance of some of his earlier writings, e.g., *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, along with certain topics, such as the assessment and collection of land revenue, organisation of public services. He has laboriously collected the data from printed and manuscript sources and given us very interesting information here and there. For instance, on the Zabt system he strikes a new note when he writes, "Instead of striking an average of the last ten years' assessment rate, the prices current in the dasturs during the last ten years were averaged and the resultant prices of various crops were used for the purpose of converting the demand in kind into demand in cash." (p. 73) On the Mansabdari system he points out the admission of comparatively lower employees, such as the news-writers, postal messengers, the superintendent of the royal beds, into varying ranks (Mansabs), the ratio between the Hindu and the Muslim Mansabdars and the number of Mansabdars receiving salary in cash and in assignment (1690) and so on; but we are constrained to point out that the author has indulged in generalisations and statements which do not accord with facts. On many points, such as his views about the nature of the Mughal polity, and its resemblance with that of the West, relative position of the high dignitaries at the Centre, the interpretation of the *Sawar*, the consequences of the Law of Escheat, the continuity of the Qazi at the Court (Chief Qazi) under Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the lot of the peasantry, I could not agree with the learned author and have set forth my views in the paper published in the present issue. There are also other matters to which the attention of the author is respectfully drawn, e.g., according to him, the Diwan-i-Bayutat "at the capital and in the provinces worked under the supervision of the Mir Saman and were his assistants." (P. 49). But Ibn Hasan in his learned work writes, "The Mir Saman and the Diwan-i-Bayutat were jointly responsible for the management of the *karkhanas* and the working of the department; but in spite of the joint responsibility . . . the Mir Saman had a somewhat higher position . . . but the Diwan cannot be considered his subordinate." (P. 243). Professor Sharma's observations on the Diwan's functions are misleading. He writes, "If his (the Diwan's) advice tendered (in private) was not accepted, he could still raise the question in public." (P. 42). The position of the utter subservience of the Diwan to his royal master is shown by the position of Islam Khan under Shah Jahan, (vide *Ibn Hasan*, p. 194). The author evidently overlooks this fact which is known to him.

Secondly, he writes, "The Diwan put money at the disposal of the Khan-i-Saman for roads, buildings, works of art"; but I have come across the following statement in Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* on this point: "All *parwanahs* for cash payments in the imperial household department were issued by the Khan-i-Saman, the Diwan merely endorsing them." (4th Ed., p. 37). Some of his headlines 'the Mansabdars are not nobles,' 'designation of Mir Saman as Minister of Agriculture and Industry,' 'Mansabdars

as contractors for military labour, and so forth, are both sensational and fictitious. The author's stand as to Sher Shah being given more credit as a reformer and administrator is fully justified.

N. B. Roy

INDIAN MEDICINE: By Dr. Julius Jolly. Translator C. G. Kashikar, M.A., 195-27 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. Published by the translator. Size 1 in. X 7 ins. X 10 ins. approximately. Price Rs. 15.

The encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research founded by Buhler and continued by Kielhorn is well known amongst workers in this field as a valuable contribution towards the scientific exposition of ancient Indian culture and learning. The original book forms a part of this important series compiled by the German workers with their characteristic thoroughness. It was written in 1901 and has hitherto been read by only a privileged few of those interested in this section of Indian culture. Shri C. G. Kashikar has rendered us a valuable service by translating into English this highly interesting book. It is really amazing how the original author has condensed in this small space so much of the important Ayurvedic literature written in Sanskrit and spread over several centuries of Indian history. The mode of ancient Indian thinking is greatly different from that of the Western schools and this frequently gave rise to serious confusion amongst the Western scholars when they tried to grasp the Indian thought. Modern Indian scholars too, being

more Westernized in their education and outlook and having lost most of their links with the ancient culture of India, are liable to misinterpret the functional concepts of the ancient Indian writers as a product of the speculative imagination of a primitive civilization. In this respect German Indologists have always been nearer the correct interpretation than their English colleagues. The translator's account of Jolly's *Medizin* confirms the above opinion over again.

Apart from such minor defects as printing and spelling mistakes which have crept into some places in spite of an 'Errata,' the book is very usefully presented. It will be of help both to the teachers and students of Ayurveda as well as to the teachers and research workers in modern medicine of this country who are seeking to re-establish the continuity of scientific thought between what is our past heritage and what is our legacy for the future, not merely on sentiments but on the confidence of knowledge too.

The supplementary Ayurvedic bibliography wisely given by the translator over and above that mentioned by Jolly, has considerably improved the reference value of the book. It is a pity that the translator could not find a publisher for his work, but unfortunately in India it is no new experience for the writers whose works have no commercial appeal. It is high time that cultural leaders of our country should find some solution for this problem.

B. Bose

WORKS OF SISTER NIVEDITA

1. RELIGION AND DHARMA

(With a preface by S. K. Ratcliffe)

Pp. 160. Price: Ordinary Rs. 2, Superior Rs. 3-8

2. THE MASTER AS I SAW HIM

(Being pages from the life of Swami Vivekananda)

"...it (this book) may be placed among the choicest religious classics...on the same shelf with *The Confessions of St Augustine* and *Sabatier's Life of St Francis*."—T. K. Cheyne. Professor of Oxford University.

Cloth Bound

Price: Rs. 5

3. THE WEB OF INDIAN LIFE

(With an Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore)

"...The Web of Indian Life...is almost the only fair account of Hindu society written in English..."—Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Price: Ordinary Edn. Rs. 3-8; Superior Edn. Rs. 5

4. Civic and National Ideals	Rs. 2-0	7. Aggressive Hinduism	Rs. 0-8
5. Notes of Some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda	Rs. 2-0	8. Siva and Buddha	Rs. 0-10
6. Kali the Mother	Rs. 1-4	9. Hints on National Education	Rs. 2-8

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE

::

CALCUTTA-13.

CURRENT AFFAIRS (1952) : Edited by A. R. Mukherjee. Published by A. Mukherjee and Co. Ltd., Calcutta 12. Pages 650. Price Rs. 4.

This is the fourth year of publication of the useful Year Book by a firm of well-known publishers of Calcutta, dealing practically with all political, economic and educational topics in which the educated public are interested. The publication is divided into three parts: Part I is divided into eleven chapters, viz., General Survey of World Affairs, World Gazetteer, Communication and Transport, Economic Survey of the World, Commercial Directory, Science and Technology, Art and Literature, Press and News Abroad, World Information, Sports World and World Statistics. Part II is twelve chapters (India and Pakistan) viz., India: State of the Republic, Political Review, Economic Survey of 1951, Science and Technology, Education, Art and Literature, the Press, India and Indians, Constitutional Directory, Sports-India, Statistics-India; Pakistan and Pakistanis; and Part III contains Who is Who, India and Pakistan and a few maps.

In the present-day world, nations are so inter-dependent that an intimate and wide knowledge of the different countries of the world is a necessity for every educated man. But such a vast knowledge can only be acquired by a long study but the time available to each is very limited. Thus it becomes a necessity for an ordinary man to refer to publication of this nature for handy and dependable knowledge which can be of help in our day-to-day life. Since its first publication in 1949, there has been a great improvement not only in the selection of subjects presented to the readers but also in the manner of presentation and statistics and as such *Current Affairs* will prove useful to a large section of people of all classes throughout the country—India and Pakistan. We have, therefore, no hesitation in recommending this Year Book to the interested public for all current information and references.

The publishers intend to supply to purchasers of this book, free of charge, a supplement containing names of members of different State Assemblies and Councils, House of the People, the Council of States, Parties, Party Position, Ministers, etc., and other relevant matters in near future. This announcement is certainly very welcome and will help wider circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

PRANAYAMA : By Swami Kuvalayananda. Published by Kaivalyadham, Lonavla, G. I. P., Bombay. Third impression. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 5-8.

Swami Kuvalayananda's researches in the science of Yoga are original and unprecedented in the history of Indian therapeutics. In pre-monastic life he was a qualified doctor and learned practical Yoga from his guru, the great Bengali Hath-yogi Madhavdas. His experimental researches in Yoga have been widely recognised in India and abroad and serially published in his quarterly *Yoga-Mimansa* journal for several years. Mr. K. T. Behanan, Physical Instructor of Yale University, U.S.A. had come to India in 1932 and lived with Swami Kuvalayananda for one year and learned the practice of Yogic postures and Pranayama. On returning home ever since he has been preaching and practising popular Yoga in his University.

In order to popularise Yoga, Swami Kuvalayananda has brought out two hand-books named *Asanas* and *Pranayama*. The second one, the book under review, describes with scientific precision and traditional accuracy some breathing exercises that anybody can practise without any fear of injury and improve his health and longevity. The book contains as many as forty illustrations nicely printed on fine art paper. Not only breathing exercises but also Asanas appropriate to Pranayama are also described with adequate illustrations. Technique of Ujjayi, Kapalabhati and Bhastrika Pranayama is separately given with practical details. In the chapter on Pranayama in general many pertinent topics are discussed in the light of statements of both ancient and modern authorities. The experiments carried on by Swami Kuvalayananda in his equipped laboratory at Bombay have challenged some of the conclusions of Haldane and Priestley recorded in Halliburton's *Handbook of Physiology*. The chapter on physiological and spiritual values of Pranayama is particularly interesting to the general readers. In this chapter it is clearly shown that some simple breathing exercises immensely strengthen the respiratory and digestive systems and enrich health. Yogic Asanas combined with preliminary Pranayama can certainly make the human system free from diseases and prolong life. Dr. Erving Fischer and Dr. Eugene Fisch of Life Extension Institute of America after conducting scientific experiments for years in this line of research have come at last to the conclusion that rhythmic breathing exercises are among the best means of extending life.

In the Appendices full, short and easy courses in Yogic physical culture are added. Both males and females are entitled to the practice of Asanas and Pranayama. Practical experience as well as experimental accuracy of the learned author has made this book a most reliable self-instructor in physical and spiritual health. A perusal will convince the reader about the usefulness and efficacy of Yogic postures and breathing exercises. The general public may safely use this book as a dependable guide and derive the benefits of Yoga which is now so much misused and misunderstood.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ZOHRA : By Zeenuth Futehally. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 324. Price Rs. 4-12.

It is a novel of manners and society of fast vanishing upper-class Muhammadan life in Hyderabad, Deccan. The author has given a vivid picture of the old Muslim society; and its struggles with the impact of Western influence and the ferment of an uplifting nationalism, of which the Congress movement was the spearhead. Zohra, the heroine, typifies the struggle of a soul between the rigid, traditional morality of a Muslim household and an emotional upheaval that defies and transcends all conventions. She is in the words of Mr. E. M. Forster "both charming and convincing."

A careful reading of the novel gives us an inside view of Muslim psychology over matters of which we have no idea. As a novel it is a good novel, and it is a creative achievement on the part of the author.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

HUGLI JILAR ITIHAS : By Sudhir Kumar Mitra. Sishir Publishing House, 22-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta 6. Pp. xii + 397. Price Rs. 15.

We congratulate both the author and the publisher on bringing out such a big volume in this time of stress. The part of Bengal, which now covers the Hugli district, was well-known to the people both in and outside India, for its cultural, religious and economic prosperity. The European adventurers beginning with the Portuguese wooed its people as well as its rulers at different times to serve their selfish ends. The district passed through many vicissitudes of fortune till it passed into the British hands. Many villages in Hugli were the seats of Sanskrit learning. Such eminent Sanskrit scholars as Pandit Jagannath Tarkapandhanan of Tribeni extracted praise from the scholars of both the East and the West. The Maths and Mandirs, the Imambara, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches tell the story of Hugli's glory in different times. During the British period, too, the people of this part excelled in scholarship. Their contribution to the making of modern Bengal can never be overestimated. The social, religious and economic revolution that has transformed the face of Bengal during the British regime was not a little due to the intelligent part played by the children of its soil. Raja Rammohun Roy of hallowed memory belonged to the district of Hugli, where are confined his earlier life and movements.

To attempt an history of such a district, pregnant with past relics and present achievements, is, simply speaking, a gigantic task. Its ancient and modern political history, cultural and religious activities, system of education prevalent in the Muslim period, modern literature, art and journalism, modern education in its different aspects, with special reference to vernacular and female education, etc., are some of the subjects, the mere narration of which would require enough time and industry for many an individual. The author has taken upon himself this herculean task, and it is no wonder that his collection and sifting of materials leave much room for improvement. We fervently long for the second edition of the volume when the author will be able to revise it in the light of up-to-date researches. Want of an index is keenly felt by the reader in such a big volume. The book is illustrated.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

AURANGZIB : By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Hindi translation of the "Short History of Aurangzib." Pp. xvi + 676. Portrait. Published by Hindi Grantha Ratnakar Office, Hiraabagh, Bombay 4. Price Rs. 7-8.

Sri Nathuram Premi, the enterprising populariser of Hindi in Bombay, rightly claims this book to be a valuable addition to Hindi literature. Sarkar's well-known *Short History* contains nearly half the substance of his big authoritative work in five volumes. The present translation has been made in an easy and pleasant style through the constant care of Kumar Raghuvir Singh of Sitamau. The original author has made in this Hindi version many corrections and additions, so as to embody all the discoveries of fresh

materials and conclusions gained by him since the English book was printed 20 years ago. The political lesson taught by the fall of the Islamic State even when administered by an extraordinarily active, intelligent and pious ruler like Aurangzib, can be learnt with profit by the rulers of modern India—on both sides of the Indo-Pak border,—and the most convincing proofs are given here from the best Persian, Marathi and European sources. The Hindi-speaking millions of India cannot ignore such a book.

B. N. B.

GUJARATI

JIVANNUN PARODH : By Parbhudas Chhaganlal Gandhi. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 644. Price Rs. 8.

This outstanding work, called the Dawn of Life, is written by a family member of Mahatmaji who had occasion to live with him and came in direct contact with him. Almost every activity of Gandhiji in South Africa has come under the writer's survey, and in consequence not a page reads dull. There are several valuable photographs printed also. Those who desire to know how the seeds of Gandhiji's tremendous activity had been sown should not miss reading this remarkable book of reminiscences.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

MESSAGES OF SRI AUROBINDO AND THE MOTHER (Second Series) : Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pp. 27. Price Re. 1.

WORDS OF THE MOTHER (Fourth Series) : Published by the same. Pp. 25. Price Re. 1.

KENA UPANISHAD : By Sri Aurobindo. Published by the same. Pp. 134. Price Rs. 2-8.

First the Text and Translation (pp. 1-15) and then the Commentary thereon by Sri Aurobindo (pp. 17-134) are published in this book.

ON EDUCATION : By the Mother. Published by the same. Pp. 62. Price Re. 1-8.

The first chapter is on the Science of Living and the rest on Education, general, physical, vital, psychic and spiritual.

A SCHEME OF EDUCATION : By Pranab Kumar Bhattacharya. Published by the same. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 3.

This book was written by the author to help a group of people who wanted to organize a scheme of physical education. But as physical education cannot be divorced from all other kinds of education, mental, moral, spiritual and general, he has touched on all the branches of Education and conceived and formulated a Scheme of Education worth the name in this highly instructive book.

WHAT IS BUDDHISM ? : By Venerable Narada Maha Thera. Published by Mahabodhi Society of India, Calcutta. Pp. 46. Price three annas.

THE DHAMMA-CAKKA PAVATTANA SUTTA (The first Sermon of Buddha delivered at Sarnath) : By Sister Vajira. Published by the same, Sarnath, Banaras. Pp. 35. Price four annas.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Indians in South Africa

Prof. Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji writes in *Careers and Courses* :

In the general elections of 1948 Field Marshal Smuts was thrown out of power and the Nationalist Party under Dr. D. F. Malan came to power. The election manifesto of the Nationalist Party gave an indication of the shape of things to come under Malan regime. The manifesto said, *inter alia*, that the Indians were an 'outlandish' and 'unassimilable' element and that 'the basis of the Nationalist policy was the repatriation of as many Indians as possible.' But are the Indians really 'outlandish' and 'unassimilable'? Even F. M. Smuts, no friend of Indians, thought otherwise. He said years ago, in a different context, however: "They (Indians) were brought here by us, the European population, and they have lived here. Generations have grown up here. They do not know India or any other country; they are South Africans, South-Africa born, they do not even know their language; they have only the South African outlook; they have been subjected to all influences which transform a human being into a citizen of another country. Can we simply take away the right from them and give nothing in return?" India too poses the same question before the bar of world opinion and pauses for an honest reply.

The Group Areas Act passed by the Nationalist Government in 1950 is a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter. It divides the people into three categories—the white, the native and the coloured. The last, which may be further sub-divided, includes Indians. The Act authorises the Government to establish 'Group Areas' for the exclusive ownership or occupation or both of any of these groups. All areas other than 'Group Areas' and native location will be 'controlled' in which transfer of ownership or occupation between members of different groups can be effected only under the authority of a permit. Trade licences are to be issued or renewed only on proof that the applicant can lawfully occupy the premises where the trade is to be carried on.

The limited franchise granted to Indians by the 'Ghetto Act' of 1946 has been withdrawn. The coloured people are to elect their representatives to the Parliament on the basis of separate electorate. This last provision has since been declared *ultra vires* by the South African Supreme Court. Dr. Malan however was not prepared to accept the finding of the Court. A High Court of Parliament with members drawn from the Senate and the House of Assembly was set up. The Court will deliver final judgement on legislative matters. Its authority will be limited to fundamental constitutional issues where the validity of an Act of Parliament is questioned. It is empowered to set aside any judgment of the Supreme Court on any Act of Parliament since the Statute of Westminster 1951.

Various other laws passed by the Malan Government since 1948 have imposed humiliating restrictions on Indians. The prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Population Registration Act deserve more than a passing notice. Under the first all marriages between whites and non-whites have been declared null and void. Government

officials officiating at such marriages are to be fined. The second Act mentioned above empowers the executive to take any step it likes not only against Communists, but against those as well, who, in the opinion of the executive, encourage hostility between Europeans and non-Europeans. Under the third Act a register was to be compiled after the 1951 census showing whether a man was a Union citizen, domiciled in the Union or on a temporary visit to the Union. It requires every person over 16 years of age to carry an identity card giving a description of his person and the ethnic group to which he belongs. The identity card is to be produced for inspection on demand by authorised police officers.

The Department of Social Welfare of the South African Government has stopped family allowances of Indians although 70.2 per cent of Indians in the city of Durban live on bare subsistence standards. Indian education is utterly neglected. Separate classes spread over 4 years and offering almost exclusively arts courses are held for Indian students at nights and during week-ends. Libraries are inadequate and there are no hostels for Indian students. There were only 183 students in the University of Natal in 1946. There were besides some in the Universities of the Transvaal and the Cape in the same year.

The South African Government has been trying for some time past to foment inter-racial discord by setting Africans against Indians and one African tribe against another. The Durban riots of January, 1949, was a logical result of the racial policy and the policy of 'divide and rule' pursued over years by the Union Government.

White South Africa seeks to justify its racial policy on the plea of the preservation of white civilisation. What it really aims at is the perpetuation of white domination—of white economic and political privileges. The freedom of the African, the heritage of the coloured and the equality of the Asian, have all been sacrificed to the interest of the white settler.

The situation in South Africa today is a dangerous one. The Group Areas Act threatens the Indian community with economic ruin. They are mostly traders. But the Group Areas Act has been enforced, they will be violated from all other racial groups and their trade will be confined to Indians alone. Many firms and traders will have to wind up their business. Deprived of their only means of livelihood these Indians will have to come back to India. The Act thereof is a clever device to get rid of the Indian population.

Education in India

Dr. M. N. Saha writes in *Science and Culture* :

India has accepted, after independence, the ideal of a secular democratic State which means that the will and capacity of the people will form the directive forces for the administration of the country. But it has been the great lesson of history that democracy cannot properly function unless the voters are nearly hundred per cent literate. Nearly hundred years ago, when democracy was first coming to England, John Stuart Mill made the prophetic remark that 'Universal suffrage without universal education would be a curse'. (Italics ours)

The analysis of the working of democracies in different parts of the world during the last and present centuries shows that Mill was a true prophet.

Take for example, the U.S.A. Until education had been made free and compulsory, elections were managed by party bosses, and democracy was a mockery. Tammany Hall disappeared only when the citizens became nearly 100 per cent educated, and a voter could realize the meaning of his vote. The U.S.A. papers say, "A well informed public and an enlightened citizenry are the best security of a democratic State."

In all western countries, it is only the introduction of free and compulsory education for boys and girls from the age of six to fourteen which has rendered democracy possible.

The first elections in free India under universal suffrage had shown that a large proportion of voters had voted not for any particular cause, or person, but for the sacred bull.

It cannot be said that the Congress which now holds the power had been unmindful of the importance of educational reforms in its days of struggle for independence. As far back as the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress of 1931, a resolution was passed, "defining the fundamental rights of citizens which states in its Preamble *inter alia*, that to enable the masses to appreciate what Swaraj, as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, the Congress declares that in order to end the exploitation of the masses any constitution agreed to on behalf of the Congress should provide, among other things, for free and compulsory primary education."

The National Planning Committee in its memorandum on Education says :

"Western Education in this country aimed at making out of the educated section of the Indian people recruits for the military defence and for conducting the British Administration. Clerks and soldiers, with a small leaven of professional men made up the bulk of the educated who acted as the agents of the British in this country. Animated by the ideals and influences which inspired the Britisher in his own country, these indigenous recruits and agents in India observed the same traditions, and carried out the same policy, though in a more intensive form. Class, rather than mass, education became rather the rule or fashion, and remains so to this day".

It further stated that when the people of the land would come to shoulder direct responsibility and wield authority in their own governance, the problem of mass or national education, would wear a wholly different aspect.

After independence, the National Government has been thinking furiously to tackle this problem. A large number of Committees were appointed to ponder over general educational matters. I need refer only to the report of Kher Committee, presided over by Shri B. G. Kher, till recently Chief Minister of the State of Bombay. (Bureau of Education pamphlet No. 60—"Education in Free India"—August 1947—August 1948—issued by the Ministry of Education, Government of India.) Shri Kher's recommendations were :

(1) A fixed percentage of Central and Provincial revenues—about 10 per cent of the Central and 20 per cent of the Provincial—should be earmarked for Education by the respective Governments.

(2) About 70 per cent of the expenditure on Education should be borne by Provincial Governments including Local Bodies and the remaining 30 per cent by the Centre.

(3) All contributions for Education approved by the Provincial and Central Governments should be exempted from income tax.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM : Super vitalising Tonic for Men and Women. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM : General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM : Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION : An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL : A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON : The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL : The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA : For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM : The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA : MUST BE TAKEN** tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available :

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO : An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit : Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE : We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone : 242972

I have tried to find out how far these recommendations have been implemented but I regret to find that leaving aside Mysore which was already spending a larger percentage on education, no other major State excepting a few like Bombay and Madras have given any serious attention to Shri Kher's very salutary recommendations.

The comparative statement of States' education budgets (revenue account) for 1951-52 as given in a Government of India publication, *The Education Quarterly*, September 1951 is given below. This will reveal the truth of the above statement.

State	Total Education Budget in lacs of Rs.	Percentage of Education to the total State Budget
Part A		
Assam	1.70	16.0
West Bengal	3.47	8.9
Bihar	3.29	10.6
Bombay	11.98	19.8
Madhya Pradesh	3.20	15.6
Madras	11.39	17.6
Orissa	1.36	11.8
Punjab	1.93	11.5
Uttar Pradesh	7.37	12.0
	45.69	
Part B		
Hyderabad	4.83	14.9
Jammu & Kashmir	49	10.4
Madhya Bharat	1.47	13.0
Mysore	3.09	21.8
Pepsu	67	13.7
Saurashtra	1.13	14.0
Rajasthan	2.59	16.6
Travancore	2.88	16.7
	17.15	
Parts C & D.		
Ajmer	29	26.0
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	2	1.3
Bhopal	16	10.9
Bilaspur	2	14.4
Coorg	7	9.6
Delhi	68	17.4
Himachal Pradesh	19	10.3
Kutch	8	8.0
Manipur	6	14.7
Tripura	12	12.4
Vindhya Pradesh	46	17.9
Grand total	64.99	14.8

Thus the total Education Budget of the States together comes to Rs. 65 crores which is about 14.8% of the total budgets of the various States against the Kher Committee's recommendation of 20%.

It is to be noticed that amongst the major States, West Bengal spends the least percentage of its budget on its Education. During the regime of the first Congress Government, it went down as low as 6½% of the budget, while the next Congress Government grudgingly increased it to about 9½ in course of 3 years. Nothing can be more tragical for West Bengal than the fact that it should be her fate to be the most Backward State in India in Education.

From these figures it is obvious that in spite of promises made by the Congress for years together, the attempts to liquidate "Illiteracy" in the Indian Union has fallen far short of the mark.

HIGHER EDUCATION

When Shri B. G. Kher's Committee recommended that 10% of the Central budget should be spent on education, he certainly meant that bulk of it should be spent on higher and professional education. Now 10% of the Central budget comes to between 30 to 40 crores of rupees while the actual expenditure by the Centre has varied between 3 to 6 crores.

The University Commission, appointed by the Government on November 4, 1948 was presided over by the great educationist and philosopher of international reputation Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as its Chairman, and a number of American, British and Indian educationists of eminence as members. It supported the National Planning Committee and Kher Committee's recommendations in the following words:

"Democracy depends for its very life on a high standard of general, vocational and professional education. Dissemination of learning, incessant search for new knowledge, increasing effort to plumb the meaning of life, provision for professional education to satisfy the occupational needs of our society are the vital tasks of higher education."

"The academic problem has assumed new shapes. We have now a wider conception of the duties and responsibilities of universities. They have to provide leadership in politics, administration, the professions, industry and commerce. They have to meet the increasing demand for every type of higher education, literary and scientific, technical and professional. They must enable the country to attain, in as short a time as possible, freedom from want, disease and ignorance, by the application and development of scientific and technical knowledge. India is rich in natural resources and her people have intelligence and energy and are throbbing with renewed life and vigour. It is for the universities to create knowledge and train minds who would bring together the two, material resources and human energies. If our living standards are to be raised, a radical change of spirit is essential."

The Commission found that the Universities were unable to carry out these responsibilities because their finance was extremely inadequate. It says:

"Finance: As we have repeatedly shown in earlier chapters our universities are grossly under-financed for the tasks they are attempting. More building, more staff, better-paid staff, more scholarships, more facilities for research, more books, more equipment—all these are elemental needs. We see no possibility of the Provinces providing the whole of the necessary expenditure, burdened as they will be with the no less acute needs of extending basic secondary and technical schools." (p. 405)



A National Academy of the Arts

James H. Cousins writes in *The Indian Review*:

The recent press announcement presumably official, that the Government of India has decided to establish an academy of dance, drama and music, brings a long-desired acknowledgement of the place of art in national life a step nearer. It is necessary, however, that the declared intention of those concerned in the formation of the academy be scrutinised for their affinity or otherwise with the natural principles involved in the arts included in the academy—and also in the academy of immobile arts (architecture, sculpture and painting) which it is assumed will be created in due time.

The intention the academy is succinctly stated in the first paragraph of the press announcement. The Sangeet Natak Academy (why such a mongrelised name?) is to be formed "with a view to fostering and developing Indian dance, drama (including films) and music to promote through them the cultural unity of the country."

The sense of unity herein expressed enters largely nowadays into public speeches and political writings. It was given the weight of a finding by a conference in New Delhi on March 17, 1951. Item 4 of the report of that conference is:

To consider the question of a comparative study of the different schools of Indian music with a view to bringing out their affinities and encouraging the development of a national system of music.

Here the desired unity is in a particular art.

Now it happens that unity in either of these phases of human life—art and culture—is impossible. Any art exists through its distinctive instruments. These may range in music from the simple collaboration in India of a voice followed by a fiddle and timed by a drum, to a western choir of 300 voices in four parts (soprano and alto, tenor and bass) accompanied by 40 or more instruments in groups—first and second violin, viola, violoncello, double bass, brass and wind instruments, cymbals and drums, performing Handel's "Messiah." Collaboration in the parts is here the life of the art; unity in the parts would mean the death of the art; a band of saxophones would fittingly play its funeral dirge. This is the mechanical aspect of the matter.

The development of Indian dance, drama and music which the coming academy is to have in view, must be along the line of its own genius, environment and history. "Exchange of ideas" is desirable and inevitable. "Enrichment of techniques" will come with the increase of knowledge through practice and the elevation of taste in both the composer, the performer and the listener. But there is a distinction of expression innate in the Carnatic and Hindustani system of music and others elsewhere in India, whose development must be natural, spontaneous, from within: not in response to any artificial impositions, or inducements but stemming from their own roots. This applies still more emphatically between Indian music and western music. Attempts have been made to bring the harmony of western music into the melodic music of India; but these have failed mainly because western music is an art whose four-abreast movement along the single melodic line of Indian music would be as uncomfortable and dangerous as four performers trying to walk side by side along a single tight-rope. Any efforts by the academy towards (to quote the announcement) "the promotion of cultural exchanges in the fields of dance, drama and music with other countries," will (if the countries referred to belong to the western area) only bring into the music of India a degenerating influence comparable to that let loose over the country by films brought or imitated from other countries. I do not use

Like the Kher Committee, it recommends that the Centre should make large grants for higher education through a properly constituted agency. It says:

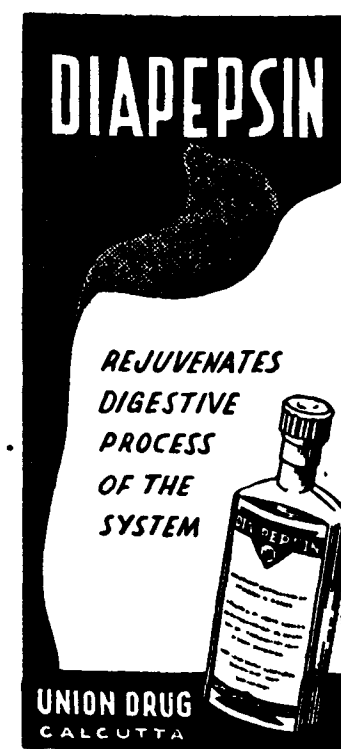
"Generous grants from the Centre must be forthcoming; and these grants the Centre will not, and should not, allocate blindly or mechanically. A Central University Grants Commission working through the Ministry of Education must allocate the sums made available by the Central Government, in accordance with the special needs and merits of each university."

CENTRAL RESPONSIBILITY OF UNIVERSITIES

The system of State grants and Federal grants to universities obtains in the United States of America. State grants are given to universities situated within the State or Province, but with a view to meeting all-India needs as well as to bring about uniformity in regard to higher education, it is necessary and desirable that the Central Government should give grants for the various objects mentioned above, taking into consideration such Provincial grants as may be made available.

To sum up, as the President's address to the Indian Parliament contains a general statement of the policy to be pursued in the current year, it is regrettable that it contained no directives for the educational policy. It ought to have contained:

- A directive that the States should spend at least 20% of their budget on education;
- That the Centre should spend 10% of its budget on education; and
- That the sums allotted in the Central Government's budget should be spent through properly constituted agencies.



the word "degenerating" here in reference to the lowering of the quality of an art, but to the reduction of the vitality and conviction of an art by the lure of "cultural unity" or by any other lure such as that of providing a wage-earning occupation, that would tend to move an art away from the full and uncontaminated force of its own generative power. Such a movement is degenerative; demoralization and denationalization will ensue without any direct effort. Regeneration is called for; and one of the first needs of regeneration is clear thinking.

We turn now to the "cultural unity" and the "cultural exchanges" anticipated by the announcement of the new academy. Half way between the instruments of art-expression and the cultural unity that they are intended to promote there is the æsthetical and emotional response that they arouse in degrees varying according to the temperament and experience of the hearer. This, in western music, is a complex matter. Differences in the instruments of expression set up differences of emotional reaction. The emotional effect of a percussion instrument, such as a pianoforte with its hammer-struck wires is very different from that of an instrument of stretched strings, such as a violin whose drawn bow is in the hands of a Menuhin. And this difference is emphasised if we turn over from the art of music, which speaks through the movement of sound to the art of sculpture, which speaks not at all, but exists in the immobile silence of a statue that would fall to inartistic pieces if it attempted to argue a point, as in a drama, or strike a succession of Bharata-natya postures, and yet has much to say to those who have eyes to see.

Now it is characteristic of the æsthetical reactions of any activity—and particularly of reactions to the beauty and patterning, the rhythm and aspiration, that are inherent in the arts—that they do not fulfil themselves in the special pleasure of the moment of their expression, but penetrate into the profundity of the consciousness, and are ultimately absorbed into and minutely alter, the quality and response of the consciousness to new impacts and to new creations and expressions in the arts and other activities.

This is a purely subjective state: universal as growth in nature; grouped in affinities in the wild, like Wordsworth's ten thousand daffodils, or in the designed lay-out of a botanical garden; individual and exquisite as the push in a single lotus to be its perfect self according to its ancestry. There can be no "cultural exchanges in the fields of dance, drama and music with other countries." There can be no exchange between the idealistic and interpretative dance of India and the realistic and sensuous dance of the West. The harmonic music of Europe has nothing to exchange with the melodic music of India.

The foregoing considerations would appear to have brought us to a dead end. If there is, in reality, no possibility of art-expression because difference and variety

are inescapable essentials of their nature, and these have grown up under a number of historical circumstances in time and place that have stamped them with an indelible character that cannot be transplanted or hybridised; and if cultural unity is unnecessary as an object of an academy, seeing that culture is intangible and out of reach—where exactly are we? As a matter of fact we are where we are: it is the announcement that does not know where it is when it declares that the purpose of the academy is to promote "the cultural unity of the country" through dance, drama, films and music. If it had declared that the intention of the academy was to promote, through the arts, the cultural responsiveness, and to raise the cultural quality of the people, it would have said the right thing the right way.

Art and culture are not the same thing under a different name. Art belongs to the objective aspect of life; culture belongs to the subjective. Neither can exist without the collaboration of the other to some extent.

In our human situation as joint inheritors of who knows what stupendous legacy from our incalculable ancestry, and also joint investors of it in works that will carry us on towards who knows what destiny "pinnacled dim in the intense inane," we are perpetually subject to what William James, the propounder of the Pragmatic Philosophy, called "the total push and pull of the universe." This push and pull are other ways of saying the creative impulse in humanity, and its release through the implements of the arts. But the same apparently opposite influences show themselves in other phases of life, and these, being pronounced and widespread and long-lived, offer us a working example of the danger that exists in setting objective expression in the place of subjective impulse.

The future of music in India is not in the technique of a "national system" which an academy is expected to evolve, but in the release of the spirit of music and the fostering of its expression in its own location and manner. Objective form is essential to expression in the arts; but subjective impulse is primary. "The secret of art is in the artist," said an ancient Chinese sage—not in an academy of Arts.

I am all for an Academy of Indian Arts. There is no cold water in these reflections. But I repeat, as I asserted in 1923, when I made, as far as can be ascertained, the first public plea for an academy, that such an institution should be entirely a clearing-house, gathering and scattering information on art movements and achievements, building up a permanent collection of works of art of nothing short of the highest rank, and creating a body of "academicians" from men and women who have achieved supremacy in their particular art. It should in no respect be a centralizing body, a cultural steam-roller; still less should it be a teaching institution.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Modern Developments in Soil Science

We reproduce below the latter part of the Fernhurst Lecture by Sir William Ogg, M.A., Ph.D., Director, Rothamsted Experimental Station, delivered by him in the *Royal Society of Arts* as published in its *Journal*, April 4, 1952:

II

SOIL-WATER-PLANT RELATIONS

Over much of the earth's surface agricultural production is limited through either an excess or a deficiency of moisture, and consequently the study of soil water and its movement has received much attention, particularly the problems of drainage and evaporation.

Removal of the excess water by means of drains is still an art rather than a science and hitherto there has been no satisfactory way in which engineers could calculate from the physical characteristics of a soil at what depth and distance apart tile drains should be laid; but at Cambridge considerable progress has been made by H. H. Nicholson and E. C. Childs, and an interesting mathematical treatment of the problem has been made by the latter. Attention has also been given to the control of run-off water which is a frequent cause of erosion and flooding. An example of this on a regional scale is the vast project of the Tennessee Valley Authority which has secured a large measure of flood control and enabled better use to be made of much valuable agricultural land.

In the study of evaporation, soil science has been fortunate in sharing a common interest with oceanography and meteorology. As a result, good progress has been made in establishing the basic physical principles and applying them to practical ends. At Rothamsted H. L. Penman has carried out investigations on the role of vegetation in the removal of moisture from the soil. It has become clear that when soil water is not a limiting factor transpiration from crops is almost entirely a weather-controlled phenomenon, and that estimates of potential transpiration can be made from the standard weather observations: air temperature, air humidity, wind speed and duration of sunshine—the last being the most important.

This recent development has provided a method for the quantitative study of the problems of land drainage, of water supplies from rivers and wells, and of shrinkage of building and road foundations. It has also given us a rational basis for the calculation of moisture deficits and the control of irrigation operations. From calculations of soil moisture deficits it is probable that the crops over a considerable area of southern England, south-east of a line from the Severn to the Humber, could use 4 to 6 inches more water than falls in rain, and irrigation for agricultural as well as horticultural crops, therefore, deserves serious consideration.

The problem of estimating the capacity of clay soils to sustain the weight of buildings and roads has also been brought nearer solution in recent years, and it is now clear that it is largely a question of the sheer strength of the subsoil. The uneven shrinkage of clay when dried by

the action of the roots of trees and shrubs causes much damage to buildings and roads, and on this problem there has been useful collaboration between the Building Research Station, the Road Research Laboratory and Rothamsted. A soil shrinkage gauge designed by the Building Research Station has given results in excellent agreement with Penman's calculations based on estimation of evaporation.

Considerable progress has been made in recent years in our understanding of cultivation processes. Research work at Rothamsted and elsewhere has shown that the pore space in soils consists of cells rather than capillary tubes and, after rain, when surplus water has drained away, the remaining water moves very slowly and over quite short distances.

This knowledge throws fresh light on the effects of cultivation on soil moisture. A great deal of hoeing and inter-row cultivation is done in the belief that the loose surface layer checks the evaporation of moisture from the soil. It has been shown, however, that this is not the case and that the benefits obtained are largely due to the destruction of weeds which compete with the crop. Even seedling weeds take up a great deal of both water and plant food and have a markedly depressing effect on crop growth in the early stages, a check from which crops seldom fully recover. Hoeing and other surface cultivations are, therefore, of great value in killing weeds, but they are apt to damage the roots of crops and should be restricted to the minimum necessary for weed control. Some of the cultivation operations for this purpose may now be superseded by the use of the very effective weed-killers recently introduced.

Some mention has already been made of soil erosion. Although not a serious problem in this country, its effects in many parts of the world have been devastating. The surface soil over vast areas has been carried away by wind or water, and the process is still going on. Much research has been done, particularly in America, on the cause of erosion and on methods of prevention, and soil conservation services have been established in many countries. The dynamics of wind erosion, for instance, have been studied in Saskatchewan by means of wind tunnels and the results have found application in the prevention of erosion in the Canadian prairies and elsewhere. Although erosion is very often due to unsuitable farming practices or the cutting down of forests, it also occurs naturally through floods, fires and overgrazing by wild animals. The preventive measures include the practice of suitable rotations and methods of cultivation, contour farming, strip cropping and the building of terraces. Drainage schemes, both regional and local, and the planting of woods and shelter belts have also contributed to the control of this menace to our food supplies.

MANURES, FERTILIZERS AND TRACE ELEMENTS

Let us now consider briefly the question of manuring. The pioneer work of Lawes and Gilbert on crop nutrition has been supplemented and expanded by experiments in most parts of the world and there is now a fairly good understanding of the principles of manuring, though further investigations are urgently required particularly on tropical and sub-tropical soils.



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM /

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



A good deal of research has been done recently in this country on the recovery of sewage for manurial purposes and on the disposal of the surplus straw resulting from the increased acreage of cereals. The ploughing up of poor permanent pastures and the more general adoption of ley farming have also contributed not only to our food supplies but to soil fertility.

Much of the increase in food production in Britain during and since the war is the result of using more lime and fertilizers, and using them to better purpose. In both Britain and the United States fertilizer consumption has almost trebled in the last ten years, but surveys of fertilizer practice recently carried out in this country have shown that far too many farmers are still using inadequate amounts or unsuitable kinds of fertilizers. E. M. Crowther of Rothamsted, in conjunction with the British Sugar Corporation, has been carrying out very extensive field experiments on the manuring of sugar beet, and similar work has been done on other crops. These experiments have led to modification of what was common practice when they were commenced. For instance, sugar beet now receives more nitrogen and sodium, and potatoes more nitrogen and potassium, than ten or twenty years ago. Cereals commonly need more nitrogen than they receive and in many cases could do with less phosphorus and potassium.

Improvements have been made in soil-testing methods and, through the National Agricultural Advisory Service, farmers can obtain free advice with regard to the treatment of their soils. There is still much to be learnt about the behaviour of fertilizers and the use of radioactive tracer elements is now contributing to the solution of some of the problems. By means of them it is possible to get a more accurate picture of the uptake of plant nutrients and of the way in which fertilizers may become immobilized in the soil.

Advances have also been made in the methods of applying fertilizers, and the advantage of applying them close to the seed instead of broadcasting them has been well established for certain crops. For example, we know now that the amount of superphosphate required for cereals can be cut down to about half by placement. Crops other than cereals have been studied and it has been shown that placement is advantageous also in the case of quickly growing crops with shallow roots such as peas, beans and spinach, but not for deeply rooting crops like sugar beet and carrots which have a long growing season.

Attempts have been made in some quarters to create a controversy over the respective merits of organic manures and fertilizers. It has been claimed by some advocates of organic manures that fertilizers poison the soil and are injurious to the health of plants, animals and human beings. There is no sound evidence to support these views. The merits of organic manures are fully appreciated by farmers and agricultural scientists alike, but fertilizers are also required and without them there would be world famine.

One of the most important advances in recent years has been in the design of field experiments. In the older experiments the various treatments were applied to single or duplicate plots, but most soils are far from homogeneous and it became clear that a better experimental technique was needed. Fortunately this was provided by R. A. Fisher, who was appointed statistician at Rothamsted in 1919. In the new methods the treatments are replicated and randomized and much greater precision is obtained. The replication provides a measure of the experimental error which was previously lacking and the random arrangement ensures that the estimate of error is statistically valid and unbiased. Appropriate experimental designs have been devised to deal with conditions where soil

variation is particularly great. Another improvement has been the introduction of factorial arrangements, by which several different sets of treatments or "factors" are included in one experiment and, in this way, a number of problems can be studied at the same time with considerable economy of space and with the advantage that the dependence of one treatment on the intensity of another can be determined. As Fisher pointed out, it is often useless to ask nature only one question at a time because she may refuse to answer unless some other topic is discussed. The new methods are not, of course, limited to field experimental work in agriculture, but have also found application in biology, medicine and industry.

An important advance in the study of soil fertility is the recognition of the part played by what are termed the micro-nutrient or trace elements. It has, of course, long been recognized that for normal healthy growth plants require other elements in addition to nitrogen, potassium, phosphorus and calcium, but until comparatively recently it was assumed that these four were the only ones it was necessary to add as manures, and that the others were present in the soil in sufficient amount and in available form. For most soils that is the case, but it has now been shown that deficiencies in other elements are much more common than was supposed and that they give rise to deficiency diseases not only in plants but in the animals which consume them. The work of W. E. Brenchley and K. Warington at Rothamsted about 30 years ago drew attention to the need for boron and it has now been shown that lack of boron is responsible for more than a score of physiological diseases, including "heart rot" of sugar beet and mangolds. Again, deficiency in available manganese occurs in several parts of Britain, and gives rise to "grey speck" in oats, "marsh spot" in peas, and "speckled yellows" in sugar beet. In orchards, magnesium, iron and various other deficiencies are fairly common and valuable work has been done on them by T. Wallace at Long Ashton. Sometimes it is animals that are affected as in the case of the disease known as "pine" in sheep. This has now been shown to be due to lack of cobalt and the amount needed is so small that a couple of pounds of a cobalt salt, mixed for convenience with a fertilizer and applied to an acre of land, is sufficient to cure or prevent the disease for several years.

Although in most places trace element deficiencies are the exception and not the rule, there are regions where they are so severe and widespread that successful agriculture depends on supplying the deficient elements. In South Australia the addition of molybdenum has been found to be essential for the establishment of subterranean

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

50 TABLETS RS.3 100 RS.5-8
At All Leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
Himco Laboratories
731, MARNEY ROAD, BOMBAY

clover on certain acid podsolised soils and this discovery has brought large areas of formerly worthless land into agricultural use. There are also cases of excesses of certain elements having detrimental effects. The disease known as "teart" in cattle is the result of too much molybdenum and "alkali disease" affecting horses, cattle, pigs and poultry is due to excess of selenium.

In the determination of the minute quantities of the trace elements which are present in soils and herbage, spectrographic methods of analysis have proved very valuable and notable advances in this field have been made by R. L. Mitchell and R. O. Scott at the Macaulay Institute. These methods have also found application in soil advisory work, geochemical investigations and other branches of scientific work.

Soil science is a wide subject and I am very conscious of the fact that there are many other recent contributions which I have been unable to mention. Encouraging progress has been made over the whole field and the new knowledge should assist in the urgent problem of increasing much-needed food supplies throughout the world.

Centenary of the Martyrdom of Qurratu'l-'Ayn Tahirih (1852-1952)

"Oh God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy Saints? How long, O Lord, how long?"

—BERNARD SHAW in *St. Joan*

Few misdeeds in history are comparable in their brutality and height of fanaticism to the Martyrdom of Tahirih, the Saint Joan of the East.

This lady, who on this day was martyred by the dark forces of orthodoxy, a century ago, personified the spirit of emancipation of the womankind from the fetters of an old order which had given them a status only a little higher than that of the animals.

Immaculate, clean and with a strength of character, this young revolutionist with the new light came forward with her challenge at a time, when Iran was engrossed in a social order perpetuated under the aegis of a fanatical hierarchy, to whom all sense of rationality appeared heretical.

Born in Qazvin, a city which prided itself on the fact that no fewer than a hundred of the highest ecclesiastical leaders of Islam dwelt within its gates, it was her fearlessness, her skill, her organising ability and her unquenchable enthusiasm, that she led her attack on the old social order from within the portals of this citadel of orthodoxy.

A scion of the highly reputed family of a well-known divine of Persia, Ummi Salma, to call her by her family name, was born in the same year as Baha'u'llah, the founder of the Baha'i Faith. From her very childhood she was regarded by her townsmen as a prodigy, alike in her intelligence and beauty. She was highly esteemed even by some of the most haughty and learned ulemas of her country prior to her conversion to the Babi Faith, for the brilliancy and novelty of the views that she propounded.

It was in a dream that she established her first contact with the Babi Faith which she continued to propagate to her last breath, and even in her hours of greatest peril with all the ardour of an unsubduable spirit. Undeterred by the vehement protests of her father, contemptuous of the anathemas of her uncle, unmoved by the earnest solicitations of her husband and her brothers, undaunted by the measures the civil

and ecclesiastical authorities in Karbila and Baghdad had taken to curtail her activities, with eager energy she propagated the eternally true principles of the Babi Cause.

Her teachings at Karbila, her letters to and discussions with the Muslim divines, her spirited exposition of the new spirit created a storm in Iran. The people in general were magically attracted by her angelic personality and her sweet and straight utterances, that the old orthodoxy began to tremble in fear and wrath.

She had to forsake one city after the other and finally this group of the enlightened and exceedingly oppressed Babis—the torch-bearers of the new World-Order—held a conference at Badaht, situated between Tehran and Mazindran, to review the whole situation. And this was the culmination of a movement of reorientation. Discarding the traditional veil, Tahirih came out and declared that the New Order had manifested itself.

But this all was not acceptable to the old orthodox reactionaries. Tahirih was arrested while returning to Tehran and imprisoned in the house of Mahmud Khan the Kalantar (Mayor).

Tahirih was brought before Nasir'd-Din Shah who on seeing her said: "I like her looks, leave her and let her be." It is related that His Imperial Majesty sent her a letter to the Kalantar's house, the resume of which was that he urges her to deny the Bab and again become a true Muslim. If she will do this, then he will give her an exalted place, the guardian of the ladies of his household; he will make her his bride. She wrote on the back of the letter two couplets:

*"Kingdom, wealth and ruling be for thee
Wandering, becoming a poor dervish and
calamity be for me.
If that station is good, let it be for thee
And if this station is bad, I long for it,
let it be for me."*

Officials took her from Kalantar's home on the pretext that she was to be taken to the house of the Prime Minister. She herself, that morning had taken an elaborate bath, used rose water, dressed herself in her best white-ropes, said goodbye to everybody in the house announcing to them that in the evening she was going on a long journey, her prophetic soul had made her aware. She was ready and went with them when they came for her that night. They took her to a garden. The executioners hesitated for a while to carry out the orders issued for her death and even refused

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3% Per Annum

for 1 year & over 1 year 4% Per Annum

Branches:

Chairman:

College Sq., Cal.
Bankura.

JAGANNATH KOLAY
M. P.

to do it. Then they found a Negro slave who was drunk; he put a handkerchief into Tahirih's mouth and strangled her. Afterwards they threw her down into a well in the garden and threw stones and rubbish on her.

Thus ended at the youthful age of 36 the life of this great Babi heroine, the first woman suffrage martyr, who, at her death, turning to the one in whose custody she had been placed, had boldly declared:

"You can kill me as soon as you like, but you cannot stop the emancipation of women." Her career was as dazzling as it was brief, as tragic as it was eventful.

Indeed the wondrous story of her life propagated itself as far and as fast as that of the Bab Himself, the direct Source of her inspiration. "The Persian Joan of Arc, the leader of emancipation for women of the Orient . . . who bore resemblance both to the

mediaeval Heloise and the neo-platonic Hypatia," thus was she acclaimed by a noted playwright whom Sarah Bernhardt had specifically requested to write a dramatized version of her life. "The heroism of the lovely but ill-fated poetess of Qasvin, Zarrin-Taj (Crown of Gold) . . ." testifies Lord Curzon of Kedleston, "is one of the most affecting episodes in modern history." "The appearance of such a woman as Qurratu'l-'Ayn," wrote the well-known British Orientalist, Prof. E. G. Browne, "is, in any country and any age, a rare phenomenon, but in such a country as Persia it is a prodigy—nay, almost a miracle . . . Had the Babi religion no other claim to greatness, this was sufficient . . . that it produced a heroine like Qurratu'l-'Ayn." "The harvest sown in Islamic lands by Qurratu'l-'Ayn," significantly affirms the renowned English divine, Dr. T. K. Cheyne, in one of his books, "is now beginning to appear . . . this noble woman

. . . has the credit of opening the catalogue of social reforms in Persia . . . "Assuredly one of the most striking and interesting manifestations of this religion" is the reference to her by the noted French diplomat and brilliant writer, Comte de Gobineau. "In Qasvin," he adds, "she was held, with every justification, to be a prodigy." "Many people," he, moreover has written, "who knew her and heard her at different periods of her life have invariably told me . . . that when she spoke one felt stirred to the depths of one's soul, was filled with admiration, and was moved to tears." "No memory," writes Sir Valentine Chirol, "is more deeply venerated or kindles greater enthusiasm than hers, and the influence which she wielded in her lifetime still inures to her sex." "O Tahirih!" exclaims in his book on the Babis the great author and poet of Turkey, Sulavaman Nazim Bey, "you are worth a thousand Nasiri'd-Din Shahs." "The greatest ideal of womanhood has been Tahirih" is the tribute paid to her by the mother of one of the Presidents of Austria, Mrs. Marianna Hainisch, ". . . I shall try to do for the women of Austria what Tahirih gave her life to do for the women of Persia."

Tahirih physically is no more, for her body perished at the hands of the tyrants. But her spirit dominates the orient. The women-folk of Iran, Turkey and other Middle-East countries tore off from the dead past and are marching with the rest of the world.

"You can kill me as soon as you like, but you cannot stop the emancipation of women," shall echo and re-echo as long as the women of the world are not totally emancipated.—Baha'i Public Relations.

M.B. SARKAR & SONS

Jewellers
AND DIAMOND MERCHANTS



167/C 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA, (AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNCTION)
OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM Phone AVENUE 1761 - Gram BRILLIANTS

U. S. Athletic Union Supervises Activities of 80 Lakh Athletes

In the Olympic Games just concluded at Helsinki, the world's best amateur athletes met on a common field and vied with one another solely for the thrill of competition and the glory of non-professional sport. Their creed is sport for sport's sake.

In the United States the organisation which has done the most to promote and protect these ideals is the Amateur Athletic Union, commonly called the AAU. This sports-governing body, which supervises the activities of about 8,000,000 American athletes, has also done much to encourage international competition.

The AAU not only takes the lead in America's participation in international competition such as the Olympics, but also sends amateur athletes to foreign countries each year to compete at their invitation. The organisation, in fact, played an important role in the revival of the Olympic Games themselves.

The Amateur Athletic Union was founded in the United States in 1888. In 1894, a Frenchman named Baron Pierre de Coubertin found that the character of youth was more highly developed in those countries in which youth took an active part in organised sport than in those where sport was still relatively unknown. While making his study, Coubertin had visited the United States and had observed its newly established amateur athletic programme. Later, when

the first International Olympic Committee was formed and the Games were revived in Athens, the AAU helped to serve as a model of athletic organisation.

The AAU is the only United States member of the International Amateur Federations, which govern such international games as basketball, bobsledding, boxing, gymnastics, handball, swimming, tobogganning, track and field, volley ball, weight-lifting and wrestling.

In 1948, the AAU sanctioned a nation-wide summer playground programme known as the Junior Olympics. American boys and girls ranging from 10 to 17 years of age are eligible to compete. On the basis of successful competition, teams are formed and sent to the city where the Junior Olympics are being held. The Junior Olympics have no connection with the International Olympics. Their sole purpose is to teach American boys and girls how to win well and how to lose well, and to compete against one another regardless of race, colour, or creed.

The AAU plays an important part in the drive to raise voluntary funds to send U. S. athletes to the Olympic Games every four years. This year the cost of American representation at Helsinki, Finland, was approximately \$850,000. The Amateur Athletic Union of the United States took the responsibility of collecting a fourth of that sum.—USIS.



Tribute to Beauty...

Quality toilet products are real aids to beauty culture. Our toiletries are humble tribute to Beauty.

Calchemico's

MARGO SOAP

NEEM TOOTH PASTE

BHRINGOL MAHABHRINGARAJ HAIR OIL

LABONNY SNOW AND CREAM

KANTA KERCHIEF PERFUME



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LTD. CALCUTTA 29

Panama Canal First Opened to Traffic, August 15, 1914

Thirty-eight years ago, on August 15, the American ship *Ancon* became the first vessel to pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific through the Panama Canal. The Isthmian Highway runs through the heart of the New World—a land of plains and valleys, luxurious tropical vegetation and heavily forested mountain slopes.

A thrilling chapter of engineering history, the U.S. building of the Panama Canal, is one of man's biggest time-saving devices. This has been proven, time and again by ships of all nations passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and vice versa.

With an average run of seven to eight hours, the Panama Canal is about 51 miles long from deep water to deep water.

A short cut to many of the world's ports, ships travelling at 10 to 16 knots between San Francisco and Liverpool, for instance, save between 14 and 23 days and more than 5,000 miles. Ships travelling from New York to Valparaiso, Chile, save between nine and 15 days and more than 3,000 miles. The international character of the canal traffic is shown by the 1949 roster of ships using it. They flew the flags of 30 nations. Vessels of the United States and Great Britain made up the greater part of the traffic, with 45 per cent and 22 per cent respectively, of the total tonnage.

When the United States began to build the canal in 1903, it was not an original project. Back in the 15th Century, Columbus was looking for China and the East Indies when he humped into the New World, searching for a direct water route to Asia. Under the reign of King Charles V of Spain, then ruler of Latin America, a survey was made of all rivers in that area in the hope of finding a water passage. Other nations, including England, Holland, France, and Czarist Russia, had also probed into a similar scheme.

The explorers had no luck, and Europe reluctantly came to the conclusion that the new lands across the Atlantic were not a gateway to the ancient countries of Asia; instead, they were a barrier. From that time on, an Isthmian canal was a live international question.

It was the French, however, who gave actuality to this dream of centuries. Construction began in the latter part of the 19th Century by a private company—the Universal Inter-oceanic Panama Canal Company,

then known as the Old Panama Canal Company. Headed by the brilliant French architect of the Canal, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the company planned a sea-level canal, instead of a lock canal.

Great quantities of money and equipment were poured into the project. But by the end of the years, in 1889, the company went into bankruptcy. Before the collapse of the Old Panama Canal Company, plans had been changed to build a temporary lock canal, taking less time and money, while the original plan for a sea-level canal continued. In 1894, the New Panama Canal Company was organized. Its effort was cut short by the Spanish-American War and the Americans took a dramatic step to complete the task.

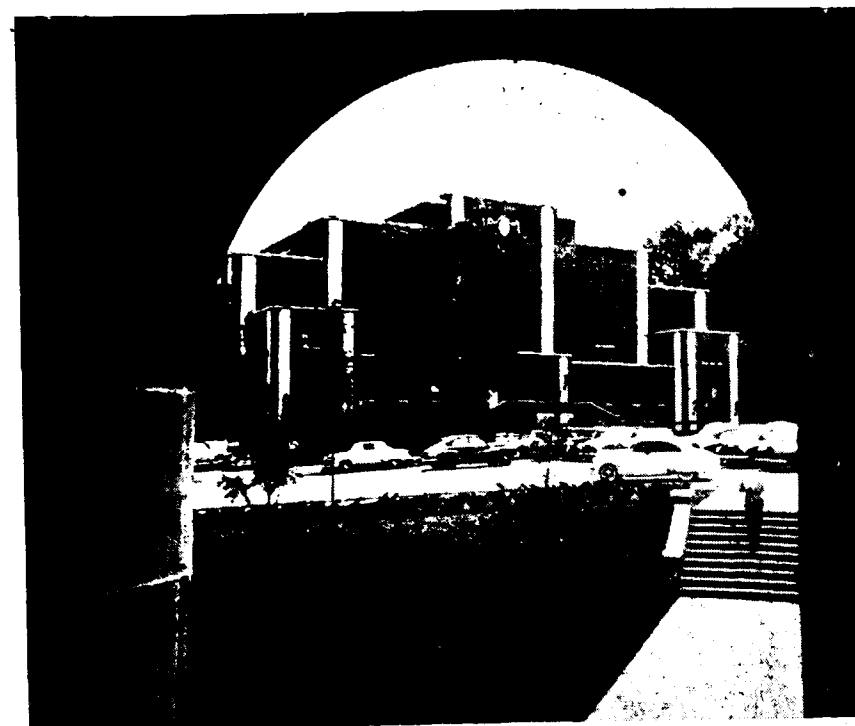
On November, 1903, Panama revolted from Colombia, declared its independence and was immediately recognised by the United States. A fortnight later a treaty with the new Republic of Panama was signed which made possible the building of the canal.

This treaty granted the United States "in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of a zone of land" 10 miles wide "for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection" of the canal. This agreement also effected an immediate payment to Panama of \$10,000,000 plus an annual payment of \$250,000 in gold (raised to \$400,000 by subsequent treaty in 1936).

Obstacles encountered in this outstanding engineering feat included cutting through mountains, excavating 240,000,000 cubic yards of earth, checking constant landslides, designing and building complicated locks, re-locating the Panama Railroad, building a huge dam and creating Gatun Lake.

The building of the Panama Canal covered a period of 10 years—1904 to 1914—and cost about \$367,000,000. Preliminary surveys and other preparations for the construction alone took three years. Besides the numerous obstacles mentioned above, the most important task was the freeing of the Canal Zone from yellow fever and malaria, which had greatly handicapped the French.

It took American vision, genius and millions of dollars to hack a great commerce and defence artery out of the Panama jungle. The U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force units in the Zone maintain the continued security of the free nations of North and South America and the Western Hemisphere.—USIS.



The Pennsylvania State College in the United States is the venue of the sixth International Grassland Congress



The U. S. Pasture Research Laboratory and Greenhouse of the Pennsylvania State College where experiments for observing the growth and behaviour of rye grass are conducted

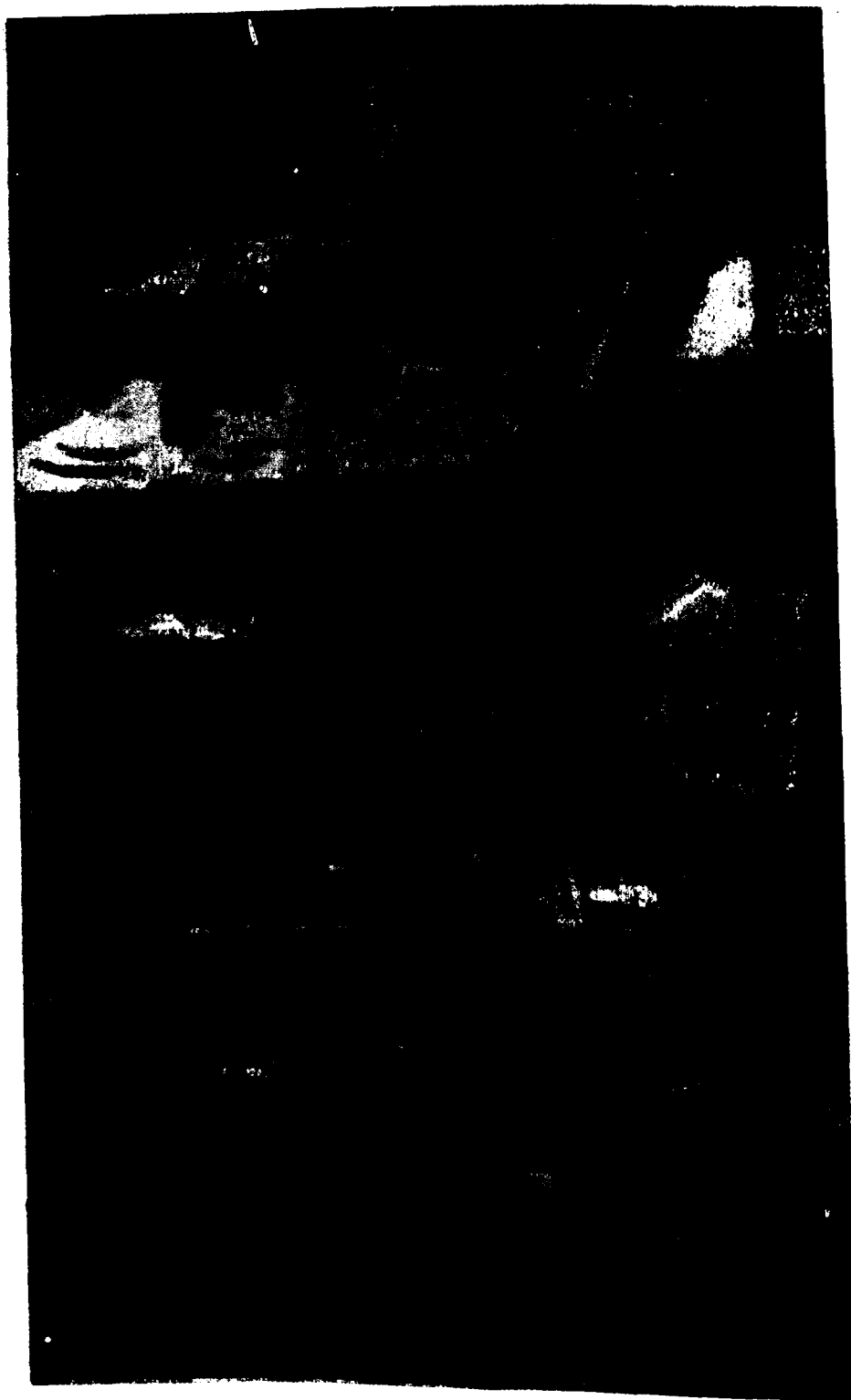
DHOLE & CO.

RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT

CUTA-TONE
for CUTS - PAINS - BURNS Etc.

NEEM OINTMENT
for ITCHES & SORES

BARNAGORE - CALCUTTA



BRAHMAKUNDA RAJGER
By Binod Roy

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1952

Vol. LXXXII, No. 4

Whole No. 550

NOTES

The A.I.C.C. Meeting

The much publicised A.I.C.C. meeting is over. The most strange part of the meeting was that little emphasis—if any at all—was laid in its deliberations on matters purely concerning the common citizen. Apart from laying down some abstract principles, Pandit Nehru seems to have thought that the woes of the people were too sordid a matter for discussion amongst the elect. Of course he has repeatedly reminded his followers about their necessity for maintaining contacts with their people. But even there, he could consider the people only in the terms of the electorate, as for example, in the following exhortation:

"Addressing a convention of Congress legislators, the Congress President, Mr. Nehru deprecated the idea that the party had two wings, one parliamentary and the other doing extra-parliamentary work. Each was complementary to the other and they must function as a whole.

Every member of Parliament or of State Assemblies must function in the respective body but, even more important, he had to function in his constituency. If he forgot the constituency he was doomed because he would gradually become 'rootless.'

Referring to the amendments to the Congress constitution which the Working Committee had finalised earlier in the day, Mr. Nehru said it had been proposed that members of Congress parties in Parliament or in Assemblies should become ex-officio associate members of Congress committees. He thought this was a proper approach to the problem because it gave them better opportunities of working together.

Mr. Nehru reminded the legislators that the Congress had its sanction 'in the grass roots among the people, in factories and fields.' In the measure Congressmen added to that sanction by their work in their constituencies as Congressmen, 'we add to our own strength and our own organisation.' There was a dual function to perform.

The present task of the party was to canalize its various activities. Their primary sanction came from the people, from the service rendered to them, and the confidence inspired in them. All this depended on the results which Congressmen produced. Every party was judged by results and not by the long manifestoes and tall promises they made.

'The party must hold together firmly, as otherwise it will be shattered to pieces by various opposition forces that are arising. We have to hold together in Parliament and elsewhere, and more so, in the whole of the Congress organization and function dynamically. We have to devise measures of doing parliamentary work effectively, unitedly and progressively, and profit by each other's experience. We have to do all this within the organization and not as a separate show.'

The convention passed two resolutions, one dealing with the reorganization of the party's parliamentary machinery, and the other recommending that a journal be run to publicize the party's activities."

It will be noted that even here the emphasis is on the duty of the legislators to the Party as a whole, and not to the country or to the people.

Pandit Nehru's attitude to other vital problems is also equally vague and academical. He seems to think that sermonizing coupled with procrastination is the essence of state-craft. The lessons implied by the fall of Mr. Asquith, of the famous "Wait and See" policy, and of Mr. Neville Chamberlain—with his prayers for 'Peace in our Times'—seem to have no significance for him. For example, with regard to the bitter controversy between Bihar and Bengal, over the districts arbitrarily taken away from Bengal, as a punishment for the anti-Partition movement, and ceded to Bihar by the autocratic British Raj, we find the following item in the daily press:

"The Congress President deplored the Bengal-Bihar controversy and said it was unfortunate it should have generated so much bitterness and anger. After partition, West Bengal had suffered much. A large

number of refugees from East Bengal had migrated there, and he well understood the difficulties of West Bengal. But what amazed him was that two States of the Indian Union were criticizing each other as though they were two different countries.

Disputes or differences, if any, between the two States, must be settled peacefully. For a proper understanding and settlement there must be a cordial atmosphere."

We are astonished at the above statement. Does Pandit Nehru ever listen to the speeches of fellow Parliamentarians? Or does he ever read the *Harijan*, the only accredited mouthpiece of the man in whose shadow he has attained his present exalted position? We append below an extract from the *Harijan*, with the note of the late Kishorelalji attached to it for illumination:

"The following speech was delivered in Hindi in the House of the People on the 12th July 1952 by Shri Bhajahari Mahato, M.P., (Lok Sevak Sangha, Manbhum), from Bihar in connection with the resolution regarding linguistic redistribution of provinces:

"I am a resident of Manbhum. My mother tongue is Bengali. I do not know English altogether. My knowledge in Hindi also is almost nil. Having got the luck of jail life in the British regime I took the opportunity of studying Hindi to a little extent. Thereafter outside jail I was trying to learn Hindi. But the overzealous Hindi fadists having made the situation in Manbhum so disturbed for the purpose of forcibly foisting Hindi on Manbhum that we are now busily engaged in facing the repressions following in its wake, and there is no peaceful situation there for the study of Hindi. Though my knowledge of Hindi is very meagre, I am trying anyhow to express myself in Hindi as it is our national language. I hope you would excuse me for the mistakes I commit in doing so.

The question of linguistic redistribution of provinces is very important in regard to Manbhum, as there is going on a reign of repression on this issue. We have never seen this question of linguistic redistribution of provinces with an outlook of provincialism. We in Manbhum have all along worked with amity towards all the communities and sects. We were in the Congress and have built the same in our district. And under the leadership of Atul Babu we were working in that way all the while; but we were compelled to quit the Congress. So we have always viewed the question of linguistic redistribution with the outlook of administrative facilities in the light of Gandhiji's teachings and judgement, and not with an outlook of provincialism. Yet we ourselves have never raised this matter, for we thought that the leaders of India would themselves take steps in this regard. But now we are appealing to the leaders that they should not tarry over the question, but should finish it without delay. Because the unsettlement of

this question has brought about such a situation in Manbhum that if it be allowed to continue longer, a revolution is bound to arise amongst the people of Manbhum.

Whenever the demand for redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis is raised, it is attributed to provincialism. But those who lay the charge of provincialism are the persons who are endowed with the administrative power and who themselves, having thus got opportunities to be in power, indulge in provincialism. Our provincial Government is destroying the language of the people of the regions which speak the tongue other than Hindi in order to foist Hindi on them, so that those regions may not go out of the boundaries of the State on the question of redistribution on the linguistic basis. It itself is thus indulging in provincialism.

It is said that the provinces of Bihar and Bengal should settle amongst themselves the problem of the linguistic question concerning Manbhum and such other places. I do not understand how the question may be settled by the complainant and the accused. In the matter of Kashmir, the U.N.O. asks Pakistan and Hindustan to settle amongst themselves. But the Prime Minister of India says that it is not possible; the people of Kashmir would themselves decide their own matter. Yet the Government of India is saying like the U.N.O. "Let this problem of Manbhum be decided by Bengal and Bihar themselves." Like the demand of the Prime Minister regarding Kashmir, we are also demanding that the people of Manbhum be given the right to decide their own future. Though our Lok Sevak Sangha had its own decision regarding the principle of the formation of the provinces on linguistic basis, it has left the matter to the people of Manbhum for their own decision.

The situation of Manbhum is today like that of Pakistan. As oppressions are being committed on the Hindus in Pakistan, similarly the Government of Bihar are behaving invidiously towards the Bengali-speaking people of Manbhum and are oppressing them like Pakistan. It is imperative to settle this issue soon. Inquiry should be made to see if the Government of Bihar is discharging its responsibility of administration in Manbhum properly or not. When the Government is indulging in provincialism and committing oppressions on the language issue, the administration of Manbhum should be taken from the hands of the Government till the issue of language be settled. The Bihar Government has so oppressed the people of Manbhum, that we, the people of Manbhum, are ready to live under any other administration in India, but not under the administration of the Bihar Government, we want to be relieved from it.

Note: Of the various political parties, which took part in the last elections, my information is that the Lok Sevak Sangh of Manbhum led by Shri Atul

Chandra Ghosh was one of the cleanest in its methods. Out of 11 or 12 seats, it captured 7 in the Bihar Assembly and 2 in the House of the People, and it did this by its sheer popularity among the people without any large funds. I have known Atul Babu personally for a long time. There is no narrow provincialism in him. The trouble in Manbhum is to a very large measure due to the narrow outlook and high-handed methods of the Bihar Government. If Bihar wants to retain Manbhum within its boundaries, it must stoop to conquer the Bengali-speaking population of that district by love and just dealing. In most of the problems relating to border regions, the impression left on my mind is that the Central Government and the Working Committee have adopted the policy of yielding to the bully among them, or of trying to shelve the question as long as possible. This weakness is bound to injure their reputation.

K. G. M.

Famine and Want

Meanwhile the State of the Union is going from bad to worse. The hold experiment made by Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari in Madras is being foiled by nature's vagaries, together with some amount of intransigency by man. We append below the words of that much-harassed old guard.

"Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of Madras, said that economic conditions in the State had deteriorated so badly that it might be necessary for the Government to declare the whole State a famine area.

"Every district was demanding the establishment of gruel centres, he said. Even the district of Tanjore was no exception. He wondered from where the money would come to provide relief against the threatening State-wide famine.

"The achievement of independence, he said, would be incomplete without thorough decentralization of administration. Sizable areas should be enabled to govern themselves in all respects. But they were in the midst of great difficulties. He himself was in the position of presenting addresses to others for more money. The Chief Minister was replying to an address at a reception by the Chingleput District Board asking for greater allocation of funds and enlargement of powers for the District Boards.

"Given time and peace of mind, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, he could draw up a scheme for decentralization of administration, but he had neither.

"It was officially learnt that widespread failure of the south-west monsoon and the prevalence of acute drought had been reported to the Madras Government from the districts in Rayalaseema and about ten others in the State. The failure of the monsoon—the sixth consecutive in certain districts and seventh in others—had increased the Government's commitments to

undertake urgent relief measures to provide employment to agricultural labour thrown out of work. The south-west monsoon usually commences in June and lasts till September."

Foreign Policy

At the A.I.C.C. the same old rigmarole about our foreign policy has been reiterated. We fail to see what was the occasion to lay so much emphasis on what can only be called a negative policy at the best. The foreign reaction to that; so far as the democratic bloc is concerned, can be best gauged by the following news item that appeared in the daily press:

"A British Foreign Office spokesman said that he had no comment to make on the All-India Congress Committee's resolution calling for a meeting of the world's big Powers. The resolution passed at Indore on September 14 called on the nations to meet 'to take some immediate steps towards a solution of the major problems of the day.'

"Lord Llewellyn, leader of the British delegation, criticized what he described as India's 'policy of non-involvement in world disputes' at the closing session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conference. He said Britain could not forget its involvement in the defence of small nations and freedom in 1914 and 1939, and what it had cost. If the U. N. was to succeed it could not 'merely stand cheering on the sidelines.'

"In the past a Russian invasion over the passes into India had been a concern of the British General Staff, he said. It might happen in the future and, if it did, he hoped the U.N. would not adopt any policy of non-involvement.

"Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar of India replied that he wanted to clarify India's 'position on non-involvement.' If democracy were threatened, India would 'certainly be involved,' he said, but she did not wish to enter any bloc. He said India preferred to decide each issue on its merits as it arose. He favoured admission of Communist China to the U. N. and did not believe China was inseparably attached to Russia.

"Mr. McDermott, State Department spokesman, said, the Department was waiting for clarification of a resolution of the Congress Party in India, calling for talks between the USA, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China. He declined to comment on the resolution, saying he had seen several different versions in news reports."

The why and wherefore of the British spokesman's utterances can be well analysed by the following remarks of Dr. Taraknath Das, who is on a visit to India at present:

"Dr. Taraknath Das, Wattumull Foundation Traveling Fellow and Lecturer, delivered an address at the Calcutta University Institute hall on Monday on 'Free India's position in world affairs.' Mr. Justice J.

P. Mitter presided. Dr. Das discussed at great length the various stages of the Indian freedom movement from 1887 to August, 1947 when power was transferred to India. He referred to partition as the culmination of the British policy of divide and rule and said that, as a result of partition, India's national defences had been weakened both in the east and the west.

"In the disturbances which followed partition about one million people were killed, property worth crores of rupees was destroyed and 10m people rendered homeless. He said that minorities in India were enjoying greater political and cultural rights than anywhere else, including America. Dr. Das condemned the South African Government for its racialism. He was critical of India's foreign policy and spoke of the dangers inherent in a policy of neutrality. India, he said, held the balance of power between China and Russia, China and Japan, and Russia and Japan. In peace and war, India's position was of supreme importance. Under present world conditions, her neutrality would affect the democratic forces."

Medical College Strike in Lucknow

In September, 1951, a boy died in the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Hospital in Lucknow immediately after an anaesthetic was applied before an operation. The Chancellor ordered an enquiry into the circumstances leading to the death of the boy and a committee of three was formed. The committee with a dissenting vote by the Director-General of Health Services found the two doctors attending the boy guilty of utter callousness and negligence of their duty. Accordingly, Surgeon S. N. Mathur and Dr. Bahl were called upon to resign their posts. The provincial branch of the Indian Medical Association protested against the Chancellor's action. One thousand students and members of the teaching staff of the college also went on strike protesting against the decision of the Chancellor. The strike was called off on September 18.

The Lucknow University Executive Council has recommended the authorities to fine all the students of the Medical College numbering 1,000, a sum of Rs. 5 each for taking part in the agitation, the *Leader* reports. "The Executive also recommended immediate suspension of the hospital house staff who had participated in the agitation pending orders of the Chancellor."

Mr. C. B. Gupta, Health Minister of the State, visited the hospital on the 18th September. According to the *Leader*, "He was reported to have told staff members that strong disciplinary action would be taken against those who threatened to stop work and against the striking students if they did not go back to their classes." Earlier he told a deputation of seven members of the local branch of the Indian Medical Association that "Chancellor's decision in the matter was irrevocable and had to be implemented."

"He deprecated the spirit of trade unionism in the medical profession and said that the doctors ought to have taken serious view of the demonstrations and strikes by students during the past two days when they had paraded the city's main streets along with some teachers 'shouting slogans' and abusing the Chancellor, Health Minister and the authorities of the university."

"The Association, he said, had passed resolutions only protesting against the Chancellor's action without 'bothering' to know the circumstances in which the decision had to be taken, rather than denouncing the students' 'hooliganism'."

The authorities made arrangements for 40 army doctors to take charge of the hospital in the event of a stoppage of work by the staff.

Of recent, reports are coming from many places which indicate a growing indiscipline among the students. As the *Leader* puts it, "Much of the indiscipline among students results from their participation in active politics. They want to be leaders even before they have prepared themselves for leadership mentally and morally. . . ."

The U. P. Government has finally decided to deal with this growing indiscipline amongst students with a firm hand as the following news indicate :

"After discussions at Cabinet and other levels, the Government has decided to deal firmly with indiscipline in the State's educational institutions and a number of orders have been issued to that effect."

"In Farrukhabad, the Rastogi Vidyalaya, the students of which are reported to have taken the law into their own hands, has been ordered to restore discipline. The Government grant to this institution has already been stopped. Withdrawal of recognition is also being considered. The District Inspector of Schools and the District Magistrate have been asked to locate the culprits and rusticate them."

"In Chandausi, where some students are reported to have pulled the alarm chain of a train and to have beaten up a travelling ticket examiner, the Government has asked the Director of Education to submit a detailed report. Meanwhile, the grant of the institution has been stopped."

"In Janghai, the Government has ordered the closure of the Intermediate College the students of which are reported to have indulged extensively in travelling without tickets and in destruction of railway property. The Government has informed the Principal of the college that the institution will have to be closed unless specific assurances are forthcoming that such offences will not be repeated."

"In Jaunpur, where students are reported to have forcibly taken possession of a building, the District Magistrate has been asked to evict the students, by force if necessary."

"Meanwhile, *PTI* reports that seven of the 1,000

students of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Medical College, Lucknow, who had led an agitation against the university authorities, have been suspended. These students have been asked to show cause why they should not be expelled from the college. The rest of the students have been fined Rs. 5 each by the university authorities for having taken part in the agitation."

Kashmir

The latest joint conference on Kashmir has proved infructuous, as expected, as the following news item indicates :

"Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, India's Defence Minister and leader of the Indian delegation to the joint conference on Kashmir, said in Geneva on September 11 : 'I have been satisfied with the manner in which the discussions have been held, though it is a matter of disappointment to me that better results, especially with reference to basic issues, were not achieved.'"

In an interview with the special correspondent of *PTI* he added : "The main thing for which this conference was convened was the settlement of the character and quantum of the forces on either side of the cease-fire line. That question was really not solved, though an attempt was made to define, if possible, the principles on which these matters could be decided. But even this attempt did not quite produce the agreement that seemed, in the early stage of the discussion, hopeful." The question of local authority in the 'Azad Kashmir' area was understood to have been raised by India at the conference."

In Kashmir itself the position is hardly less complicated, although the following news item shows that Shaikh Abdullah's plans are going ahead :

"Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir has signified his intention of abdicating in favour of his son, Yuvraj Karan Singh. This decision is a sequel to the visit during the weekend of Mr. C. S. Venkatachar, Secretary, Ministry of States, who conveyed to the Maharaja the advice of the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru."

"The Maharaja temporarily withdrew from the State and handed over power to the Yuvraj, who was to act during the Maharaja's absence as a constitutional ruler. Yuvraj Karan Singh formally took over from his father in June, 1949."

Unofficial Western circles have forecast that the deadlock will continue in Kashmir until both India and Pakistan accept the principle of partition in Kashmir.

Iran and the Near East

In Iran too the deadlock continues. The Persian Premier as yet does not seem to have decided to work for a bold solution. He is between the devil and the deep sea and therefore can only fall back on refusals and demands as the following news indicates :

"The Persian Prime Minister, Dr. Mossadiq, got

a unanimous vote of confidence from the Majlis. Sixty-one deputies, including the Deputy Speaker who was in the Chair, were present."

"Asking the House for the vote, Dr. Mossadiq made a five-point proposal in reply to the Churchill-Truman offer and announced that he was prepared to go to The Hague International Court on the question of compensation to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company if certain conditions were agreed upon beforehand. At the same time he said he was prepared to break relations with Britain in order to vindicate Persia's rights. He declared that the Churchill-Truman offer was 'totally unacceptable.' The offer agreed to grant Persia \$10m if she agreed to refer the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's compensation claim to the International Court and to open negotiations with the company on marketing Persian oil."

"Dr. Mossadiq said the proposals he would make were the last basis on which Persia might accept a settlement. He was prepared to go to the International Court to settle compensation, if the A.-I.O.C. did not agree to Persian courts settling the issue, provided the following conditions were agreed upon beforehand :

1. Compensation would be payable only in respect of the A.-I.O.C. installations at Abadan.
2. Disputes and claims by either party between 1933 and 1947 to be settled in accordance with the 1933 oil agreement.
3. Claims and disputes between 1948 and nationalization in April, 1951, to be settled under the supplementary oil agreement of 1949.
4. No claims by the A.-I.O.C. after nationalization to be admitted.
5. The A.-I.O.C. agrees to pay forthwith to Persia £49m 'which it owes Persia,' the payment to be made in U.S. dollars."

The State of Lebanon too is in a ferment. A *coup d'etat* on the lines of Egypt has followed there.

"President Beshara el Khoury of the Lebanon, resigned his post amid allegations of Government corruption and handed over power to the Army. His resignation, which came on the third day of a general strike called by the Opposition against political corruption, makes the Lebanon the third Middle East State to come with the rule of the Army within a year. The others are Egypt and Syria."

"Some sources said the ex-President left the Lebanon by air for France, but this report was later found to be erroneous."

"General Shehab, Army Commander, since the French evacuation of the Lebanon in 1946, immediately on assuming power, issued a ban on demonstrations and appealed for public order."

In the midst of all this turmoil our ship of state is being sought to be steadied and brought into harbour by a new tug. How that will function has been described at length in the *People* of New Delhi, in

its September 20 issue, by Dr. P. N. Soni. We give the following extracts to show the plan:

"Old ways of imparting knowledge are too slow, they happen to be dull," says the report on the *Malmo Seminar*, published by Unesco. This was a gathering of World Experts. They should know what they were talking about.

But is it possible to knit up and arouse quickly through modern techniques, a loose and despairing mass of people? Has it been done before? If not we are just lotus-eaters, wasting your time by promising you a slice of the moon.

The history of modern propaganda answers with an emphatic, positive *yes*.

Think of Germany. Sunk to the brink of despair. Crushed by the treaty of Versailles. And then came Hitler. He was the Hero. But Dr. Goebbels was the star performer. His was the genius that harnessed Audio-Visual Aids, utilised modern techniques and the latest instruments for the Grand Central purpose of making the German people, strong, united and aggressive.

Russia has outstripped Germany in the art of publicity and propaganda. The state runs institutions specialising on mass publicity methods. The directors of Culture are experimenting all the time on the most effective means of adult education. Tape recorders and 16mm movie projectors work incessantly in the villages, homes and community centres. All factory workers and labour centres get their evening relaxation with well-thought-out programmes. Says the shrewd and practical Stalin, "The Cinema in the hands of the Soviet power represents a great and priceless force."

America has even advanced further. The new Bell and Howell Model 202, 16mm sound projector is self-contained. It also houses a dubbing device. Any sound film can be adapted to the local dialect of Haryana, Rohtak, Moga, Majha and Fazilka. The original sound can be suppressed and the new commentary made semi-permanent or permanent. The same film can be used again by demagnetising the scotch tape and making it ready for a fresh commentary.

But it requires men with a flair for exciting programmes. Appointing I.C.S., I.A.S., P.C.S. men or political big shots for this adaptation is the one sure way to wreck the scheme. We have General Cariappa telling the students of the Presidency College, Madras that films are silly, stupid and naughty. He made an earnest appeal to boys and girls to refrain from seeing them. Does the good General believe that you can stop a swollen river by throwing in a thousand sand-bags in its path?

"It will be the business of the Bharat Sevak Samaj to ask the Planning Commission to allocate a few lacs to set up an independent non-party audio-visual unit in charge of a practical psychologist, who knows the Indian conditions and the work.

"If the Bharat Sevak Samaj gets no equipment for this great drive, then we will know it is a bastard baby. An orphan left to the storms. This acid test of funds will call the bluff. At any rate the public should know where it stands vis-a-vis the new schemes."

"Here are the eight big avenues of activity. I have commented upon some aspects and given concrete details. I leave it to others to send their plans and suggestions on any item that attracts them. Only a congenital idiot would undertake to comment on all the aspects. He would prove beyond all doubt that he was a jack of all trades, in short a mere dabbler. In a national, creative and constructive scheme we should keep these sly birds with tarred feathers, at a safe distance.

(1) *Economic Development*: (a) Construction-building, roads, wells, bunds, houses for community purpose, etc. (b) Assisting the development of co-operatives and Panchayats. (c) Assisting the development of cottage and village industries. (d) Austerity and savings drive. (e) Protection of crops and (f) Cattle improvement.

(A) ROADS.

An Engineer with trained P.W.D. coolies can do all the coaching and teaching necessary.

The villagers and other people don't have to be coaxed to join in. Set the example, wield the axe, dig the road and laugh at the sweat.

After a week's suspicious watching the others will clamour to join in.

Chorus songs may be sung while the workers steadily swing the shovels.

A movie of this pilot project is essential. This film with the sound dubbing and the songs can then be shown within a radius of the surrounding 400 villages. It will create the right type of atmosphere for public co-operation on which Shri Inamdar, an old worker, lays so much stress.

(B) PANCHAYATS

Let us face it frankly. The village panchayat is, today, a great farce. Countless jokes are made about it and taunts are flung at it. Why? Because the panchayat comprise a lot of foolish illiterate people led by selfish greedy sharks. It depicts the old problem which worried Goldsmith: Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay. We must get a better selection. Academic degrees are no test of sound sense. The illiterate villager can teach us a lot. The shrewdness of the jat is proverbial.

The village has to be gathered at one spot. Trust the tape recorder, with the local *kuwali* singers to do that. Lectures by pompous parrots are not wanted. We must draw out the villagers into a healthy discussion.

Leaders must realise that it is futile to thrust axioms of virtue, down resisting throats.

Pakistan and USSR

The Karachi *Dawn*, organ of the Pakistan Government, blamed India for the deadlock in the talks on Kashmir held in Geneva, in an editorial on September 16. The paper charged the United Nations, the United States and the United Kingdom for inaction and asserted that U.N. Kashmir representative Dr. Graham was "not quite a free agent." The editorial said:

"The time is opportune for the Soviet Union to take a bold initiative in the Security Council on the Kashmir question with a view to ensuring to the people of that long enslaved territory, the right of free choice in a wholly impartial plebiscite."

The Soviet Union was reminded that she stood to lose nothing by making such a move even though her proposals are defeated.

Commenting on the suggestions made by the *Dawn*, the *Leader* writes that though Pakistan will make an excellent camp follower to Mr. Stalin, "he cannot fail to remember that in February, 1951, the United States and Britain submitted to the Security Council a resolution containing the demand that foreign troops should be sent to Kashmir. Kashmir would have been reduced to the status of an Anglo-American protectorate if this resolution had been enforced. India and the USSR opposed it but Pakistan welcomed it and denounced the USSR representative for opposing the proposal. Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman said:

"The Soviet has chosen to give this blow at a very critical time and its consequences are bound to be fatal to our cause'..."

In view of these antecedents, concludes the *Leader*, the USSR is not going to be favourably disposed towards the Pakistani suggestion.

In this connection the following comments, with its extracts from the *Dawn*, are very cogent:

"What is life like behind the curtain of secrecy Russia has dropped between herself and the free world?"

A prominent tuberculosis specialist from Lahore, Dr. Riaz Ali Shah, got an unusual opportunity to probe this question recently when he visited Russia with a Pakistani medical mission. His impressions have been recorded in a series of articles written for *Dawn*.

Ali Shah notes he found few traces of the Islamic religion, despite Russian assurances that religious liberty is guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR. He bases his conclusion upon personal visits to Alma-Ata, a city in the Kazakh Republic, and to Tashkent, leading city of the Republic of Uzbek.

"Although Alma-Ata has been a Muslim town for centuries, not a single mosque was in sight," Ali Shah says, adding: "Whether the Muslims have come to hate their mosques so much as to have demolished them, or they have disappeared because of the ravages of time or politics, I cannot say."

We must teach them without tears through fables and stories.

Now like sunlight, you can't take the panchayat and its work for granted. They have to be gently taught and made to practise the broad principles of discussion and debate at their council meetings."

"Co-operative Societies: Their advantages can be driven home through excellent films which explain this idea through concrete pictures.

(C) COTTAGE AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Our villager is notoriously lazy. He works like a mule for 4 months in the year and then time hangs idle on his hands. So he gets busy in thinking, cracking walnuts and heads, gambling, spending spare time in jail, and when out, producing kids.

New horizons can be opened for him by showing him films on vocational training, industries and crafts. He can thus choose the trade that appeals to him most and seek further information about it.

(D) AUSTERITY AND SAVINGS DRIVE

I am against cutting down meals. All this talk about 'miss a meal' is rubbish. A cheap publicity stunt that has paid good dividends to its authors. Wasting food or preventing waste is a different thing altogether. Where is the austerity drive when you are asked to give up the wheat ration, and stuff your belly with sweets, cream and butter and fruits, until the belly bursts.

(E) PROTECTION OF CROPS

Extermination of rats, insects and vermin. Here is a sharp focus target for all of us. Traps, poison pills and Gammexene powders can be supplied to the workers, and a record kept of the pests and vermin killed.

Have you ever given a thought to the naughty monkey?

He easily accounts for 10 per cent destruction of crops. Do you know that our food shortage in spite of the huge baby crop is only 10 per cent?

So long as we continue to cloak him with religious sentiments, and allow him the upper hand, we may safely bid good bye to crop protection schemes.

Godowns and Moisture: Think of the grain, cereals, rice and flour bags ruined and yearly condemned in the godowns. These things rarely come to light. Who would publicly cut off his nose to spite his face? Moisture seeps in from the ground. The rain pours down the walls. The white ants get through the window. Remember it is a free country where everybody must have his merry fling. Public godowns or Government granaries are not your father's property. So why bother to take the precautions. We must dissipate these clouds of false freedom. Bands of volunteers must cement the floors and lay the bricks for making secure these community vaults. Then there will be no need for us to go abroad with a beggar's bowl asking for aids and alms."

Describing the mission's visit to Tashkent, Ali Shah says: 'We learned that one mosque still exists in the old town which is opened for prayers on Fridays only, but in spite of our repeated requests we could not see it.'

Religion may have been abolished in Russia, says Ali Shah, 'but a new religion has taken its place with Lenin and Stalin as its prophets.'

Summarising the variance between Russia's proclaimed benevolence toward religion and the actual conditions he found, Ali Shah says: 'I was told that religious liberty was assured in the constitution of the USSR, but Marxism is a compulsory subject in schools and colleges and no other religious teaching is permitted.' Ali Shah says he found a pronounced tendency among official Russians to encourage campaigns which ridiculed Americans and their craftsmanship. He thinks the tendency 'rather absurd' in view of the considerable amount of American medical equipment being used in Russia today. He also notes that 'the Russian ambassadors in Karachi and Kabul prefer American cars instead of their own.'

Blended with this antipathy toward America is the close check Russian officials keep on news from the free world, Ali Shah says. He cites the following experience of the Pakistani mission during a visit outside the Moscow area: 'We were anxious to hear Radio Pakistan and tried to tune in the radio set of the guest house. It was a strange coincidence that here as well as in the Hotel Metropole in Moscow the knobs for adjustment of the overseas short wave stations were missing. Only Radio Moscow could be tuned in.'

Ali Shah says that this enforced xenophobia among Russians was also evidenced in the fact that the mission was 'not allowed to see the private lodgings of factory workers, doctors or nurses . . . Nor were we asked to tea or a meal by any doctor or other Russian citizen.'

Ali Shah notes that unfavourable comments about Russia have little chance of appearing in the Russian press. He points out that on the day before the mission left Russia it gave a frank account of its impressions to the Moscow press. The interview was not published."

Adversity makes strange bed-fellows, we know, and following the stoppage of stock-pile buying, there is a slump in the export trade of Pakistan. And there is also a disturbance in her food supply.

People Starving in Sind

The *Bombay Chronicle* of September 16, 1952, published a *PTI* despatch from Karachi quoting the report from the *Dawn* that people were starving in Umarkot (Sind). Umarkot—birth place of the Moghul Emperor, Akbar—is in Tharparkar district.

China in the Toils?

Our amity with China and her people, has lasted

over a millennium and a half almost, ever since the days when our Buddhist monks under Kumarajiva went to China, to spread the Message and the Law, over the land route. As such, we cannot break off just because China is in the control of a group whose political viewpoint is not at all fours with ours. This is a puzzling matter for the Westerners, but most Asiatics, in whom the call of kinship and friendship establishes stronger bonds, would easily understand.

Matters are different when another great nation, which is partly Asiatic in its cultural heritage and geographical situation, is concerned. This nation has imbibed Western imperialism too deeply, ever since the time of Peter the Great, to be regarded with much complacency.

Latterly the close relationship between the two has caused some uneasiness, specially as China has pushed her frontiers right up to our borders. We still have no active cause for suspicion, but the latest news from China, regarding her negotiations with Russia, at Moscow, has increased that uneasiness. Regarding the negotiations, the *Newsweek* of New York made the following forecast in its issue of September 1:

The Russian-Chinese negotiations promised to bring results more quickly than the other Moscow developments. What were they about? Moscow revealed only that Chou and his aides had conferred with Stalin and top Soviet officials. Nonetheless, it was possible to put together a reasonably definitive picture of the chief issues in the negotiations:

The Korean war naturally would be a topic of discussion. But it seemed unlikely that it was the chief topic or that it was the reason for calling the meeting. No North Koreans participated in the talks, and Korea was not mentioned in a Peking radio broadcast on the agenda. If either the Russians or the Chinese planned surprise measures to broaden the war, then the talks certainly would have been secret. Nor was there any sign that the Reds had a solution to the impasse in the armistice negotiations. However, a major peace propaganda drive may be under consideration. Next month a so-called "Asian and Pacific Peace Congress" will be staged in Peking.

Japan is now officially rearming in virtual alliance with the U.S. This might be construed as bringing into force the 1950 Russian-Chinese treaty. It provides for mutual action against aggression by Japan or any powers allied with Japan. So far, however, the Reds have contented themselves with using Japanese Communists for instigating riots and other violence while Japanese businessmen were wooed with trade offers. The Peking Peace Congress may try to put new pressure on the Japanese.

The Changchun Railway, Dairen, and Port Arthur will certainly be the subject of negotiations as to whether the Russians relinquish their interests as per

promise or whether they retain some control in return for economic or military aid. Few observers can see the Soviets voluntarily relinquishing such installations as the Dairen submarine pens.

Sinkiang, Tibet, and Inner Mongolia are buffer areas between China proper and the Soviet Union. The question must arise as to whether they eventually will become puppets of the Russians as has Outer Mongolia.

Economic help to China, in the opinion of most observers, was one of the two chief reasons for the Moscow meeting. The 1950 agreement provided for Soviet aid to China for five years at a tiny \$60,000,000 per year. China presumably has had to pay, in some form or other, for Russian armament used in the Korean war. That conflict has put additional heavy strains on the Chinese economy. Also, a convulsive campaign against businessmen brought commerce and industry close to a standstill for most of the first half of this year.

The latest news, as released by Tass on September 15, and quoted below, show that the *Newsweek* forecast was substantially correct:

"Russia and Communist China have agreed, in an exchange of Notes, to 'the extension of the common use of the Chinese military and naval base of Port Arthur' on the Yellow Sea, 200 miles west of Korea.

"The Soviet news agency, Tass, which announced this, also announced that agreement had been reached between the Russian Government and the Chinese delegation led by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Premier, under which Russia would hand over without payment full ownership of the Chinese Changchung Railway. The Changchung Railway, over 1,000 miles long, runs from Lupin (Manchuli), close to the Russian border with Manchuria, down to Dairen and Port Arthur on the Yellow Sea, west of Korea. It runs within 100 miles of the Manchurian-Korean border.

"Tass said, the Sino-Russian talks covered 'important political and economic questions.' The discussions were held 'in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding,' the agency said. 'They confirmed the resolve of both parties to use all efforts to strengthen and develop friendship and co-operation between the two countries and at the same time to further, in every way possible, the preservation and strengthening of peace and international security. The Soviet Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic have now taken measures to carry out this agreement and with this aim in view have agreed to form a joint Soviet-Chinese commission. The joint commission must complete the transfer of the railway not later than December 31, 1952, the agency said.

"The text of Mr. Chou En-lai's Note to M. Vyshinsky was given by Tass as follows:

"Conditions dangerous to the cause of peace and favourable to a repetition of Japanese aggression have been created as a result of Japan's refusal to conclude

a multi-lateral peace treaty after she had concluded a separate peace treaty with the U.S.A. and several other States.

'Japan has thus no peace treaty with the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union, and obviously does not desire it.

'In view of the above and with a view to preserving peace, also on the strength of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Aid between the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR, the Government of the Chinese Republic suggests and requests the Soviet Government to agree to defer the date of the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from the jointly operated Chinese naval base at Port Arthur as provided in Article 2 of the Sino-Soviet agreement regarding Port Arthur, pending conclusion of peace treaties between the Chinese People's Republic and Japan and the Soviet Union and Japan.

'In the event of the Soviet Government agreeing to the foregoing proposal of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic, the present Note and your Note in reply shall be treated as an integral part of the agreement of February 14, 1950, between the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR regarding the naval base of Port Arthur.'

The position of Japan was clarified in the following news-release which appeared in the daily press on September 17:

'In Tokyo, a Japanese Foreign Office spokesman said that Japan was 'ready at any time' to conclude a peace treaty with Russia 'if the terms were the same or better than those of the San Francisco treaty.' The spokesman, Mr. Kakitsubo, was commenting on the Chinese-Soviet agreement.

'Of Moscow radio's reference to Japan's 'refusal' to sign a treaty with Russia and the People's Republic of China, the spokesman said: 'We have never refused to sign a treaty with Russia because Russia has never asked us to sign one.'

It is to be seen as to how far the Dragon can keep itself out of the suzerainty of the Bear.

Is China Self-sufficient in Food?

The recent food exports of China to India and other friendly countries has given the world an idea that the Chinese People's Government has been able to solve the most vital problem affecting that State. But the following extracts, taken from an article in the *People* of New Delhi in its September 20 issue, gives a totally different picture:

"Dr. Kumarappa was simply swept off his feet at the spectacle of the new opulence. Ex-Ambassador Panikkar lectured to the Congress M.P.s on how Chinese Communists solved their food problem. Mrs. Pandit told the U.P. Congress legislators that within a short time China has increased her food production

so much that from a deficit country she has become an exporter of food.

In all such utterances, the claim to speak and write and propagate for China is based not on a study of Communism in general and of Chinese agricultural developments in particular, but on short trips to that country organised by her rulers and so filled with fete and receptions that there is hardly any time left for studies.

Physical locomotion can never replace painstaking study of facts, and sifting, comparing and evaluating of evidence. Globe-trotters are not the best judges of a country's affairs.

Increased food production in China is a myth, but it is one of those myths which overtakes the world from time to time and are believed in spite of all facts to the contrary. A study of Chinese economic literature reveals a deficit instead of a surplus. The following table gives the production in successive years:

Index Number of Food Production in China			
	Percent		
1931-37	..	..	100
1946	..	..	91
1947	..	..	92
1948	..	..	94
1949	..	..	89
1950	..	..	87
1951	..	..	93.0

The figures are quoted in a U. N. publication, *Statistical Yearbook, 1951*, and *World Economic Report, 1950-51*, but they are confirmed by Chinese Communist sources as well. According to *China Reconstruct*, May-June issue, a Chinese propaganda publication, we have the following:

Chinese Food Production			
	1936	1950	1951
Foodstuffs	100	87	92.8
Rice	100	96.5	99.4
Wheat	100	80.4	88.5
Soya bean	100	58.9	63.3

These figures speak for themselves. Food production in 1950 and 1951 is lower than production in 1930s under Chiang when the Sino-Japanese war had not broken out and the country still enjoyed a measure of peace.

If production is again rising—though not reaching the pre-war level yet—the reason is not Chinese Communism, but conditions of peace that have returned as a result of the Japanese defeat in the war.

In fact, the above figures do not reveal the full deficit. Figures for 1950 and 1951 are unverified Communist claims. They also include figures for Manchuria which is now called the North East.

Pre-war figures exclude Manchuria, Jehol and certain other areas. It is significant that the main increases claimed have taken place in the North."

"No wonder with a larger population to support on a lower level of production, consumption standards have fallen below pre-war. According to *Economic*

Survey of Asia and the Far East, average food supplies available for human consumption and the energy-value that food represents are as follows:

Per Capita Food Consumption		
China (22 provinces)	Cereals kilogram	Calories
1934-38	171.6	2226
1948-49	165.1	2172
1949-50	153.0	2020

The figures reveal that average consumption has been declining. The figures do not say that these quantities are availed by the consumers, but are computed on the basis of available supply of food and equitable distribution. Inequality which is prevalent even under Communism depresses these figures still more so far as the masses of people are concerned."

"The Communist surplus export is as spurious as their food self-sufficiency. The fact is that in a dictatorial country, where people cannot give a damn to their rulers, it is possible for grain production to fall and grain export to rise. We have the example of Soviet Russia. From 1929 to 1933, while grain production was falling catastrophically causing a widespread famine, Soviet authorities continued to export grain in ever larger quantity. In fact, in 1928 on the eve of the new harvest when the peasants were not yet collectivised and Communist control over them was not complete, the Soviet Government was forced to import 12 million poods from abroad. But all this changed as soon as the collectives were instituted. Grain began flowing in the coffers of the Government.

Because China is a police state, she has been able to 'solve' her food problem while we have failed. What is the nature of the food problem? It is a city problem. Enough food does not come forth from the rural side to feed the urban areas.

In India, Communists preach rationing in the towns, and the abandoning of procurement in the villages. They agitate for a low selling price in towns and high price for the farmer. In this vote-catching campaign, other political parties also join. In a Communist country, where all opposition has been silenced no such difficulties arise. There it is possible to organise forced deliveries out of the peasants at confiscatory prices to any amount.

We have the example of Soviet Russia. In 1928 and 1938 production of grain was about the same (if we make allowance for the change in the method of computation introduced in 1932), that is, about 74 million tons; while the Government share during this period increased from 630 million poods to 2,300 million poods, or 375 per cent."

It does seem somewhat strange that China could solve her food problem so much quicker than the Soviets did, taking into consideration the immensely greater pressure of population of her soil. But enthusiasts and biased professors have a method of their own in proving the unlikely.

The Soviet Fifth Five-Year Plan

The Soviet fifth five-year plan is made public some eighteen months after the completion of the first post-war plan, although its ultimate targets have remained secret. The plan envisages a rise over the five years of about sixty per cent in national income and seventy per cent in the gross output of industry. This comes to about average annual increases of 10 per cent in the national income and 12 per cent in gross industrial production. The pattern of development of Soviet basic production has not undergone any radical change in the new plan. The output of heavy industry, like that of coal, electricity and pig iron will increase on an average during the four years slightly more than last year. The average annual rise in oil production—about 7 million tons—is considerably higher and only in steel there has been a fall in production from about 4 to some 3½ million tons. Among the basic industries, steel seems to be the only one where a temporary stage of diminishing returns has started and the rate of expansion is substantially slowed down—least for pig iron and most for crude oil. Possibly steel production capacity has outstripped its supply of raw materials. But the output of electricity and that of oil are increasing substantially. The Soviet plan is vigorously maintaining the rhythm of development in heavy industry. The following comparative table will give an idea about the rate of growth of Soviet industries.

Per Capita Production
(kilograms)

	1951					USSR planned
	USA	UK	Germany	France	USSR	
Coal	3500	4500	2480	1250	1384	1730
Oil	2050	1	29	7	208	325
Electricity*	2468	1199	1070	850	500	753
Pig iron	426	197	223	206	109	159
Steel	635	317	281	232	154	206

The per capita output, however, tells only a part of the story. It is important for the standard of life, not for economic potential. In potential resources of coal, oil, electricity, pig iron and crude oil, the USSR comes next to the USA and holds the balance well against the combined current output of the United Kingdom, France and Germany.

The fifth five-year plan aims at reducing slowly the West's advantage in economic potential to such levels as to counterbalance its strategic importance with overwhelming production.

Planned economy is the order of the day and it presupposes elimination of competition—competition with similar products on institutional basis. Of course, there is competition in planned economy—but it is qualitative. Competition in planned economy is complementary and is directed towards improving the rate of productivity and the quality as well. Although

*K. W. H.

there has been no novel departures in the fifth five-year plan, there is a certain shift in emphasis: a fuel-saving campaign and the substitution of electricity for other fuels; plans for speeding up the production of timber and building materials; efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in non-ferrous metals through the development of home deposits and of synthetic substitutes, and great emphasis is placed on the output of the engineering industry. The heavy industry receives greater attention, yet the consumer goods industries are not being neglected. If the output of producers' goods is to rise by over 80 per cent in the five years, that of consumer goods is to increase by over 60 per cent. There are still more ambitious plans for agriculture. For 1955 the new plan envisages an output of between 175 and 187 million tons of grain. That is, for the next three years the Soviet grain harvest should increase on average by at least 15 million tons a year.

The previous plans owed their success to a large extent to a continued expansion of the industrial labour force. Thus by 1950 industrial production rose by 73 per cent than in 1940, and during the same period the number of workers and employees increased by somewhere between 6,700,000 and 8,800,000 or by 20 to 30 per cent. Under the new plan, the number of workers and employees is to be increased from 39.2 million to 43.7 million, or by only 15 per cent. Consequently, productivity will have to rise by about 50 per cent in actuality and not merely on paper, if the plan is to be completed.

Priority of development will now be given to the Urals, Siberia, the Volga area, the Far East and Central Asia. A salient feature of post-war Soviet development is the eastward shift of industry. An indirect indication may be assumed by the intended expansion of the production of non-ferrous metals, since their deposits are located chiefly in the Urals or further east. During the new plan, the 'output of nickel is to rise by 50 per cent, that of tin by over 75 per cent; copper production is to be nearly doubled, that of zinc is to increase one and a half times, while the output of lead and aluminium is to be increased even by higher percentages. The rapidly growing chemical industry is to help by providing Ersatz non-ferrous metals and synthetic rubber.

The Soviet Union will by 1955 produce twice as many woollen fabrics, and twice as much sugar and fats as in 1940; the output of cotton goods will exceed the prewar level by three quarters and the output of shoes by a half. These are large increases even allowing for the growth of population. The Soviet consumer will have during the five-year period about 20 per cent more of clothing, shoes and sugar. The plan refers to closer co-operation with the countries of the Soviet bloc and to the development of relations with all countries which wish to develop trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Russia at present

is not importing consumer goods from outside and it remains to be seen whether she really intends to buy consumer goods from the West or whether the gap between domestic production and the promised supplies is to be accounted for only by Czech shoes and Polish textiles. It may however be pointed out that the planned supply of consumer goods may fall far short of the promised land of plenty of the Communist millennium or even of the American standard. Russians could, however, make quite favourable comparisons with most European countries and if the targets are reached it will almost look like plenty to the Russians who have not yet forgotten the appalling conditions of war and its aftermath.

Grow More Food Schemes

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, which was appointed by the Government of India in February 1952, has submitted its report to the Government. The Committee has referred to the basic fact of the enormous volume of unemployment and disguised unemployment existing in the agricultural economy of India and the pressure of steadily increasing population on the soil. It points out that in unirrigated areas the cultivator can find work in farming operations for three to four months a year and in irrigated areas, the period of employment is from six to eight months a year. The result is that nearly four-fifths of the agricultural population is unemployed or under-employed for roughly two-thirds of the year and the remaining one-fifth is idle for about four months a year. Besides this colossal waste of man power, the Committee refers to the large number of agriculturists who are surplus to the land and are attached to it merely because there are no other alternative occupations. Moreover, there is an annual addition to the rural population by about three millions every year. The Committee observes that the solution for this evil, so deep-seated in our economy, has to be sought in the concurrent adoption of a two-fold programme: firstly, rationalisation of agriculture, that is, maximisation of production in terms of yield per acre by steady improvement in agricultural methods and promotion of intensive cultivation, and, secondly, drawing away of surplus labour force from land into cottage industries, small-scale industries and large-scale industries and tertiary occupations. The Committee further states that the movement for village development will gain the requisite momentum only if a portion of the vast unutilised energy in the countryside is harnessed and utilised for the benefit of the country.

The above observations of the Committee with regard to the predominance of agriculture in Indian economy and too much dependence of the people on the limited output of the soil make no new suggestion. It is more than obvious that there should be shift in the pattern of our occupation by transferring a large number of people from primary to secondary and

tertiary occupations. These suggestions are too old to require any further explanation. What is required is realisation of these points in fact. The problem is who is to do that and how that can be acquired. It is a pity that a country where seventy per cent of the population are cultivators goes abegging in the countries of the world with a beggar's bowl seeking charity in foodgrains. The primitive system of our cultivation, lack of agricultural finance, lack of secondary occupation, too much dependence on lands and low fertility of the soil are some of the major drawbacks of Indian agriculture. What is required is a revolutionary change in our entire agrarian system and redistribution of land with planned cultivation based on large-scale mechanised farming. The other sectors of the economy should also be reorganised so as to absorb surplus people from agriculture. These are imperative needs of Indian economy. But how that can be achieved? That is the problem which defies all solution unless the entire might and resources of the State are brought together to force a speedy solution. We have had too many committees, too many reports during the last half a century—but little effective action. Even the Grow More Food Campaign itself is a failure. Herein lies the weakness of a democracy which flourishes on the ruins of a conservative and reactionary bureaucracy whose spirit still pervades the entire structure of our Government. A report on planned economy becomes meaningless unless a new spirit resuscitates India into a granary of the East. Why not? India's potentiality in natural and economic resources are surpassed in the world only by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. A country so rich in resources is so poor in realisation and the numerous reports and committees are the bane of democracy where red-tapism dies hard even in the changed structure! No amount of explanation will conceal the fact that India's economic ills are being treated with half-hearted measures and haphazard plans which do not strike at the roots. The plan to make India self-sufficient in food production has been pushed back to 1955 as it is said that nature and man conspired to defeat the Government's earlier efforts in that direction. The target of self-sufficiency is continuously being shifted from year to year because of the floods in Assam and drought in Bihar, and the like. But it should have been remembered that in a tropical country like ours, such events are normal attendants of our economic life and sufficient allowances should have been made for that. Nature is made a scapegoat for man's failure. Giving its verdict on the Grow More Food Campaign, the Committee observes that it has not fully achieved the results expected of it. It is a poor consolation to note that the two main reasons for its failure are the narrow and restricted scope of the campaign and the various changes in emphasis made from time to time in its objectives. It is grati-

fying that the Committee realises that the food problem is a much wider one than mere elimination of food imports. It is the problem of bringing about such large expansion of agricultural production as will assure to an increasing population progressively rising levels of nutrition.

The Committee recommends that the Grow More Food Campaign should be enlarged so as to become a part of a wider plan for development of village life in all its aspects on a permanent basis. At the commencement, the campaign was directed towards achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrains. A few years later shortage of industrial raw materials became acute, an integrated programme of production of foodgrains, cotton and jute was announced. Other additions followed in quick succession—the "key village" scheme for improvement of livestock; emphasis on fisheries development; the extension movement; "land transformation," etc. All these indicated a recognition that the programme of integrated production would not stand by itself. But no significant changes were introduced in its operation. There was a failure to realise that all aspects of our agricultural economics are inter-related and improvements could not be split up into a number of detached programmes working independently. Moreover, the finances and supplies in the shape of fertilisers, good seed, etc., available for the campaign, were inadequate. Even these resources were distributed too thinly over large regions, instead of being concentrated in the favourable areas.

The Grow More Food Campaign has touched only a small percentage of our population and has not aroused widespread enthusiasm so as to become a national movement. It was regarded as a temporary campaign for the achievement of self-sufficiency and as such the larger holders were induced by subsidies and other forms of assistance to take up improved agricultural technique. The administrative set-up was on temporary basis and unless the scheme is placed on permanent basis, there is little hope for the future.

Trade, Not Aid

The Bretton Woods twins—the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development recently held their annual meetings. These twins were to have been the means to a new expansionism, as well as a new security, in the trade of the nations. The achievement so far of these institutions have belied the hopes that were raised at the time of their formation and inauguration as well. At that time the late Lord Keynes remarked that they would be useful to the people of the world, provided they are not turned into political weapons by major countries of the world. Exactly that prophecy has now come to be true and they are now regarded as more or less the national preserves of the U.S.A. The return to free trade is now a far-away objective

and the International Monetary Fund has not been able to solve the problem of persistent post-war trade deficits of a large number of countries. The IMF is designed to function as an international clearing house and also as the lender, in the last resort, in case of adverse balance of payments position. But its operations so far are not so hopeful and for various factors it has not been able to prove itself worthy of the task entrusted upon it. Gradually it is fading into isolationism and no wonder if it goes the way of its former counterpart, the Bank for International Settlement, (Basle). This declining importance is all the more evident by Mr. Butler's absence from this year's session. He remained in London in order to prepare for the economic discussions at the coming conference of Commonwealth Ministers. It suggests that the of Commonwealth Ministers. It suggests that the in the British Government's view, than the international financial meeting.

The IMF has failed so far to restore the free trade among the nations and what is being done by it is mere extension of short-term accommodation to help member countries to meet their international obligations on current trade account. Of course, that is one of its main functions. But the Fund was expected to restore the free trade as laid down in the Havana Trade Charter. Instead, the changing pattern in international trade, namely, the bilateral trade, has become a common feature in the commerce of nations. International payments arrangements on barter basis has minimised much of the importance of the International Monetary Fund. Further, most of the member countries do not see eye to eye with the various opinions held by the IMF. The general devaluation in 1949 marks a turning point since when the Fund's influence is on the wane. The devaluation has been an ill-considered and ill-advised step and anyway it has failed to achieve the object for which devaluation was made. Devaluation was a mere stop-gap device and it has worsened the situation rather than improving it. Further, the IMF is more or less a detached on-looker in the worldwide adverse trade balance and as a result, countries do not now much turn to it in their adversity, but fall back on their own resources to tackle the problem. The Fund's gold policy is also a failure in so far as the official price of gold is not adjusted with the market price or *vice versa*. The pegging of gold price has not cured the inflation.

The IBRD, however, is doing some useful services to the member countries within its limited spheres.

Development Programme for Jute Industry

Recently problems of jute industry were discussed at a meeting convened by the Planning Commission where representatives of the Indian Jute Mills Association and of the Ministries of Commerce and Industry and Food and Agriculture were present. In

the course of the discussions, the capacity of the 112 jute mills in India was estimated at 12 lakh tons per year on the basis of single-shift operation and 48-hour week. Actual production was below the installed capacity in post-partition era. The production was 892,000 tons in 1950-51 and 900,000 tons during the eleven months ending February 1952, as against 1,140,200 tons in 1945-46. The importance of export markets for the jute industry was indicated by exports of jute manufactures which came to 809,000 tons valued at Rs. 270 crores in 1951-52.

The main difficulty of the jute industry just after partition was the shortage of raw jute supply as India lost the most important jute-growing area. High prices charged for Pakistan jute as a result of devaluation of Indian rupee after September 1949, also added to the difficulties of the industry.

For overcoming the problem of raw jute shortage, the Five-year Plan contemplates an increase in the production of jute within the country and domestic supplies are expected to increase to 53 lakh bales by 1955-56. The supply of jute would be supplemented by another 10 lakh bales of mesta at the end of the planning period. The representatives of jute industry stressed the importance of the yield as well as improving the quality of Indian jute. Improved quality of jute is essential in view of the need for maintaining the industry's position in the export markets, particularly in the U.S.A. Improvement in quality could be achieved by more intensive propaganda among the cultivators in West Bengal and Bihar. *A drastic shake-up of the officials in control in West Bengal is also indicated. There is much rotteness there.*

In a recent statement by Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, the Union Minister of Agriculture, it was revealed that India's production of raw jute has increased considerably. In the five years after partition, India's jute production has increased from 1.7 million bales from an acreage of 650,000 to 4.8 million bales from an acreage of 2 million. This is a remarkable achievement, no doubt. The factors which are responsible for this spectacular increase are subsidized supplies of good quality seed and fertilizers; practical demonstration of their usefulness to cultivators' propaganda in favour of line sowing and for the control of disease and pest in the jute plant; and removal of control over the prices of raw jute. Another stimulant for the increased output of this commercial crop is a good steady price with an assured offtake. For this some credit should go to the Indian Central Jute Committee. Dr. Deshmukh gave assurance about the adequate supplies of raw jute for the future and of the industry's escape from the catastrophes which threatened to overwhelm it a few years ago.

The future programme of the jute industry aims at a production target of 11 lakh tons of jute manufactures in 1952-53 and 12 lakh tons by 1955-56. The

domestic consumption of jute manufactures was estimated at 175,000 tons in 1952-53 and 2 lakh tons by 1955-56. Indian jute industry would have to face severe competition in foreign markets from Pakistan and the modernised mills on the Continent and in the U.K., and it was generally agreed that the country should aim at an export target of 925,000 tons by 1952-53 and of 10 lakh tons by 1955-56.

Bharat Sevak Samaj

The people of India will soon be provided with a forum for rendering service to country through a broad-based, non-political, voluntary social service agency, the establishment of which has been proposed in the near future by the Planning Commission. The organisation shall be called the "Bharat Sevak Samaj." The membership to this body will be open to all adults irrespective of caste, creed, sex, religion and party affiliations. Those who profess faith in violent or subversive activities or communal hatred cannot be taken as members to this organisation.

The functions of the Samaj would be to approach the people "in humility of spirit and with the intense desire to bring about, with our common labour, that joint effort which can shake and break up a mountain of inertia." The genesis of the idea of the Bharat Sevak Samaj may be traced to the Draft Outline of the Five-year Plan which emphasises the need for willing, intelligent and effective public co-operation if the Plan is to succeed. The Commission observes that the fulfilment of a plan of economic development rests very much on the capacity of the community to transmute this common social outlook and the deep aspirations of the people for progress into a living force and its use for constructive purposes. The Bharat Sevak Samaj would be a volunteer institution through which this living force could be canalised into constructive effort. Although the proposed organisation will not be tied to the Party in power, but since whatever it can accomplish would strengthen the foundations of the State and further the fulfilment of its obligations to the community, it will be found worthy of the fullest recognition and support by the Union as well as by the State Governments.

The range of activities of the Samaj will comprehend all aspects of the community welfare. In the initial stages of its existence only urgent tasks will be undertaken by it, and the food problem must be given the highest priority. Other activities will include organisation of public opinion against anti-social practices, formation of community centres, organising the youth for the service of the community, improvement of relations between the people and the Government by striving for quicker redress of public grievances, prevention of disease, anti-malarial campaign, etc.

Fullest possible decentralisation will be a cardinal feature of the Samaj. The basic unit will be the village and the subsequent tiers will be identical with

the administrative divisions in the country. The organisation and the activities of the Samaj will follow the following principles:

- (1) A common platform for the service of the nation will be provided irrespective of caste, creed, or political belief or affiliations.
- (2) Any use of the organisation or its activities for political or communal purposes will be strictly forbidden.
- (3) The principle of decentralisation will be applied to the utmost extent, the basic unit for the purpose of administration being a village or a compact locality in a town. Care will be taken to secure full play for the initiative and enthusiasm of the people in each local area. Control and direction of the work of the branches will be exercised only for the purpose of co-ordination, efficiency and economy.
- (4) Every endeavour will be made to secure the fullest co-ordination and collaboration between the Samaj and the official or non-official agencies working in the same field.
- (5) Funds required for activities in any particular areas will be collected in that area, as far as possible.
- (6) The principle of co-operation will be applied and developed as fully as possible in the activities organised by the Samaj. Community activities will be established wherever possible and centres will be established wherever possible and organisations of producers as well as consumers will be encouraged to give expression to this principle in every aspect of group life.

Rise in Industrial Production

"Industrial production in India, according to an official review, was buoyant in the first half of this year. At the end of April, the latest month for which indices of production are available, the general index of production was 133.3 against 117.4 in 1951. This is stated to have established a record for the post-war period, being 33.3 per cent higher than in 1946. If the same trend continues in the second half of the year, production in 1952 is likely to show a further appreciable improvement over the previous year.

"Taking into account actual output in the first half, production in the full year, it is stated, can be estimated as follows: Cotton piecegoods, 4,330m yds. (against 4,080m yds. in 1951); jute manufactures, nearly 1m tons (873,000 tons in 1951); cement 3.4m tons (3.2m tons); steel, 1,100,000 tons (1,072,000 tons); and paper, 134,000 tons (131,000 tons). Besides this prospect of improvement in the private sector, various nationalized industrial schemes have also made progress during this period. Production in the Sindri fertilizer factory is increasing. The target of 100,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per day is expected to be reached within this year. The Vishakapatnam ship-building yard has started a big programme of ship-building.

"Construction work on the Machine Tool Factory at Bangalore is proceeding apace. Arrangements have been made to set up oil refineries. Steel companies are actively pursuing proposals to expand production."

A note of caution should however be sounded. These are half-yearly figures and there occur many snags which may impede the uniform rate of production for the rest of the year. The textile and the sugar industries have been behaving rather strangely for the last few years. A good period of production is generally followed by closing down of some of the mills and factories on the ground that there has not been sufficient offtake. This is most unhappy as the seller is allowed to dictate the price and the supply as well as at his convenience and to his advantage. It is rather premature to estimate the volume of annual production on the basis of half-yearly production. State industries will, no doubt, maintain their rate of production.

It may also be pointed out that production in some private sectors has recorded a decline, as, soda ash, diesel engines, sheet glass, woollen manufactures, etc. The fall in the production of soda ash will affect the manufacture of paper and its supply may on that account suffer.

If production really increases, the authorities should take steps so that domestic consumption does not suffer. It is now-a-days a practice to allow export to sterling area countries by starving the domestic market, and although the apparent gain from export is very negligible, the internal consumption suffers giving rise to black marketing and inflationary tendencies. Adequate supply to internal needs will lower the prices and ultimately the export prices will also come down.

In this connection the hopeful note sounded by the Commerce and Industry Minister, as quoted below, should be noted:

"Our industrial production is on the whole satisfactory. The improvement in recent months has even led to some economic journals to predict that, if this rate is sustained, much larger resources will be available in the private sector for financing the Five-Year Plan," said Mr. Krishnamachari, Central Minister for Commerce and Industry, at a Press conference.

"Despite transport difficulties, which have been increasing of late, cement production has continued to go up. Production in 1951 was 3.19m tons, and during this year the monthly average has been 284,755 tons. We expect the improvement to continue.

"Steel production, too, has not been unsatisfactory, where, of course, substantial results can be expected only after the equipment of the steel works has expanded. We have approved expansion plans of both the main producers, and we have every reason to expect that substantial assistance (about \$40m) will be available from the World Bank to finance these expansions. The Government also proposes to afford substantial assistance to both producers from the Equalization Fund. This assistance will be on easy terms."

"Considering the world situation, our exports have fared reasonably well. During the last two or three months, exports of cotton textiles have been satisfactory, but it is too early to say whether this trend will be maintained.

"We are carefully watching the price situation and are making efforts to bring them down to reasonable levels wherever we think they are capable of being reduced. The commodities now under consideration are automobile spares and motor tyres. We also intend to appoint a committee to look into the whole question of the import, manufacture and distribution of pharmaceuticals.

"Returns are coming in steadily from all firms who are employing non-Indian personnel. The last date is the end of the month. We expect to have a full picture by the end of the year." He added that he proposed to study the returns before he could say whether any problem existed. The question of finding a remedy only arose when the problem had been studied.

He revealed that the Rajaram Rao Committee's report on tea had been received. "We are examining it and hope to publish it and our decisions very soon. An immediate visible improvement in the situation cannot, of course, be expected. There are signs of a fundamental malaise, and long-term measures have to be advised. Only a much bigger home market can import more stability to the industry. For tea, I intend to unify the legislation on the subject, investing the board with increased powers."

Steps taken by the Government to rectify India's balance of trade position are beginning to be successful.

It is understood that during the last week or two India has been accumulating some sterling. This constitutes a reversal of the position which obtained during the first six months of the year, when the sterling balances recorded a fall from Rs. 781 crores to Rs. 683 crores.

The change is all the more remarkable as the revised import policy announced in June has not yet begun to have full effect.

All the same, the curve of monthly deficits has been showing a steep fall since March when the adverse trade balance, the highest since the beginning of 1952, amounted to Rs. 39.86 crores.

The deficits for the subsequent months are: April Rs. 37.19 crores; May Rs. 28.69 crores; June Rs. 10.40 crores; and July about Rs. 5 crores.

While a detailed analysis of the causes which have contributed to this transformation has yet to be worked out, it is known that India's greatly reduced import of raw jute from Pakistan during the last few months is partly responsible.

River Valley Projects

The Indian Social Reformer of Bombay in its

issue of September 5, struck the following cautious note:

"Opinion is slowly moving towards a critical view of the river projects and multi-purpose schemes. Many have been feeling that the vastness of many of these enterprises prevents any effective control. Now other defects have made themselves felt. The situation of the bulk of these schemes has, we are informed, given rise to a general feeling that the North is being benefited while the South is neglected. Within a State like Bombay, there are accusations of linguistic favouritism. Apart from this, the execution of these projects will involve a good deal of time and money and financing them will have to be done from taxes. So far as the citizen is concerned, he cannot be expected to go on indefinitely depriving himself of ordinary comforts in the doubtful hope of ushering in a better world after him. There are many little ways in which immediate improvement could be effected and building up of confidence achieved before passing on to these ambitious projects. Moreover, our ministers and official spokesmen are for ever warning us not to depend so much on our Government; but these vast schemes influence the pattern of life in the country and they cannot quite avoid leaving an impress of active State intervention. It has been also computed that after one of the projects has been completed, it will need crores again to start growing crops or for grazing cattle. The expenditure on many of them, therefore, marks the beginning of an endless drain. As Louis Fischer, now back in India, said the other day, even Soviet Russia did not venture on any extensive industrialisation or mechanisation of agriculture plans until she saw her people fairly settled."

The Government of India is in the hands of people who are getting experienced the hard way—hard for the tax-payer and the common citizen. They have launched into schemes without thinking for a moment about the efficiency and integrity of those in whose hands they had put the execution and administration of the plans.

As time passes, the results show up in a poor light. The prospects are bleak.

Dudhwa Feeder Tank Project

News from Nagpur dated September 8 said that the Government of India have been approached to grant a subsidy of Rs. 53,20,000 and a loan of Rs. 43,60,000 for the construction of Dudhwa Feeder Tank and remodelling of the Mahanadi Canal in the Raipur district.

These two will cost about Rs. 150 lakhs so as to provide irrigation to an eventual area of 3 lakh acres of rice included in the Five-year Development Plan of the State.

The Mahanadi Canal System designed to serve an area of 2,40,000 acres is at present irrigating an area of

2,10,000 acres which is all that is possible with the present storage and channels available.

With the additional storage at Dudhwa, remodelling of the canal system and rehabilitation of the abandoned channels it will be possible to serve an additional 90,000 acres. The additional yield due to irrigation is estimated at 18,000 tons. The scheme, it is emphasised, will yield quick results and is of very high priority. The work is programmed to take about five years for its completion.

Madhya Pradesh is already a surplus area in food-crops, and this small scheme will add to her capacity for better life all around.

Ideals of Education

In the *Subodh Patrika*, organ of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, a writer with the pen-name of "G.L.C." had the following in its September 7th issue:

"We are told that education is useless unless it is intimately connected with life and its various problems. We agree, but what constitutes life and what are its various problems? If by education is meant training for a profession or trade and nothing more, our conception of life would be a narrow one and its problems would be confined to the problems of the belly. But we know the scope of education is much wider than this and that education aims at something much higher. In an outspoken essay on 'The Functions of a Teacher,' Bertrand Russell describes teachers as guardians of civilisation, and hastens to declare that 'civilisation, in the more important sense, is a thing of the mind.' He, therefore, believes that it is the duty of the teachers to give their pupils 'a liberalising mental training.' Leaving aside the legitimate claims of what is known as technical education, which is a special type of education meant only for those who wish to acquire skill and proficiency in certain professions, we must remember that the aim of all general education is to give the child this liberalising mental training which sharpens his mental processes, gives him accuracy of thought and of discernment, and widens the scope of his vision. If technical training and the imparting of knowledge and skill in a profession were the only or even the chief aim of education, then the functions of education would be confined to vocational subjects like engineering or commerce, and such subjects like Literature and Mathematics and the social studies like History and Geography and Civics, and at the higher stage, intellectual studies like Philosophy or pure sciences would be useless."

What Grants Committee Should Do?

On the question of distribution of grants the conference of Inter-University Board which was concluded in Madras on 7th August last said that the University Grants Committee should visit the different

universities, distribute grants that might be made available for specific objects, report on the progress made in respect of such grants and suggest to the Inter-University Board and to the Government ways and means by which co-ordination might be achieved as between the different universities.

The grants might include, among other things, grants for the opening of new courses, teaching grants intended to increase the salaries of the teachers in various fields with a view to attract the best type of teachers and to retain them in the teaching profession, grants of libraries, laboratory equipment, for the acquisition and improvement of playing fields, and generally, the physical and extracurricular activities of students, grants for buildings for the staff and for students, amenities and special grants for research and research publications, etc.

The Grants Committee might also investigate particular problems of university education by means of sub-committees. The committee should be empowered to set up committees for various purposes consisting of experts in the different fields and get these committees to visit the different universities, if necessary, and to make recommendations upon specific proposals which they are required to report on.

The terms of reference for the proposed University Grants Committee, the conference suggested, might be similar to those of the Grants Committee of Great Britain. The Committee should maintain close liaison with the Inter-University Board and meet them periodically in an informal atmosphere for exchange of views on a wide range of topics concerning the universities. It should be empowered to distribute grants provided by the Central Government to the different universities, taking note of the development of each university and the national purposes which the universities might be called upon to serve.

The conference was also of the opinion that the Inter-University Board, consisting of the Vice-Chancellors of Indian universities, should function in a more intensified manner, so as to enable the universities to appreciate fully the problems of universities in general and of individual universities in particular.

The board should be, in the main, a body to assist the universities in the co-ordination and maintenance of standards by advising them wherever necessary by appointing sub-committees or special committees to investigate particular problems, to visit the universities and to make reports thereon and place such reports before the Inter-University Board and the university concerned.

While not interfering with the autonomy of the universities which were statutory bodies with special duties and responsibilities developing upon them under the Act, the conference said the views of the Inter-University Board should be taken into consi-

deration when large questions of policy were concerned and it should be the endeavour of the universities to implement those views.

Where a question would arise as to the propriety or otherwise of any action taken by a university or where a Government, Central or State, would feel it desirable that any question pertaining to universities in general should be considered, such Government should acquaint the Inter-University Board with any such problem and the Inter-University Board should make enquiries and report thereon to the universities and to the Government concerned.

The conference pleaded for substantial grants from the Central Government to discharge satisfactorily the enlarged functions of the Inter-University Board.

The conference wanted that the Inter-University Board should be given an opportunity to consider and place before the State and Central Governments its views on any proposed legislation regarding the constitution of a university. It suggested that the opinion of the Board might be communicated to the President of the Union before he gave his assent to such Acts.

Certain universities now functioning had been constituted under Acts of the States which were not exactly in unison either with the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission report or with older Acts of many of the universities. The conference wanted the Inter-University Board to address such Governments to consider the possibility of revising these Acts and bringing them into conformity with the general provisions of some of the well-known Acts of older universities.

Twenty-one out of 29 Indian universities were represented at the conference. Among those present were the Vice-Chancellors of Bombay, Baroda, Allahabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Mysore and Madras Universities and representatives of Calcutta, Aligarh, Utkal and Delhi Universities.

The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Inter-University Board, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, placed the resolutions before the conference which were adopted unanimously. Mr. K. K. Handiqu, Chairman of the Inter-University Board and Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University presided.

The resolutions passed voice universal Indian sentiment in the matter of higher education. But this must be broad-based on mass education which is the concern of the States. In West Bengal, Sri Pannalal Basu, the Education Minister, has been stressing the point in his public speeches and private talks that if during his tenure of office, the officers under him, cannot help him decrease mass illiteracy, he and they deserved censure. 10 per cent decrease would satisfy him. Other States Ministers are moved by the same sentiments. But what we have been afraid of always is that the bureaucrats, whether in official buildings or in non-official organizations, resent criticism and make

a dead set against their critics. The bickerings that follow result in endless argument and correspondence, slowing down progress all round.

Dr. Kumarappa's Allegation

That several hundred people had died due to food scarcity during the last two months in the tehsils of Pharendra and Maharajgunj in U.P. and that certain Government officials, particularly police officials, had tampered with official records to hide these facts, was revealed by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa and Pandit Sunderlal, in a joint statement on the food situation in Gorakhpur District.

Both of them visited the scarcity-affected areas of Gorakhpur District and made an on-the-spot enquiry. They visited several test work centres in Pharendra and Maharajgunj tehsils, the worst affected areas. The total number of labourers engaged in all these fifty or more centres was about 20,000 while those applying for work in that area numbered nearly one lakh.

The statement adds, "We have not the slightest shadow of doubt that in the above-mentioned two tehsils alone, during the last two months or so, at least several hundred people died due to scarcity of food."

The statement charges Government officials, specially police officials of Gorakhpur with having approached the people who had reported the deaths of their dear ones as due to starvation and threatened them with dire consequences unless they got their reports amended. "We also came across cases in which there is *prima facie* evidence of tampering with public records. We have seen such records where *bhukh se margaya* (died of hunger) having been apparently changed into *bukhar se mar-gaya* (died of fever) or the word *bhukhmari* (starvation) as the cause of death having been changed to *bukhar* (fever). We submit such cases deserve immediate, full and fair enquiry," the statement adds.

"From our short visit to these relief camps we came to three conclusions," adds the statement. "Firstly, the Government had correctly realised the people's distress in so far as they started some relief measures. Secondly, these measures are still very inadequate to meet the extent of the distress. Thirdly, a good deal more of human sympathy is needed in those in charge of these works."

U. P. I. adds: Dr. Kumarappa and Pandit Sunderlal have also suggested development of cottage industries like spinning and weaving of cotton and wool, and digging of canals, wells, etc. The villagers, they said, should be persuaded to grow food crops in the place of commercial crops. "There should be a right type of land reform and redistribution of land on a fair equitable basis so that no tiller of the soil should remain without a plot of land on which he has full ownership rights. Mechanised collective farming

or forced co-operatives will give no real relief to the people," they said.

A copy of the joint statement on Gorakhpur famine has been sent to Prime Minister Nehru, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Central Food Minister, Pandit Pant, Chief Minister of U. P. and Mr. C. B. Gupta, U. P.'s Food Minister.

The above report was wired from Allahabad by the special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* on September 9. We are not as concerned with the allegations as with the spirit which inspired these. In his zeal for the Gandhian way, the Wardha professor has become an irresponsible propagandist, adding strength to Communist fifth-columnists and other anti-national factions by his thoughtless statements. We remember his speech at the Indian Association where peasants were advised to burn paddy and thus defeat the purpose of Government rice procurement. And now come these allegations. It is up to the Government to challenge Dr. Kumarappa to prove his case.

Call to Sacrifice

The following comments of the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated September 9, on Doctor Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's discourse to Calcutta Congress people are so appropriate that we make no apology in reproducing these:

"What Dr. Radhakrishnan has seen is that the Congress has lost some confidence and affection amongst the people. What he has not observed is that much of this is due to dissensions within the party and to a watering down of the principles which the Congress has advocated for decades. Nor does he take note of the fact that Congressmen have shown little interest in keeping close touch with the people. We do not suggest that all of the programme formulated during the years of opposition can be applied to the changed conditions of today. But a great deal of it surely holds true. It is rather pointless to tell Congressmen that they must recapture the spirit of the days of struggle; nor can we pretend to be enamoured of the incessant call to sacrifice. No nation can grow to its full stature on a succession of sacrifices. The appeal has to be made on some other ground. The emancipation from social prejudice and economic servitude, like national independence, is desired not because of any mystic quality in freedom itself but because only with this can the people of a nation grow to their full stature. Sacrifice conveys an impression of a cramped thwarted personality, and, when it is consciously indulged in, it ceases to be a virtue, becoming a vice instead. It is this point of view needs stressing—that we must shake off our economic and social bonds because a country which is not richly endowed cannot afford the luxury of keeping down vast sections of the people."

Dr. Sarvapalli is a philosopher donning the toga of the politician. And as is the latter's weakness—he goes the easy way to develop character. Sacrifice may appear to be a hard way; but the orgy of Congress successes during election has created a false impression

of the organization's strength. Human nature follows certain immutable principles. In India, our sages and sages have always been emphasising their truth. In modern India from Rammohun Roy to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the need for ending social disabilities and economic inequalities has the inspiration of all reform movements. And there is hardly anything new that the Congress organization and its leadership can point out to us.

Further, Dr. Radhakrishnan is a new-comer to the political arena. He has no sacrifice on his credit side as Congress people understand it and had practised it during the last 45 years and more. And, therefore, he is least competent to talk of sacrifice to a people whose representatives had made the greatest sacrifice in making New India.

Norman Angell's Diagnosis

The author of the *Great Illusion* must be over the three score and ten years now. In the August 4 issue of the *New Leader*, U.S.A. weekly, he diagnoses the malady that has weakened the war-time amity between Britain and the United States:

"The belief in the innocuousness of Soviet power, as compared with that of Britain, determined very largely the military policy and strategy of the Western Allies during the war. All the pleas (put forward chiefly by Churchill) for a strategy which, at war's end, would leave the Allies in a position to block Soviet westward expansion were vetoed as a manifestation of evil power politics. What, mainly, was behind that veto? Behind it lay certain assumptions about political morals and the proper use of military power. These assumptions are still playing a part in decisions we are now being called upon to make, decisions likely to affect the course of the cold war. They are therefore worth re-examination. It is certain that no crude Anglophobia of the Bertie McCormick type actuated Roosevelt. He gave innumerable proofs of his friendliness to Britain, taking some political risk at home in so doing. He was the host of the British King and Queen, welcomed Englishmen of all sorts. He has been described by Churchill as the greatest friend that Britain ever had. His statue stands today in London, together with that of Washington and Lincoln.

"It is evident that the conviction of Roosevelt and others about the wickedness of British imperial power is rooted in something deeper than mere nationalistic animosity. It springs from a profoundly sincere moral impulse, which, ever since the Revolution, has dominated American political thinking in international affairs; from the assumption that the government of one people by another, which imperialism or colonialism involves, has the quality of sin, is a violation of elementary human right, of a rule invariable and inviolable, constituting a moral absolute. The view has been that any people anywhere struggling to be in-

dependent are right, and that any power attempting to forestall their independence is wrong. The road to peace, runs the argument, is for all nations to be completely independent and sovereign; colonialism is the main cause of war. Roosevelt was particularly emphatic on this last point and gave it as his main reason for preferring the growth of Russia's power to Britain's. Russia had no colonies and was therefore not 'imperialist.'

"Quite a number of American writers on politics, notably George Kennan, have shown how very much American foreign policy is dominated by this moralistic approach. There is usually in the criticisms the implication that the moral assumptions just indicated are sound enough in themselves, but that international politics are a domain in which the writ of morals does not properly run. I suggest, however, that the trouble arises not from any attempt to apply sound moral principles to international politics, but from the fact that some of the principles which we invoke with such assurance and dogmatism as based upon the highest morals, are not in truth sound moral principles at all, but moral, ethical and social fallacies."

We understand this diagnosis. But when Norman Angell challenges the "assumed right of a nation to be completely independent," we make an assumption that is wholly invalid. Human progress during the centuries has been the creation of this "assumed right." And Britain should not have fought for her "complete national independence" during the last two World Wars, according to Angell's logic. The chief difficulty between national independence and international co-operation has yet to be removed. Angell's article does not help do it.

Turko-Yugoslav Relations

Threatened by the growing Stalin imperialism, certain East Europe countries have forgotten their ages-long enmity and been forced to join forces to repel the common enemy. This fact is recalled to us by the report in the *Tan-Yug Bulletin*, the Yugo-Slav Information weekly, dated September 7, of the Press interview granted by Marshal Tito on August 20 last to a group of Turkish journalists. In an hour's talk, many questions were asked and answered. The report is reproduced below:

"Referring to Turko-Yugoslav relations, Marshal Tito said that it is necessary to emphasise that much time has not passed since the relations began to improve rapidly. Improvement of relations has especially come about owing to the international situation and identical interests of these countries in the preservation of their independence.

"These relations are today at such a stage that various measures should be undertaken not only in the political and economic but also in the military aspect. This will especially be easy in relations between

Yugoslavia and Turkey, because there is nothing to separate these countries. Co-operation is possible between countries with identical interests though with different internal systems. The first concrete expression of this improvement of relations and the undertaking of joint measures are mutual visits of representatives of countries. Personal contact plays an important role in rapprochement and that mutual understanding and realisation of reality can help to facilitate more correct decisions than those based on propaganda. Marshal Tito concluded that the most important factor which orients the two countries is the assurance of independence and this is equally important for Turkey and Yugoslavia.

"By agreement reached in Ankara, Yugoslavia is to export textiles, timber and other industrial products valued at 13 million dinars up to the end of August next in payment of a loan recently granted by Turkey for the acquisition of 100,000 tons of wheat. The wheat will help alleviate the consequences of this year's drought."

Kishorelal Mashruwala

Kishorelal Mashruwala, Editor of the *Harjan* and a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi died on September 9; he was cremated on the 10th morning at Gopuri by the side of the late Jamlalal Bajaj's *samadhi*. He was only 62 years of age. Many of his fellow-workers have said that he was more of a thought-leader than a practical reformer. We are of opinion that this estimate was wrong. He combined in himself the qualities of his Master, Gandhiji, a burning passion for right conduct and a sense of what is practical and possible. And to give shape to the ideal no sacrifice was too great for him. Since the beginning of the Gandhi era, Kishorelalji has been a companion, fit and bold, as faithful as Mahadev Desai or Vallabhbhai Patel. He was connected with the Gujarat Vidyapith, with the various Satyagraha movements, and suffered imprisonments therefor. A victim to asthma for years, indomitable courage upheld him during the years to devote his best to the service of man, which was service to God. Our sympathies we tender to his family.

By his death the field of journalism is deprived of a shining light. Truth, candour and idealism is scarce today in the newspaper world. The initials K.G.M. stood for all that, without fear or favour.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 26th September to 8th October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KINDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor

AGRICULTURAL PROLETARIAT, Its Present Conditions and Future Prospects

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

"The most important factor of production is man himself. Human machinery must be raised to the highest level of efficiency and maintained in good condition if we are to exploit natural resources God has placed at our disposal. Any amount that we spend in equipping our manpower is an investment which would more than repay what we spend."—SIR JOGENDRA SINGH

INDIA is principally an agricultural country, but it would not be an exaggeration to say that of all the major problems in our rural economy those relating to labour have received the least attention. Agricultural labour constitutes an important proportion of our rural population. It lives in most appalling conditions and surroundings. The landless labourers are poverty-stricken and have hardly enough means for two square meals and clothing to cover their bodies. Social amenities are unknown to them. Proper housing facilities, free medical aid, minimum living wage are no less important to the rural labour than to industrial workers in the city. The entire mass of labour in the rural areas today remains unorganised and the small efforts made in the direction by public-spirited persons and institutions have met with little success, with the result that their voice is never heard beyond their huts. From the social reformer, the politician and the research worker agricultural labour and its problems have not received the attention they deserve. Illiteracy, lack of enlightenment and the resulting suspicion come in the way of successful efforts towards their study, organisation and amelioration.

ESTIMATES OF THE STRENGTH OF THE RURAL LABOUR

The Census Superintendent in 1882 gave the number of landless labourers as 7½ million and it increased to 18.71 million in 1891, 21.5 million in 1921 and 33 million in 1931. Since the consolidation of British rule in India, the number of agricultural proletariat has been increasing decade by decade, owing to the increasing pressure of population on the land reinforced by de-industrialisation, creation of land monopoly, persistence of low technique of production, subdivision and fragmentation of holdings, destruction of rural industries and increasing pauperisation of the peasantry. The following table makes this fact clear:¹

Type of cultivators	(in millions) 1911	1931	Percentage of increase (—) or decrease (—)
Non-cultivating landlords	3.7	4.1	— 18.1
Cultivators (Owners or Tenants)	74.6	65.5	— 12.3
Agricultural labourers	21.7	33.3	— 53.4

In fact, every circumstance which has weakened the economic position of a small holder has increased the supply of agricultural labourers, viz., the loss of

common rights in rural economy, the abandoning of collective enterprise, the sub-division of holdings, the multiplication of rent-receivers, free mortgaging and transfer of land together with the decline of cottage industries have been swelling the supply of agricultural labourers.² The creation of absentee landlords is equally responsible for the growth of the landless class. The following table shows this fact:³

Year	Percentage of urban population	Percentage of gainfully occupied in agriculture, etc.	Agricultural labourers (lakhs)
1901	9.9	65.8	201
1911	9.4	71.1	259
1921	10.2	72.0	217
1931	11.1	74.7	249
1941	12.8	....	...

The number of labourers employed on the field per 100 cultivators varied in provinces from 2 in Assam, 10 in the Punjab, 12 in Bengal, 16 in U. P., 33 in Bihar and Orissa, 40 in Madras, 41 in Bombay and 50 in C. P. and Berar according to the figures of 1911. These variations are due more to differences in the social system than to the fertility of the soil and the density of population.

The Census of 1941 does not refer to the latest position in regard to the occupations in India. However, both official and non-official quarters are emphatic in their view about the increase in the number of agricultural labourers.

Dr. R. K. Mukerjee places the present number between 60 to 70 million, of whom about 30 million are landless labourers. In addition to this according to him, there are about 25 million unemployed adult workers, including small tenants-cum-labourers.⁴ The validity of this statement is supported by the fact that 50 per cent of the holdings in U. P. are less than 2 acres. Tarlok Singh estimates that there are 1.54 million potential surplus agricultural workers in India (including Pakistan)⁴ for whom non-agricultural work should be provided.

With the increase of rural labour, the economic condition has become awfully bad, e.g., according to Dr. M. N. Desai, the labourers on non-irrigated lands receive Rs. 25 per annum per head and those on the

2. R. K. Mukerjee: *Land Problems of India*, p. 215.

3. R. K. Mukerjee: *The U. P. Information Freedom Number*, 15th August, 1947.

4. Tarlok Singh: *Poverty and Social Change*.

1. National Planning Committee: *Report on Land Policy and Agriculture*, p. 39.

irrigated lands receive Rs. 31 per annum per head in Gujarat. Their condition is aptly described as:

"To say that they are breathing will be more appropriate than to describe them as living in this world."

CLASSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

The term Agricultural Labour on a composite basis of classification includes members from all the classes who are engaged in the actual cultivation of land. It gives rather a high pyramid of social stratification. At the top are the cultivating owners of the capitalistic type who perform only skilled work, while the lowest stratum comprises landless workers who perform unskilled work and receive poor remuneration. Thus the term 'agricultural labour' represents the labour of the following classes: (a) Cultivating Owners, (b) Tenant Cultivators, (c) Landless Farm Labourers, (d) Field-workers (unspecified).

This classification would exclude rent-receivers (non-cultivating owners and tenants), artisans and general labourers employed in public works and urban industries but residing in villages.

(a) The cultivating owners have their own lands, tools and cattle, and with the help of family hands they cultivate their lands. Hired help is also employed. If the holding is too big, it is sublet to landless labourers on produce rents, in which case the cultivating owner becomes a rent-receiver. Cultivating owners are the cultivators of *Sir* land and *Khud-kast*.

(b) Tenant cultivators are either statutory, occupancy or non-occupancy, and cultivate rented holdings of land belonging to hereditary landlords. They work with their own cattle and tools, and depend on their family hands with casual hired help. This class forms the bulk of actual tillers of the soil, but exclude those occupancy tenants whose entire holding is sublet in small plots to under-tenants, and who depend on the differential rent obtained by such subletting.

(c) The third class of agricultural labourers include those workers who have no land (owned or rented) and no capital, but hire out their labour to well-to-do tenants and landlords. They return themselves as agriculturists whose principal, and in many cases hereditary, occupation is cultivation of non-cultivating owner's land. Their labour is skilful and is always in demand for such operations as ploughing, sowing, irrigating, marketing, etc. All family hands contribute their share to the family budget and therefore, for various agricultural operations, most of the female and child labour is drawn from this class. Under casual employment they receive cash wages, but in permanent employments their daily wages are supplemented by a customary grain allowance at harvest. Often they have to move from farm

to farm in different cropping seasons but are seldom forced to leave the village for lack of employment.

(d) The last group represents the miscellaneous labour which requires no special skill or experience beyond what a coolie may be expected to acquire in the ordinary course of his career. This class is always mobile because its demand or supply is closely regulated by agricultural and industrial seasons. They have no land and no capital, and their labour is not specialised; therefore, during the agricultural season they lie at the mercy of well-to-do cultivators, and in the off-season depend on urban factories for a livelihood.

AGRICULTURAL SERFS

At the bottom of the agricultural ladder in India are those labourers whose conditions are not very different from those of serfs. Agricultural serfdom is most prevalent in those parts of India where the lower and depressed classes are most numerous. In fact, the ethnic composition of the village, which governs the social stratification, is responsible for the survival of the slavish conditions.⁵ Thus in Bombay, Madras, Malabar, Cochin, the C. P., Central India and Chota Nagpur, where we have a large aboriginal population, the condition of the agricultural labourer is very much like that of a slave. An official report describes serf labour in the following terms:

"The average agricultural labourer is not infrequently compelled in times of stress to mortgage his personal liberty. In return for a small sum of money which he may happen to need at the moment, he agrees to serve the man from whom he has borrowed. The money is not repaid, nor is it intended to be repaid, but the borrower remains a lifelong bond slave of his creditor. For his work he merely receives an inadequate dole of food and to all intents and purposes is in the position of a medieval serf."

This agrarian serf labour is regularised in such a manner that some of the regions have a special name for it, e.g., *Hali* in Gujarat, *Kaimuti* in South Bihar, *Janouri* in North Bihar, *Gothi* in Orissa, *Pannial Pathiram* in Tamilnad, *Gassi-gullu* in Andhra, *Bhagia* in Hyderabad, *Sanwak* and *Hariya* in Oudh, *Harwah* in Central India States, *Jeethan* in Karnatak and *Barsalia* and *Shalkari* in the C. P., *Haliyas* and *Chyoras* of Kumaon, *Chakar* in Orissa, *Dublas* and *Kolis* in Bombay.⁷ These serfs serve in their masters' households. They may have received money for their marriage expenses giving an undertaking to serve till they pay off their debt. They are fed and clothed by their masters. On the East Coast of Madras, similarly, many of the agricultural labourers are *Pariahs* who are known as *Padials*. The *Padial* is a serf who has fallen into hereditary dependence on

5. R. K. Mukerjee: *Land Problems of India*, p. 226.

6. Quoted by Dinker Desai in an article on "Agrarian Serfdom in India" in the *Indian Sociologist*, July, 1942.

7. R. Mukerjee: *Op. Cit.*, p. 227.

a landowner from whom he has borrowed money. The money may have been borrowed either for his own marriage or for that of his son or daughter. The borrower undertook to work for the lender until the debt was repaid. Such loans are, however, never repaid, and the *Padials* themselves are in a way attached to the soil, go with the land when it is sold or the owner dies.

In Madras, the *Padial's* wages are paid in kind equivalent to Rs. 3 per month in terms of money. In Orissa, there are three kinds of labourers: (1) The *Chakar* or *Baramasiya* labourer engaged for 12 months with board and lodging and Rs. 24 in cash, his ancestor may have obtained a loan from his employer; (2) The *Naga Muliya*, who also works as a yearly servant, but receives instead of board and lodging 4 seers of paddy and a plot of land to cultivate free of rent; (3) The *Danda Muliya*, who is employed for a short period on specified wages. In Bihar, there are the *Kamias* or bond-servants who having borrowed money bind themselves to perform whatever menial services are required of them by their masters. These depressed castes who have no land or security pledge their labour, whenever they want a loan, and not only their own labour but that of their dependents also. Very often it happens that the joint wages of the *Kamia* and his wife are not sufficient to feed them and their children.

FORCED LABOUR

Conditions of forced labour seem to prevail all over the country. Writing about the aboriginal population of the *Thana* District one officer reports:

"All jungle tract tenants who cultivate by 'Khad' (i.e., those who pay fixed rent in kind, and not a crop share) are liable to be called upon to work for their landlords—if they refuse or procrastinate they are liable to assaults or beatings. . . . I was told on credible authority of men being tied up to posts and whipped. Such occurrences I can vouch for. There are also rumours of men in the past having been killed."

This system of exacting forced labour from cultivating tenants exists in almost all the provinces. Dr. Lorenze describes various forms of *begar* prevailing in North India. They are (i) *Beth Begar* under which labourers are forced to perform agricultural operations for 2 to 5 days, e.g., ploughing (*Hal Beth*), weeding and watering (*Kodal Beth*), harvesting the crop (*Dhan Beth*) or threshing the crop (*Miseni Beth*), (ii) *Chakran Begar* under which labourers living on landlords' land have to work for 2 or 3 days in lieu of the rent, (iii) *Perjanta Begar* under which in time of emergency the villages have to render 3 to 12 days labour to the landlords.

Apart from *begar* or *veth* (forced labour), there is a system of levying *abuabs* or illegal exactions which survives in Bengal and Bihar. It has reduced the culti-

vators to semi-serfdom. Sometimes these exactions take the form of the *mafrage* fees, sometimes they are taxed for carrying on certain trades. These exactions deprive the peasantry of a large portion of their already meagre income. The *abuab* is employed not only as an engine of financial extortion but of physical oppression. "In *Rajshahi*," according to a Settlement Report, "landlords wield a sort of sovereign power dispensing justice and imposing taxes." According to another report, "In some of the remoter parts of Pabna, the *Zamindars'* agents still assume summary but unauthorised magisterial functions, fining and, at times, imprisoning those whom they convict." Added to all this is the process of gradual expropriation of the cultivators by moneylenders driving the aboriginals into the ranks of servile tenants liable to forced labour and to the payment of illegal exactions. Agrarian serfdom thus lingers on in India—a relic of the Middle Ages which might be regarded as one of the darkest blemishes in the economic life of present-day India.

DEMAND FOR RURAL LABOUR

The demand for labour in agriculture is highly seasonal. There is a peak demand for labour in the harvesting season and next to that in times of transplanting and weeding most of which are done by women. Men are required mainly for the operations of ploughing, levelling, digging trenches, forming beds and bunds, hoeing and irrigating, all of which require strenuous physical labour. Generally speaking, for crops grown on dry (rain-fed) lands, or on wet lands (canal-irrigated) more women are required than men. It is only on 'garden lands' with wells from which water is lifted by bullock power that more men are required than women.

The labour hired in fields depends upon the size of the holding and the nature of cultivation or crops raised, e.g., in the *Kanam* tract of the *Baroda* district for a farmer with a holding of 25 bighas producing cotton, *juar*, *tur* and a few other pulses and with members of the family including the farmer, to work in the fields there was no necessity to employ hired labour. But on another holding of almost equal size in *Surat* made of 2 bighas of irrigated land raising vegetables, 5½ per cent bighas of paddy land and 17 bighas of grass land and with 9 members of the family including the owner to help in cultivation paid labour came to about 10 per cent of the total required. The period of employment in the year varies from 5 to 7 months in the regions raising dry crops to as high as 9 to 10 months for irrigated crops.

Generally, the members of the families of the farmers supply most of agricultural labour needed on the fields. Labour is hired only occasionally during busy seasons and the percentage of such labour ranges from 10 to 20 per cent of the total labour required

during the year. Instances are common in which although higher labour may be necessary during certain important field operations, poor farmers cannot employ outside labour for want of resources to pay wages with the result that crops suffer damage and the yield to the farmer from lands comparatively becomes low. Besides, under a peculiar system (most prevalent in the Bhil tracts of the Bombay Presidency and the Mewar State) friends and relatives mutually help each other on the fields. The friend or relation so helping gets $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of boiled maize every day at noon and takes his or her morning and evening food at home.

SUPPLY OF RURAL LABOUR

The ample supply of rural labour and the multiplication in the number of landless labourers have brought about agrarian unsettlement in India. They hang about the countryside and add to the already existing inefficiency of agriculture. They are an obstacle to the introduction of improved methods of cultivation. Speaking at the Agricultural Labourers' Conference in 1940, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said :

"A series of intermediaries has come into being between the Government and the ultimate cultivator who spends the day between slush and mud, who works now with a starving stomach and now with a half-appeased appetite, who knows no rest in storm or sunshine, who oftentimes has no dwelling site which can be called his own. He grows our paddy but starves. He feeds our milch cows but never knows anything beyond *kavjee* and water, he fills our granaries but has to beg each day rations for the rest of the year. He digs our wells but must keep off from them when they are full. He is a perpetual hewer of wood and drawer of water for those who fatten on his labour and rise to wealth and plenty. His condition is appalling and heart-rending."

The State and the public have done almost nothing to alleviate the economic position of the mainstay of rural parts. The administrators, politicians and the economists have not done anything in spite of their schemes of improvement of agriculture and rural development. The labour is no doubt plentiful but it gets seasonal work and it is without work half the year round. The rural labour supply is so great that it can cultivate land on any term even beyond the cultivators' paying capacity.

Recruitment of labour in all agricultural operations and rural Indian pursuits has a direct and complementary relationship with caste groups. In many cases not only does caste determine the nature of occupation, but different kinds of occupation give birth to various sub-castes hitherto unknown.

The outstanding features of labour supply in agriculture are summarised below :

1. Owner cultivators and high class tenants generally belong to high castes whose hereditary occupation has been cultivation, e.g., Brahmins, Rajputs, Thakurs, Kayasthas, Tagas, Saiyids and Pathans.

2. Farm-hands are recruited both from high and low castes. Usually they belong to the caste of the employer. The majority of this class considers agriculture as its principal, though not hereditary, occupation, e.g., Kunmis, Vaishyas, Gujars, Ahirs, Jats, Sheikhs and Pathans.

3. Field-workers are recruited mostly from lower castes which have agriculture as their subsidiary occupation, e.g., Julahas, Lodhs, Chamars, Kumhars, Telis, Khatiks and Koris.

4. Landless floating hands are recruited from the lowest rung of the social ladder. They are recruited mainly from Doms, Dusadhs, Bhuiyas, Pahariyas, Dhimars, Ghatwars, Kols and Koris.

HIGH PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE AND CHILD LABOUR

There is everywhere to be found a large number of female agricultural workers engaged in spheres of work which man cannot efficiently perform. In the U.P., higher castes have a smaller portion of female workers as they consider it derogatory to their social status to allow their women to work on fields. Lower castes, on the other hand, have more women and children workers which not only supplement the scanty income of the family, but, assist the higher castes in return for wages. In Chota Nagpur, the Munda, Ho and Oraon women do most of the work on their own fields and hire their labour for public works and ordinary coolie work in the neighbouring towns. "In the Punjab, the hill-women of Rathis, Kanet, Dagi and Koli castes, seem to be real amazons and among the plain-dwellers, the Meo women of Gurgaon have an equal share in the men's work in large numbers."

For certain agricultural operations, where women workers have assumed superiority over male workers, e.g., weeding, sowing, grinding and transplanting, wages are fairly high, though they still do not reach the average rate for male labourers. It seems, therefore, the women are preferred to men, not because of their comparatively greater efficiency but because of lower wages they demand. The rates of wages for work where woman labour is preferred are as follows :

Kind of work	Wages	Available employment (in the year)
Sowing	0-1-6 to 0-2-6	35 days
Weeding	0-2-0 to 0-3-6	40 "
Transplanting	0-2-0 to 0-3-0	20 "
Reaping	0-2-0 to 0-2-6	30 "
Miscellaneous	0-1-6 to 0-2-0	60 "

The employment of child labour is very common in agriculture. There are certain agricultural operations like weeding, husking, spreading manure, watching crops and carting in which children are frequently employed for very low wages. The child labour is recruited from the age group of 10 to 15 years.

RECRUITMENT OF RURAL LABOUR

In various parts of the country, particularly in Gujarat, the farm servants needed for agricultural and

8. Lorenson : *Agricultural Labour Conditions in Northern India*, p. 42.

allied work in addition to the casually hired are recruited under the *chakar* (or servant), the *bhagia* (or corn-share) and the *hali* system. Under the *chakar* system, the period of employment is from six to twelve months. The servant is paid in cash as well as given food three times a day, a pair of shoes, one head-dress, two dhoties and shirts, *bandies*, etc., whereas under the *bhagia* system the labourer employed is given one-fourth or one-fifth share of the total produce of the soil excluding fodder. In respect of *bhagia* aided cultivation employment of additional hired labour for sowing, harvesting, etc., during busy seasons is necessary, and cash expenses on this account are shared by the farmer and the *bhagia* labourer in proportion to their share in the produce. The *hali* system of recruiting labour is peculiar to Surat and parts of Broach south of the river Nerbada. The *hali*, in the first instance, is required to work as an apprentice for at least a year with a view to create faith in his would-be master about his sincerity to stick to him faithfully and attend to his work with regularity and care. He is usually paid in kind and his wage amounts to 4 seers of paddy or $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 seers of jowar according as the paddy or jowar is the main crop. A *hali* works for 6 to 10 months in the year according as the master raises irrigated or dry crops. During the period of idleness the *hali* obtains advances from the master both in kind and cash, approximately amounting to Rs. 10 to 15 and about 15 maunds of jowar. The *hali* makes good only a part of the loans by working over the fields and during harvesting days; the rest the master writes off. The female *hali* works in the fields for about 4 to 6 months in the year and receives the wage in grains equal in quantity to that received by her husband.

Experience has borne out that the *bhagia* system works smoothly and that the relations between the farmer and the *bhagia* are on the whole cordial although there is not much to say against the servant system, except for the bitterness that it gives rise to between the employer and the employee when the latter bargains either for higher cash wage or more and better allowances in kind. There is nothing in favour of the *hali* system except that it permanently attaches the labourer to the master by settling him on his land and thus ensures a regular supply of labour to agriculture. The method of recruitment is demoralising and harmful to both the parties. It breeds inefficiency, irresponsibility, and carelessness in the worker. Being always conscious of his inferior position and as a result of the insulting treatment he receives at the hands of the master, the *hali* never feels enthusiastic about his job. Moreover, the *hali* puts in more work on a piece wage system than under time wage with constant supervision. Although the master feels that he is assured of a cheap supply of labour under this system, it recoils on him like a financial "boomerang." The grain wage of

the *hali* is poor in comparison with the minimum requirements to maintain his family and he has to resort to unwholesome means of stealing the crops from the fields to make up the deficit.

WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

The conditions under which labourers on land have to work are far from uniform. They are not easily amenable to standardisation or regulation. The workers do not belong to or grow into, a homogeneous group as factory labourers do. Their work involves more dispersion than congregation. They cannot be effectively organised into a trade union.

HOURS OF WORK

Hours of work vary from place to place, season to season and from crop to crop. Practically all the work has to be done in sunlight. Invariably the early cool hours of the morning and occasionally the moonlight nights are utilised for the arduous work of lifting water by the bullock *mhote* or the Persian wheel. Cattle threshing is taken up in the early hours of the morning. Animals have to be fed before milking or taking out for work early in the morning. In Bengal, the hours of work for field labourers are from 6 A.M. to 1-30 P.M. and again from 3-30 P.M. to 6 P.M. In Madras, field labourers are sometimes required to work with two intervals from 4-30 A.M. to 6 P.M., but the regular hours of labour are from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. In Bombay Presidency men are engaged for one year work from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. In C. P., the hours are from 4 A.M. to 11 A.M. followed by afternoon work for cattle. In the rains regular hours are from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. In most parts of India there is usually a recess of one or two hours at midday for food. Everywhere the hours are adjusted to summer and winter conditions. Sometimes the agricultural labourer is required to work 24 hours a day including night watch.

On the smaller farms, different kinds of work have to be done by the same farm servant in the course of the day involving waste of time in changing from one to another. The small holder and his wife often work longer hours than labourers, and they have little sympathy with hired labour demanding reduction of hours or increase of wages. Hours of work in agriculture are not too many and the nature of the work is not so tedious as in the factory. Labourers on daily wages generally work for 8 hours per day with a break of two hours during mid-day. Piece workers doing strenuous work often retire sooner, earning more.

WAGES AND METHODS OF PAYMENT

Labour always flows from agriculture to other remunerative occupations so long as they are available. Together with the long working day the low wages in agriculture are a direct cause why many good

9. L. E. Howard : *Labour in Agriculture*, p. 280.

workers desert agriculture for other occupations.⁹ The wage levels in industry and agriculture for some countries before the war are given below :

Wages per week in pre-war conditions

Country	Year	Unit	Industrial wages		Agricultural wages	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
Canada	1939	\$	22.08	13.44	8.15	5.44
U. S. A.	1939	\$	36.72	22.80	8.96	—
Britain	1938	Sh.	69.00	32.50	34.58	34.58
France	1938	Fr.	297.12	164.16	150.96	106.80
Germany	1940	R.M.	34.13	22.94	10.32	8.52
Italy	1935	Lire	84.48	—	54.72	34.64
Japan	1936	Yen	14.49	4.43	3.51	2.64
Australia	1939	Sh.	104.50	57.00	83.42	—
New Zealand	1939	Sh.	93.30	93.30	65.00	—
U. S. S. R.	1935	Rub.	45.30	—	37.22	—
India	1939	As.	88.46	—	27.50	—

The agricultural labourers as a class get lower wages than the industrial workers. The factors responsible for this may be traced to the following reasons : *Firstly*, the absence of any legislation forbidding child labour. This is responsible for increased labour supply in agriculture and a lowering of wages. *Secondly*, land monopoly as it is prevalent in India, results in the formation of a 'labour' reserve under the Zamindar, the Malguzar, the Thikadar and the Mahajan, who advancing them substantial loans obtain a permanent grip over them. Debt bondage is the principal cause of low wages. The mobility of labour is also thereby checked. *Thirdly*, the unorganised scattered nature of agricultural labourers and the seasonal character of agricultural operations reduce their bargaining capacity. *Fourthly*, the concentration of land in the hands of upper castes, whereas the agricultural workers come mostly from the depressed classes ; thus social and economic exploitation go hand in hand. *Lastly*, they have not trade unions to fight for wage increase and better conditions of work.

The method of wage repayment differs from class to class and from region to region. Both the cash and crop wages are paid on daily or monthly basis. In case of purely crop wages the agricultural season is also taken into consideration. That is, the payment is made in harvesting season ; which is either quarterly or half-yearly. Thus the time-lag factor in the wages does also operate. While fixing the rate of crop payments the need of the worker's family is also taken into account. The rate of wages also differs with the nature of jobs, e.g., ploughing, threshing, weeding, reaping, shading, cattle-grazing, irrigation, etc. Further, the wages of female labourers are lower, but no such distinction is made when payment is in kind. Wages are also paid in cash, e.g., the lowest wages in U.P. are found in the eastern part ranging from 2 to 4 annas per day and the highest are found in the western region which offers from Re. 1 to Re. 1-8 per day. Sometimes these wages are supplemented by wages in kind, e.g., *chabena*, grain parched or boiled, *sharbat* of an inferior quality of gur-cane juice, and tobacco

are very common.¹⁰ Here the wages of ploughmen are uniform. "Generally speaking," observes Dr. Mohindra Singh,¹¹ "whenever the land held by a Harwah family exceeds 1 bigha, we are sure to find two or three members of the same family working as Harwahs." If they have to work in the afternoon as well then they get *sidha* (meal). When flour is given, the quantity is half a seer plus salt. If food-grain is given, then the quantity is more.¹² But the Harwah does not enjoy the occupancy rights over the land that he gets in lieu of his services which is always the marginal land. He also gets cash wages on a monthly basis Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 in the East ; Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 in the Central ; Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 in the West and the maximum is Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 in the districts of Nainital, Almora, Agra and the hilly tracts of Dehra Dun.¹³ The agricultural period of employment is nine months and the working hours are from sunrise to sunset. But in the harvesting and sowing seasons the hours are much longer.

While in Madras, the farm servants on the garden lands are paid by the month in grain which may just suffice for a small family, a little cash (Re. 1 or Rs. 2) is also paid for sundry purchases. The farm servant on wet lands, a Padiyal is paid by the day a stimulated quantity of grain enough to keep his family free from starvation. He is also entitled in addition to a small share of grain at the harvest time. He receives some cash by way of tips for drinking on occasions of heavy work and is also given clothes and other pre-requisites on some festive occasions in the year. Casual labourers are paid by the day wages in cash for certain kinds of work. But for harvesting almost invariably they are paid in kind according to the yield. The share for labour varies with bearing in case of crops like cotton and groundnut.

In Gujarat¹⁴ with the exception of the Matar Taluka where payment in kind is generally made the payment of wages in cash is also common. The normal rates of wages per day prevailing in various districts of Gujarat are : Ahmedabad 3 to 4 annas ; Broach 4 to 5 annas ; Kaira 4 to 6 annas ; Pane Mahals 3 to 4 annas ; and for Jowar, Cotton tract 3 to 4 annas ; an irrigated tract round Surat City 5 to 6 annas ; and Southern Taluka 2 to 4 annas. In Surat, in the 'Kanam' tract and the Broach district special rates prevail for picking cotton which come to 8 annas in the former and 6 annas in the latter for one maund of 'kapas.' In Surat, where grass area is ample, the special rates of payment prevail for harvesting hay. The rates for cutting 100 bundles, weighing

10. Sridhar Misra : *Rural Wages in U. P.*, p. 21.

11. M. Singh : *Depressed Classes*, p. 24.

12. *Rural Wages in U. P.*, p. 74

13. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

14. M. B. Desai : "Rural Labour in Gujarat" in the *Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics*, 1944.

about 11 lbs. each when dry and bundling 1,000 of them are 1 anna and 5 annas respectively for *halai* labour and the consolidated rate for both the operations for outside labour is Re. 1-8 to Rs. 2 for 1,000 bundles.

Along with cash wage the practice is prevalent of giving a *roti* and a little *dal* in the Bhil tract of the Punch Mahals twice a day during heavy operations like harvesting groundnut and once during light work in Kaira and once in the irrigated region round about Surat City. The system of paying wages in grains also prevails in all the districts, and the quantity of grains allowed per day is 5 to 6 seers of either bajri, jowar or paddy in Ahmedabad ; 3 seers of jowar normally and 10 to 15 seers during harvest time when labour is in great demand in Broach ; about 5 seers of bajri or paddy in Kapadvaj and Matar Taluka in Khaira ; 5 seers of either paddy, maize, barta or banti in the Punch Mahals and 3 to 4 seers of jowar in the Cotton Jowar tract and 2½ seers of jowar and 4 seers of paddy in the Southern Talukas in the Surat district. In the Bhil tract of Ahmedabad and the Hansod Mahals of Broach for harvesting an acre of wheat, the wage amounts to 12 to 16 seers of wheat, while in other regions bundles are paid for harvesting 100 bundles, each bundle yielding about 4 seers of wheat.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Agricultural labourers occupy the worst quarters and the worst huts in the villages. Men sleep on the *pal* or in open air for six months in the year. But the gut gets so overcrowded in the rain and winter months that the inmates may be said to be couched rather than housed. Floors and walls get damp. There are no windows or chimneys for the foul air to escape from the huts. In certain cases even sunlight does not penetrate in the interior so that it is always dark inside. These conditions lead to all sorts of fever, particularly relapsing fever which rages for months. Infant mortality is high.

Numerous cases have been found where the inmates sleep along with cattle and livestock. In Jaunpur, the huts generally consist of only one dingy room with kitchen, dormitory, parlour and in many cases cattle-shed combined.¹⁵ In village Hatwa (Gorakhpur), Mr. Mathur found that "a hut measuring 7 × 12 × 5 ft. was occupied by 45 persons and a goat and the inmates were thin, diseased and dirty."¹⁶

In villages, Sheikhdhir (Bahraich), it was found that two bullocks, fishing tackle and four members of an Oriya-caste labourer's family were packed into a dark and stingy house measuring 14 × 14 × 7 ft.¹⁷ Too often, therefore, a village family has for a home a dwelling

which is scandalously below its needs, besides being leaky and unhealthy.

"To many peasants," observes Dr. Mukherjee "the huts are simply places where one can stretch his legs and sleep in the night, and in several instances the loss of privacy blunts all sense of shame and decency. Men and women, young and old sometimes may be seen packed together along with cattle and goats in winter, and the home that should radiate noble social and aesthetic influences, is den of misery and disease where people breed and die like fruit flies."¹⁸

In brief, labourers habitually live in conditions of filth and dirt around them and with disease and debility hanging like a sword above them suspended by a hair.

INDEBTEDNESS

The employment of labour in agriculture varies from six to nine and in some cases ten months of the year in different regions and in spite of unemployment in the rest of the period the labourers are able to maintain themselves from what they earn. What little indebtedness they incur during normal times is for marriage and such other social purposes. Though the amount of debt seldom exceeds Rs. 100, the chance for repayment are slender as there is little opportunity for saving even if he gets a little cash working as casual labourer in the fields of others when he has no work on the land of his master. Rare cases there are when the brother or the son of the borrower migrate or emigrate and remits some savings to pay off the debts.

The share-tenant also borrows from his landlord for the purchase of cattle, which he has to repay when he has to leave. He bears the risk of loss by death or deterioration of cattle. He also borrows from the landlord for the maintenance of his family in the off season. The dues are deducted at the harvest from the share to which he is entitled. Often there is little grain left for him to take home and the round of borrowing goes on as ever.

The casual labourer cannot get any loan without paying a high rate of interest. He borrows mostly from the itinerant lender who lends money and grain and sells cloth on credit and recovers the dues with a high rate of interest at harvest time when wages are higher than can be spent immediately.

Co-operative Credit Societies organised for the depressed-class labourers at various places have not been developed fully in spite of special aid controlled by the State partly because of the utter lack of leadership among themselves. Their low earnings and their addiction to drink render the work of redemption from debt extremely difficult.

FAMILY BUDGET

The income of the rural class with the exception of the hired labourer, represents a combination of

15. B. Misra : *Over-population in Jaunpur*, p. 55.

16. Mathur : *Pressure of Population in Gorakhpur*, p. 48.

17. Lohansen : *Agricultural Labour and Marketing in Oudh (1934)*, p. 67.

18. Mathur : *Op. Cit.*, Introduction by Dr. Mukherjee.

almost all kinds of income. As a rule, the net spendable of rural classes is low because of the possibility for direct appropriation of many of the items of living (such as food, rent and fuel from nature). Similarly, many items of expenditure do not enter the budget. In Switzerland, 61 per cent of the total income of a rural family was in cash and rest of the income was derived from natural products either given them by their employers or secured from their farms.¹⁹ In America, Hawthorne found that 38 per cent of the farmers' needs were supplied by the farm. But in India conditions are quite different. The Kamia labourers get only food and housing but no cash; the landless field-worker or the unspecified labour receives only cash wages but no allowance while the cultivating labourer supplements his money income by appropriations from his farm.

The most striking feature of these budgets of Indian agricultural labourers is the high percentage of total expenditure on food alone, being more than 60 per cent, against 39 for U.S.A., 55 for Russia, and 56 for Holland²⁰ which is an index of the low standard of living of the workers.

In the case of well-to-do tenants this percentage is not so high as in the case of landless field-workers who stand on the lowest rung of economic ladder.

It is striking to note that percentage of expenditure on physiological and basic requirements (e.g., food, clothing, rent) is the highest whereas the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements (i.e., social and religious recreation, education of children, etc.) is almost negligible in the majority of the cases. Moreover, the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements is higher in the case of urban industrial workers than in case of agricultural workers in rural areas, which again is a sure index of the low standard of living of agricultural labourers when compared with their context in urban areas:²¹

	Percentage of expenditure on	
	Physiological and basic requirements	Non-physiological and secondary requirements
Average agricultural labourer (Rural)	89.9	11.1
Average Industrial worker	73.8	26.2

The food taken by the labourers is far from satisfactory. Many do not get the required quantity nor get the requisite quality. It is said that if epidemics slay thousands every year, malnutrition kills millions. Their diet usually consists of inferior cereals like jowar, bajri and millets with some pulses. Green vegetables are taken only on festive occasions. Ghee and milk are

rarely included in the diet. They take their daily diet at about 12 A.M. in the noon and the meal in the evening after returning from the field. Often millet or barley, bread and chillies and some salt are taken. The labourers as a class are more addicted to drink than others. They drink country liquor made of rotten barley and mahua seed. Whether the liquor injures health or not the addicts are economically at a low level. Whatever they earn they spend away, more at the Kalal's shop than for the household. This results in deterioration in their financial status and their children and womanfolk suffer privation.

The portion of basic foods to energizing foods consumed by various classes of agricultural labourers in some Provinces of Northern India is as follows:²²

1. Food Budget of well-to-do cultivators showing the Percentage of Basic Energizing Foods:

Province	Total Basic of food foods		Percentage to the total	Energizing foods		Percentage to the total
	oz.	oz.		oz.	oz.	
Punjab	58	31	53.4	27	46.6	
U. P.	42	20	47.6	22	52.4	
Bengal	36	19	52.8	17	47.2	

2. Food Budget of landless agricultural labourers and field workers showing the percentage of Basic to Energizing Foods:

Province	Total Basic of food foods consumed		Percentage to the total	Energizing foods		Percentage to the total
	oz.	oz.		oz.	oz.	
Punjab	49	40	81.6	9	18.4	
U. P.	33	29	87.9	4	12.1	
Bengal	28	22	77.8	6	21.4	

3. Food Budget of Agrestic serfs showing the percentage of Basic to Energizing Foods:

Consumers	Total Basic amount of food foods consumed		Percentage to the total	Energizing foods		Percentage to the total
	oz.	oz.		oz.	oz.	
Sewaks (Oudh)	21	21	100	—	—	
Kamias (Bihar)	22	20	90.9	2	9.1	

It will be seen from the foregoing statements that the amount of energizing food consumed by well-to-do tenants comes up to the standard and we can safely conclude that this class is well-fed and efficient and maintains a high level of living, because the effective consumption of energizing foods is greater, yielding a higher chemical value and excess of protein. On the other hand, the effective consumption of energizing foods in the case of field-workers hardly exceeds 18 per cent of the total amount of food consumed. In the case of agricultural serfs, like the Sewaks of Oudh and Kamias of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, the consumption of energizing food is almost nil. Their food supply, therefore, does not perform a correct compound so as to obviate any chance of malnutrition and conse-

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

quently of disease, ill health or premature death. The fact is that field workers and agrestic serfs are under-provided with protein, the former due to poverty and ignorance of dietetics and the latter due to circumstances beyond their control. It follows, therefore, that these two classes of labourers are verging on a very low standard of living.

The labourer and his family fall an easy victim to several diseases due to malnutrition and unhealthy conditions of living as they are usually underfed, ill-housed and ill-clothed.

Between hookworm and malaria at least 20 per cent of the working days may be lost by the labourers. Owing to his extreme poverty he has no fund on which he could draw in case of sickness or when he is out of work. Poverty, stark poverty, stares him in the face. He is born in the meshes of poverty, lives in grinding penury and often dies in distress. The life story of a rural labourer in India is a tale of unmitigated woe. It is time that immediate steps be taken to change the lot of rural labourers.

EFFICIENCY OF LABOUR

The working and living conditions of the labourers as sketched above cannot be conducive to efficiency of work. It has often been remarked by writers that labourers in India are generally inefficient and extraordinarily unproductive compared with the British agricultural labourers. But efficiency is a complex affair,

not easily measurable except in simple operations, and it depends not only on qualities of strength and skill, industry and intelligence of the individual workers but on conditions of soil, animal power, implements, direction and incentives to work in the shape of wages and other benefits. Unless these factors are isolated and careful experiments are conducted it is difficult to speak of comparative efficiency of labour.

It is, however, accepted on all hands that our labour is inefficient and might do better under more favourable conditions. A marked difference occurs between different classes of workers in one and the same tract and in similar tracts.

Better equipment, animal power and implements should add to the efficiency of the labourer. Today there are in use a variety of implements and tools of different sizes and shapes, evolved in course of years to suit different conditions of soil and climate and crops and perhaps different types of people too. It is, therefore, necessary that systematic studies should be made of the fatigue produced by several implements used and of the possibility of reducing the time and number of movements involved in doing any kind of work on the farm. Further, the location of the worker in relation to the work, the best attitude of body and feet to the work must be determined.

(To be continued)

THE MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER-VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

By N. P. BHOUMICK,

Formerly of Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

I. CONTRIBUTION IN EASING INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM¹

The haunting spectre at all the present-day discussions is the problem of India's food-shortage. Not to speak of providing adequate supplies to assure the nation of a certain minimum standard of balanced nutrition, the nation is spending 58 per cent of her national income to keep the population out of the grip of actual starvation. From this angle the contribution of the ambitious multi-purpose river-valley projects is expected to be simply stupendous and can be classified under several heads:

A. EXTENDED IRRIGATION

But before the effect of the development of multi-purpose river-valley projects over irrigation is delineated a brief resume of the present situation and requirements of the country might be helpful for proper appreciation.

Of the total area of 1,000 million acres about half of which lies in the Indian States, a little over a third

is covered by forests, roads, railways, towns, etc., and is not available for cultivation. Of the remainder about 432 million acres are generally under cultivation but over 250 million acres either lie fallow or are under cultivation but produce much less compared to the production of other places in the world. India, as situated geographically and with her natural rainfall spread throughout the entire sub-continent, requires for successful cultivation or for increase in the area of cultivable land, irrigation in one form or other all over the country where average rainfall is below 50 ins. This is so in the whole of Punjab and United Provinces, in part of Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and all over the whole of Deccan Plateau except a fringe along the Western coast, Table I will clearly show our staggering position with regard to irrigation.

1. The reader is advised to read this section in conjunction with "Food Problem in India" by N. P. Bhoumick in *The Modern Review* for August, 1950.

19. Sorokin, Zimmerman: *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, p. 371.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

21. *Levenson: Op. Cit.*, p. 120.

TABLE I

Irrigation Statistics of India (figures in thousands of acres—figures related to 1947-48)

States	Nett Area		Classification of Area						Total area irrigated
	According to survey	According to village papers	Forests	Not available for cultivation	Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	Current fallows	Cultivable area included in "other uncultivated land excluding current fallow"	Nett area actually sown	
Assam	56497	33400	4207	4248	16994	1881	.....	5234	1128
Bihar	45023	44326*	6612	6525	6580	7083	.....	17691	5320
Bombay	73853	58006	8934	7213	1963	6075	364	33821	1583
Madhya Pradesh	83408	82550	23179	6248	19732	5366	8030	28025	1740
Madras	81772	80796	13550	14318	12222	10244	294	30462	9809
Orissa	38492	20142	2606	6556	3218	1245	.....	6517	1693
Punjab (1)	24019	23281	769	6172	2438	1814	3	12088	4296
Uttar Pradesh	72148	71403	7951	11572	10203	2797	661	38880	11079
West Bengal	20090	19549	1709	3026	1930	1142	.....	11742	2072
Hyderabad	52633	52927	6171	8397	1142	13364	.....	23853	1330
Jammu and Kashmir†	57825	8002	1750	2805*	905	275	.....	2258	786
Madhya Bharat‡	29609	19340	2427	3946	3537	1738	3367	7692	331
Mysore	18853	17385	1957	5728	1567	1709	.....	6424	1159
P. E. P. S. Union	6463	6463	116	469	824	701	.....	4353	1718
Rajasthan§	82191	20669	655	4223	4544	2862	10	8385	1503
Saurashtra*	13411	1397	7	155	222	.....	.....	1013	54
Travancore-Cochin**	5859	5350	1616	495	329	72	.....	2838	945
Vindya Pradesh***	15744	1610	203	315	440	192	.....	460	70
Ajmer	1546	1562	47	596	295	181	.....	443	105
Bhopal	4429	4451	1004	916	839	130	.....	1562	19
Bilaspur	290	285	36	29	97	45	.....	78	8
Coorg	1020	1012	331	250	226	42	.....	163	6
Delhi	367	366	.....	73	53	15	.....	225	49
Himachal Pradesh	6784	1877	534	310	297	134	181	602	8
Kutch	5415	4974	108	1407	1200	1608	599	462	49
Total	806997****	581123	86488	95992	91632	60715	245271	13509	46941

NOTE: Figures for Bihar relate to 1946-47 (undivided India).

† These figures relate to 1942-43 since subsequent figures are not available.

‡ Includes figures for Gwalior, Indore, Rajagarh, Narsingarh and Barawani.

§ Includes figures for Marwar, Bikaner, Bundi, Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Jaipur, Jhalawar, Kotah, Kishangarh and Tonk and relate to the year 1940-47.

* Includes figures for Bhabanagar only.

** Figures for Travancore unit relate to 1946-47.

*** Includes figures for Orchha and Nagod only.

**** Includes 10216.000 acres in respect of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Manipur and Tripura States.

2. Statistical Abstract, India, 1949, Vol. II, Office of Economic Adviser, Government of India, pp. 1322-1326.

For maturing the same crop in the different parts of the country not only a varying quantity of water is required but also a varying frequency of irrigation. In some places nothing will grow without artificial irrigation as in Bhawalpur while in others not only irrigation is necessary but quick drainage of the rain water is to be effected for preventing the plants being damaged by submersion as in the Hirakud area in Orissa, and in some parts of Travancore-Cochin. In between these extremes, there is a wide range of water requirements for maturing of different crops. At some places irrigation works are required as a standby and used in times of drought as in the case of Bengal and in others for supplementing inadequate and erratic rainfall whereas in some other places irrigation is a necessary complement of cultivation and is required all the year round.

Below many irrigation canals and nearer to the river banks where the slope of the country is gentle, as has already been stated, there is the danger of soils getting generally water-logged. In such situations expensive measures have to be undertaken in order to lower the water-table, by what is known as sub-soil drainage canals and distributaries. But if these areas can be supplied with cheap power not only the problem of removing water-logged conditions will be solved to a great extent but it will also supply this water for irrigation of more crops and thereby result in more revenue which would have otherwise been lost. The best example of such irrigation by pumping will be found in the Imperial Valley near California (U.S.A.) where round about a million acres of fruit gardens are being irrigated by pumping. Most of the area in this valley is below sea level and there is no possibility of any drainage; water is therefore pumped, year after year, to meet the needs of this fertile valley. Thus by pumping 16,000 cusecs are raised through a lift of some 300 ft.—the water required for the irrigation of 1,200,000 acres of semi-arid land. This is a very important point with regard to India.

Thus, while due to extreme scarcity of water our lands produce much less than it should have been otherwise and many culturable lands are going out of cultivation, most of our water wealth is running to woeful waste causing incalculable damage in man, material and property and eroding millions of acres of lands round about the course of most of our rivers. How much of our enormous water-wealth is being allowed to waste may be gauged from the figure that the mean annual run-off of Indian rivers on a very conservative basis, is of the order of 2,000,000 cusecs (sufficient to submerge the entire peninsula under 2 ft. deep water) of which only about 133,000 cusecs or a bare 7 per cent is being put to beneficial use. In addition to the 2,000,000 cusecs running off the surface of the country, vast quantities of water, yet unestimated, are flowing down to the oceans under the subsoil, of

which only about 30,000 cusecs are being used so far.

Hitherto, our irrigation schemes were mainly confined to diversion of available supplies during the critical period, which determined the scope of a project. Flow during the dry months being practically negligible in most of our rivers there is very limited scope for rabi irrigation unless supplemented by supply from storage reservoirs or supplies made available from the underground sub-soil reservoir by having recourse to pumping with cheap hydel-power.

The supply available from our Indian rivers during the critical period is generally very small, and hence it is rather difficult to draw up "Productive" Irrigation Schemes based on such supplies. The only way out is to store the surplus supplies during wet months and to release as and when required in the dry period. This storing can be done by construction of dams across the rivers in their upper reaches but such structures will call for a capital outlay which is prohibitive if confined to irrigation only. In a multi-purpose project, considerations of flood control and irrigation weigh decisively in selecting both the location and the design of the project. The water stored in the reservoir or lake that is formed by the damming of the river is primarily to meet the irrigation needs. The power generated, in a way, is a by-product of the irrigation, since without calling for additional capital outlay in the construction of dam and the water used for it being surplus over irrigation needs, it augments the revenue-earning capacity of the schemes as a whole. As a consequence the otherwise generally uneconomic (strictly from the point of view of direct financial return) flood control and irrigation schemes become handsomely economic.

Even a purely hydro-electric scheme assists perennial irrigation. The water which is kept stored upstream for power generation, is discharged throughout the year in the river which satisfies the irrigation needs of the land round about the river. Thus it will be seen power and irrigation are complementary to each other either in single or multi-purpose projects.

Now we shall come to the question which is frequently asked even by the austere people: Accepted we need power for irrigation, but, for that should we incur such large capital outlay and develop Hydro-electricity? Can't we instal Diesel Engine generating sets at selected places and distribute the power from them to a net-work of lift irrigation system, or, alternatively, oil-engine driven pump-sets? The data compiled by Madras and U. P. Governments on all such experiments provide the convincing answer and in the words of Mr. Rohatgi:

"For tube-wells that are small scattered units pumping continuously, Diesel Power directly applied to pumps are particularly unsuitable, as an engine driver with an assistant during periods of

By MANKUMAR SEN

COMMUNITY Development Projects, in the context of the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Agreement, have naturally evoked considerable interest, and no less considerable criticism. We do not propose to analyse the terms of the agreement, of which a fairly broad introduction, as visible in the principal clauses of the agreement, will be found in the editorial columns of July, 1952 issue of this journal.

In recent history, Gandhiji's outline of village Republican Rule as against centralized city-centred administration and a broad-based, balanced community life stands out in unequalled glory. His basic approach to community re-organisation, or in other words, resettlement of the society on the fundamental human values, such as, universal love, truthfulness, non-exploitation and co-operation, is the decentralization of political power and economic organization with village republic as the basic unit. This ideal has, broadly, had its recognition in the Indian Constitution, though hardly the beginning of the beginning has been made in actual performance.

PLANNING COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATION

India's first Planning Commission too, in conformity with the objectives of the Constitution, has stressed the need of community organization as "the most effective means of social betterment and the key to the successful development of social welfare programmes." The Community Development Projects, as initiated by the Government of India under the Indo-U.S.A. aid programme owe their origin to the recommendation of the Commission. In their Draft Report, the Commission has placed their viewpoint and proposals in the following manner:

"The essence of the technique is that regional groups containing a manageable number of families living in close proximity in well-defined areas are organised as *democratic units* co-operating for the furtherance of common interests. Community organization should generally be created, sustained, and managed by the regional community. In the initial stages, however, such a movement may be sponsored by the State and it would be one of the major tasks of social service agencies to organise and strengthen the development of regional democratic communities and equip them for initiative, leadership, and local organization for creating community programmes, having as their main elements: (1) Community recreation and fitness programmes; (2) Fundamental education and cultural development; (3) Economic welfare through co-operatives; (4) Woman and child and family welfare; (5) Environmental planning and development; (6) Youth welfare; (7) General and social welfare activities; and (8) Effective organization of the social and economic life of the community through co-operatives and panchayats, etc."

This 8-point proposal may not seem very concrete and definite, rather they may be construed as catchy slogans of welfare; but one thing the Commission has

made reasonably clear, and that is the initiation and organization of "democratic" Community Units. And that such organization should be made effective through co-operatives and panchayats (village republics) has also been stressed, though perhaps not as emphatically and distinctly as one may desire.

THE PROJECTS

The development programme, as initiated by the Government falls into two separate but closely interlocked parts. The first is the programme to be supervised by the Community Projects Administration, with the financial assistance provided from the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Fund. The projects planned for under this part of the programme consists of 3 main types, viz., (1) The basic community development projects, (2) the 'composite' development projects and, (3) 'training centres' for instructing village workers. In the 'basic' projects, the primary emphasis has been laid on increasing agricultural production. The Planning Commission in their circular letter to the State Governments describes the different stages of the programme thus:

"300 villages with a total area of about 450 to 500 square miles, cultivated area of about 150,000 acres and a population of about 200,000 will constitute one project area, which again will be divided into three development blocks, each consisting of about 100 villages and a population of about 60,000 to 70,000. The development block, in turn, is divided into the field of operation for a village level worker."

"In actual practice, however, local conditions and administrative considerations will largely influence the size of the area selected for a community project or a development block," it has been added.

The second part of the programme is that which is sponsored by the Ford Foundation and directly supervised by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture with financial aid from the foundation. The projects in this case, however, cover a smaller area and consist of only 100 villages each. It may be interesting to have a tabular picture of the distribution of projects in the States:

Distribution of Community Development Projects

Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Fund and Community Projects Administration.		Joint Auspices		Ford Foundation and Food Ministry	
States	Community projects	Blocks	Training centres	Development projects	Training- cum-Develop- ment projects
Part A	32	16	16	3	4
Part B	11	2	6	4	1
Part C	2	8	3	3	—
Total	45	26	25	10	5

Thus, for the immediate period 45 Community Development Projects and 26 development blocks under the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Agreement, and 10 development projects, 5 training-cum-development projects and 25 training centres under the auspices of Ford Foundation are to be adopted.

ADMINISTRATION : OBJECTS

The projects under the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Agreement are to be managed by a central committee, which includes members of the Planning Commission and high-level officers of the Government of India, the actual execution of the responsibilities having been vested in an administrator, who works under the general guidance of the Central Committee. It is to be noted, in this respect, that, under Clause 7 of the Agreement, "no recommendation of this Committee involving the allocation of expenditure of funds made available by the U.S.A. Government can be given effect to without the concurrence of the Director" (Director of the U.S.A. Government Technical Co-operation Administration in India).

The Planning Commission has stressed that 'the central object of a Community Project is to secure the fullest development of the material and human resources of an area.' The character of the projects will be rural-cum-urban and the main lines of activity on the rural side will comprise the following:

- (a) Agriculture and rural development;
- (b) Cottage and small-scale industries;
- (c) Education, including vocational and technical training;
- (d) Health; (e) Housing; and (f) Communications.

Some elaborate references to the West Bengal Plan were made by Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of the State, in his two press statements of November 29, 1951, and February 11, 1952. Fifty to sixty villages comprising one block, a population between 30,000 to 40,000 covering an area of approximately 75 square miles will come under each block in West Bengal. The Chief Minister said:

"Our present intention is to take up 8 projects during the next four-year period ending 1955-56. One Development Block will be taken up in each Project area in the first year, i.e., in 1952-53. In the second year, these 8 Blocks will be completed and 29 new Blocks will be taken up. In the third year, these 29 will be completed and another 27 Blocks will be taken up. The fourth year will see the completion of the work in the last group of 27 Blocks, thus completing the four-year target of 64 Blocks covering all the 8 Project areas. To make each of these Blocks a relatively self-contained unit the Government have contemplated one township at the centre of each Unit or Block, and this township will have rural-cum-urban character. That is, this central town and surrounding villages will form one Organic Unit. The township will have all the fundamental urban amenities and will yet retain a rural character in most aspects of life. The idea is

to effect a reciprocal interchange of goods and services, as between the central town and the component villages. Also concerted measures will be undertaken to effect an all-round improvement of the living conditions in the villages by the introduction of better agricultural practices, expansion of cottage industry, opening up and maintenance of internal communications, provision of better sanitation, public health and educational facilities. The agencies for providing most of these services are proposed to be located in the urban centre within easy access of the villages within the Block and Branch offices of Government Departments concerned will be established in the township for this purpose. It has been estimated that within the 8 projects, 32 towns will be established."—(Italics ours).

RURAL-URBAN RELATIONSHIP

Those who know how to read between the lines will have ample food for thought in such new town-making schemes. It is crystal clear that the present-day dominating position and exploiting nature of towns with their numerical strength augmented will virtually remain intact, despite which, we are told, these new towns, with the usual array of Government offices, will retain a rural character and there will be a 'reciprocal' interchange of goods and services between these towns and the surrounding villages! Also in administration the *status quo* will be maintained, there being no bold conception to build up a democratic unit from the bottom, the village. Also the fundamental issues like re-distribution of land to the actual tillers, resuscitation of village industries with fullest independent status and facilities for the marketing of their products are yet to be settled. It is the height of optimism, in our opinion, to think that a township comprising 1,000 working families (out of 1,500)—almost 90 per cent of which will belong to the lower-strata middle class—can have the buying power, even if the desire be there, adequate to consume the village-made articles of the surrounding areas. As regards the villages, the economic heritage of the country conclusively shows that the immediate needs of the villagers can better be met in local arrangement than elsewhere. Beginning from the plough up to the production of cloth by home-spinning and weaving method and practical education in a basic style, the village or group of villages can be successfully made the nerve-centre and the basic constituent unit of the society and the State. Unfortunately the cart appears to have been put before the horse: while self-contained village unit is the original idea, the Projects bid for new townships on the miseries of villages. It is a cruel joke to ask for reciprocal behaviour from the villages until and unless urgent long-felt measures to lift them from the present rot have been adopted. However, we deliberately refrain from any extensive study of the West Bengal Plan in so far as reports on the similar (working) projects elsewhere are a pointer to the real state of

demand would be required at each unit, and either the engine would have to stop every day for rest causing loss of irrigation at times of demand, or two engines have to be installed at each tube-well. The annual charge for a state tube-well run by individual Diesel engine would be more than double that of an electrically operated tube-well. Diesel engine generating sets can, however, be employed in units of 150 to 300 k.w. to produce electricity at a central place to serve a group of 15 to 30 tube-wells by means of short H.T. lines. But in this case also the generating cost would be high, and the cost per inch-acre watering would work out to nearly double that of State tube-wells worked by Hydel-grid."

Another important fact that underlies the advantages and cheapness of Hydel power in irrigation, over its only possible alternative, namely, Diesel power, is the replacement of Diesel engines by Hydel power even in a large-scale and almost centralised undertaking as the de-watering of water-logged areas in Travancore-Cochin State.^{3,4,5}

B. FLOOD CONTROL

According to a communique, published by the Union Government, at least six million tons of food were lost through natural calamities in India in 1950. This is besides the loss sustained in property and life both human and animal. The peculiarity with most of the Indian rivers is that while during the greater part of the year there will be little or no water, with the roaring torrents of the monsoons coming down the hills and plateaus the rivers become sites of terror, completely uprooting signs of any life in the near vicinity. The incalculable loss sustained by the community can be best appreciated in the light of a few practical examples. Last year an attempt was made by the West Bengal Government to assess the damages caused by the last flood in Damodar to the public, the Provincial and the Central Governments. At current prices the total loss amounted to Rs. 7,96,00,000. The available records show that on an average we can count on a major flood in the Damodar Valley every ten years. Notwithstanding, there are minor floods, localised, which occur almost every year during the monsoon. There are also tracts of fertile land which, though otherwise cultivable, cannot at present grow crops because of the annual rise in the flood water level. Once these minor floods are controlled, something like half a crore of rupees worth of extra crops should be available every year. To quote another example, according to a preliminary estimate prepared by Mr. J. Shaw, Executive Engineer, the money value of damage caused by the Mahanadi River to the adjoin-

ing areas during a period of 29 years between 1910-1935 was about 3.5 crores. The maximum losses due to extraordinary floods in a single year have been sometimes as high as Rs. 66 lakhs. The losses chiefly occur by damage to or destruction of crops, heavy cattle mortality, deterioration of field due to deposits of sand and other evil effects. The Koshi (Bihar's River of Sorrow) generally starts flooding in the month of July and causes havoc every year in an area of about 35,000 sq. miles in Dharbhanga, Purnea and Saharsa districts. The last flood submerged nearly 500 villages with a population of about 4 to 5 lakhs and it was estimated that properties and standing crops worth about Rs. 3 crores and a half were damaged. It is however important to keep in mind that all the above are but very modest estimates, and no calculation is possible of the loss and damage to human lives entailed in all these floods. Another important aspect of the flood sufferers was the condition of their cattle wealth specially in an area where agriculture is the mainstay of approximately 90 per cent of the population. Cattle wealth suffers a serious depletion as a result of floods and diseases in their wake.

But this is only a fringe compared to the colossal destruction caused by floods to lands when viewed in the background of agriculture. It is estimated that all flowing rivers of our country, the scouring and scavenging action of which is at their peak during the spate, carry away millions of tons of suspended earth material to the sea. This material constitutes the principal food-producing ingredient of the soil. It is obvious that the subcontinent of ours is poorer every year by millions and billions of tons of this material which is so vital to the vegetation.

We quote below the soil and silt which was carried away by one of the torrents, viz., the Jaba Khas and measured by the Punjab Irrigation Department during the two floods of 1936 for rainfalls of 3.70 ins. and 2.70 ins., the entire catchment of which (water course) is 62 sq. miles.

TABLE II

Vol. of flood in cu. ft.	Total silt content (per cent)	Silt content coarser than 0.075 mm in dia (per cent)	Silt carried in one hr.	
			Total (tons)	Coarse (tons)
11,200	1.15	0.18	23,000	3,600
27,750	2.04	0.30	102,000	15,000

These figures show how rapidly the carriage of silt increases with intensity of run-off, and furthermore the reason why the ravine districts in the alluvial tracts instead of being the granaries of the country have become the temporary abode of gipsies, an emblem of beggary which has scarcely any parallel with any population in any part of the world, and very aptly the Indian rivers are called "rivers of sorrow."

It is seldom realised that from a hard rock to the soft soil is a far cry and that the process of conversion

of the former into the latter takes some centuries. So once this soil is removed from an area, it becomes unfit for supporting any vegetation and remains so for a long time. The floods of one season can take away the good work of centuries of the natural agents of decomposition and weathering which are responsible for the formation of the soil. However, in more details and exactitude we are coming to this point later on.

Reservoirs as merely flood-moderators to protect agricultural land are seldom economical as the cost of their construction will be disproportionate to the value of the land protected. Even in U.S.A. their use in the past has been restricted to cases where the property protected has a very high unit value such as big cities and industrial areas. The flood control system of the Miami district in the U.S.A. which has proved successful, would never have been economically feasible

had it not been for the high valuation of property, the great density of population and the importance of industries located in the flood area.

Again, since there is no regularity in the quantity or the period of occurrence of floods, such reservoirs are seldom reliable. The American experience has incontrovertibly demonstrated that to control a river from the onrush of flood water it should be controlled all along its courses right from the beginning to the end and not at a point or two in between. The cost involved thereupon, is all out of proportions, unless the river is schemed out for multi-purpose development. Other methods that have been suggested to counteract the evil are more related to soil-conservation and this is being dealt with in the next section.

(To be continued)

—:O:—

FOOD ECONOMY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE

By S. N. KAUL

INSPIRED by the Indian food policy the Jammu and Kashmir Government also felt ambitious to attempt to make the State self-sufficient in food. Various measures were adopted. Land was transferred to the tenant, tractors were employed, foreign seeds were introduced, rotation of crops tried, consolidation of holdings is started, co-operative farming introduced and the 'Grow More Food' campaign started. Even *mujwaza* of maize is raised in Kashmir to feed the population. All these attempts failed to show any signs of significant improvement in the situation.

The Government has not so far succeeded in procuring the targeted production. Compulsory levy is required for self-sufficiency purposes. During the last 4½ years the Kashmir Government subsidized the sale of imported foodgrains to the extent of 155 lakhs. In 1951-52 alone subsidy to the tune of 66.37 lakhs has been paid. For 1952-53 the Centre's allocation of 16,000 tons will be raised to meet the food shortage. Although the Government is doing something in almost all the directions, but since it is not co-ordinated and planned, it does not show significant success. This is mainly due to the fact that the factor of population is not taken into consideration while assessing the requirements of land and its produce. This, being a stupendous task demanding first

and imperative consideration, has to be tackled earnestly and on all fronts.

The population of the State has increased from 25,43,952 in 1891 to 43,82,680 in 1951, i.e., by about 75 per cent. According to the present ration scale of over 20 seers of *shali* per head per month, the State needs 2,62,96,000 maunds of food-grains annually. To produce this at the rate of 5 maunds per acre, the State must have 52,59,176 acres of arable land. Against this the State has only 30,00,000 acres of cultivable land throughout the State, out of which 23,00,000 only are cultivated. With this data of natural resources and the leaping increase in population, the food position in the State will always remain unsatisfactory and dependent on outside help. The State can under these circumstances be rightly said to be over-populated, unless adequate attention is paid to check the growth of population by some sort of birth-control, etc. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir State should, therefore, be equally ambitious in this direction, if they really want to solve the food problem in Kashmir.

In certain difficult matters Kashmir has given a lead to India. A similar lead from them is expected in this direction also.

3. P. K. Menon : "Hydel-power & Irrigation," *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 1951.

4. D. P. Rohatgi : "Electricity and Irrigation," *Transactions of World Power Conference*, 1951.

5. Rural Electrification in Madras State, Electricity Department, Government of Madras. *Transactions of World Power Conference* 1951.



affairs and also the danger that may lie in the womb of future.

THE ETAWAH EXPERIENCE

We are told that in planning the community projects all over the country the Planning Department of the Government of India have pinned their faith in the achievements like Etawah and Nilokheri townships. The Planning Commission in their circular letter to the States *inter alia* asserts :

"Valuable experience in the integrated development of an urban area, in relation to the surrounding rural area has been gained at Nilokheri ; in intensive rural development work, much has been done in Etawah in Uttar Pradesh as well as in other States. The rural-cum-urban Community Projects which are now proposed are designed to combine the results of these recent experiments."

Let us see what is the experience and result gained : We do not mean to minimise, in any way, the gainful aspects, if any, of these projects ; our object is simply to spot-light their basic weakness, which, unless set right in time, may cause the whole scheme tumble down like a pack of cards ere long. Conditions developing at Etawah strongly support our apprehensions.

The Etawah Project came into being in November, 1948. The Project is intended to cover 197 villages, of which 97 were taken up only in September, 1951. These 97 villages surround Mahewa, a small rural town at a distance of about 18 miles to the east of Etawah, the headquarters of the Etawah District, Allahabad Division, Uttar Pradesh. The area covered by now is 61,400 acres with a population of 79,000. From the District Development Officer down to the peon, no less than 125 persons are directly employed in the project. So far a sum of Rs. 15,11,000 has been spent on the Project during the last three years. *The recurring annual expenditure is of the order of Rs. 3 lakhs of which about one lakh is spent on superintendence alone.* This is no figment of our imagination, we gather these facts from reports by eminent Indians whose integrity and authority is above board. A team of Sarvodaya workers led by Prof. Thakurdas Bang of Wardha made an on-the-spot study tour of Etawah of which a report has been published. Says the report :

"When we enquired of Mr. Mayer (the leading spirit behind the Project) about the period for which such expenditure would continue he replied, 'for ever and ever'."

Principal S. N. Agarwal of Wardha, a member of the delegation, also reports exactly the same thing :

"When we inquired from Mr. Albert Mayer, the Planning Expert of the U.P. Government, as to the period for which the huge recurring expenditure would have to be continued, the reply was, 'for ever and ever'."—(*Congress Sandesh*, June 30, 1952).

Sri Agarwal further points out the inherent weakness of the scheme in the following words :

"The shortcoming of the project lies mainly in not paying sufficient attention to village and cottage industries as means of subsidiary employment to agriculturists. The type of primary and secondary education that is being imparted to the children in the area is of the old pattern. Unless basic education is introduced in the elementary schools of the compact area, it would be impossible to create the requisite atmosphere for social and economic reconstruction through hard and disciplined work."

The Bang Delegation's report is an indictment of the whole scheme and makes startling disclosures. In pointing out the people's apathy for the scheme it says :

"The nature of seed, prohibitive prices of implements, heat content of chemical fertilisers and 'boss-like' or 'sahibana' attitude of the staff are some of the factors that have contributed to this apathy. The people have, as it were, an instinctive dislike for the Project which is due to the grim reality that the Project has created far more problems than it has solved. To be brief, the project has meant more unemployment. We met several poor landless labourers including Harijans whose fortunes have not only not improved but have tumbled down. The project may, therefore, prove a curse in disguise. *The future of the Etawah Project is dark and ominous. Its extension will prove all the more ruinous.*"—(Italics ours).

The report concludes :

"*It is neither a plan of the people, nor for the people, nor by the people, but something imposed from above, having no secure foundation from below.*"—(Italics ours).

And finally the Report advises the Government "to stop the Etawah hoax, give a hearty send-off to the ignorant experts knowing nothing about India and her people, return the foreign money already taken, cancel the unholy contract, and deliver the country to its rightful owners, the people." Neither Thakurdas Bang nor S. N. Agarwal belongs to group whose verdict can be lightly brushed aside or denounced as deliberate distortion. Both of the quotations above, bring in bold relief the following weakness or wrong-headed approach in the Project : (1) The old bureaucratic style of education among the local people persists ; (2) the principle of employment and more employment, which is the criterion of any realistic National Project, has not been taken in all seriousness ; (3) agricultural implements and materials are beyond the purchasing power of the local folk ; and (4) the administration runs in a bureaucratic fashion, being an imposition from above and not an evolution from below. Thus all the four basic faults that during the British regime, alienated the people of the country from any and every Development Plan, are dominating the Etawah Project too. Is it then too much to repudiate the Project as 'ominous' and 'ruinous'? We do not think any Democratic Government can play the double roles of Dr. Jekyll

and Mr. Hyde,—to pronounce pious wishes of national development and yet follow, in the main, condemned centralized methods of production, education and top-heavy administration which can break even the camel's back. The American loan is ostensibly designed to improve our agriculture. It naturally follows that 'training of the Indian peasants in Indian agriculture by American experts' is not the end, nor the beginning of the end, but is only the beginning of the beginning ! Bountiful supply of machines, artificial manures, etc., are to follow swiftly ! In fact, a fertiliser agreement within the purview of the Indo-U. S. A. Technical aid programme was signed at New Delhi on May 1, 1952, under which America has agreed to supply about 108,000 tons of fertilisers, for which it would provide 10,650,000 dollars (about Rs. 5.06 crores) out of its promised contribution of 50 million dollars (Fund A). Mainly towards inland transportation of these fertilisers the Government of India will spend Rs. 44 lakhs or 0.92 million dollars, out of the Fund B. The *American Reporter* of May 14, 1952, assures us that the aim of this fertiliser agreement is to increase India's food output by an additional 200,000 tons ! And we have the blessed revelation too that even when Sindri runs in full swing India's dependence on foreign imports of ammonium sulphate still remains ! Thus India possesses neither the capital (though a plenty of capitalists !), nor the agricultural expert, nor the implements, nor the fertiliser, and nothing of the kind for India's agricultural and rural development ! But is it a fact or a fiction ? Is there no resources, or no bold and scientific efforts to explore and apply them properly ?

DIFFERENT CONDITIONS : DIFFERENT TREATMENT

The powers-that-be seem to have ignored the totally different sets of circumstances prevailing in U.S.A. on the one hand and India on the other, and have made a rush for American models and methods. America contains barely 6 per cent of world's population as against roughly 20 per cent of the world's total cropland. Obviously she has enough land to be wasteful in her agricultural methods without prejudicing her national interests. As soon as returns from land anywhere tend to be decreasing they easily shift on to new land of which they have plenty. Also to explore such large tracts of virgin soil they take recourse to mechanized method. One single fact that emerges from this circumstance is their capacity to carelessly draw on land without having to consider the loss of fertility and recuperative power of land. We have in India, an entirely different set of circumstances. To feed nearly one-fifth of the world's population, we have disproportionately small and strictly limited resource of land. Hence we cannot be wasteful in our agricultural practices. Every time we cultivate a plot of land, some of its elements

go out, to restore which we have to rotate crops and allow time-gap between two sowings. This recuperation conditions the pace of our production and if we rush for intensive cultivation through mechanization, our land will soon be reaching the saturating or exhausting point, and having very small fallow lands to fall back upon, our position will become hopeless. We remember Mr. Norris Dodd, a man commanding knowledge of modern agricultural methods and their outcome more than many others and the successor of Lord Boyd Orr as Director-General of the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization to have warned us some time in the year 1949 against highly paid 'modern,' 'scientific and progressive' armchair technical experts. Mr. Dodd clearly advised us to limit mechanization to the breaking of virgin soils only and terracing to avoid soil erosion, avoid extensive use of artificial fertilisers, control soil erosion by preserving forests and extend tube-well irrigation. Indiscriminate mechanization will also increasingly drive out from land human power, viz., the peasants who are already unemployed for many months of the year or miserably under-employed ; our bullocks too will die out speedily. Again, since we have fuel for the motive power of mechanized cultivation much less than the needed minimum it has got to be imported, mainly from America. It is high time we keep in constant remembrance that Atom bomb or no Atom bomb Japan in the last war could not evade a crushing defeat due to petrol shortage alone. To 'rebuild' Indian agriculture on lines for which her dependence on vital foreign imports,—imports of tractors fertilisers, petrol, etc., becomes indispensable, is to conscientiously sow the seeds of a disaster.

MAKE AMENDS IN TIME !

The American Director, under the terms of agreement, has been virtually made a dictator, in the Community Development Scheme. He with his party possesses the longest rope, having all the rights and no responsibilities in making or unmaking the projects. Like Cæsar's wife they are above suspicion, and have been granted immunity from legal proceedings in a Court of Law even if involved in malpractices. The outcome of the projects is sought to be, we believe, both permanent and truly helpful to the Indian people. In that case, the Community Plan, in outlook and approach, has got to be truly Indian. And administration, both alien and unaccustomed to Indian conditions, and injudiciously imposed from above, can hardly evoke genuine interest, enthusiasm, and wilful co-operation of the people. Such a plan or project, whatever its charming show of strength at the top, remains basically weak. Let us beware, be forewarned and make amends in time. Meanwhile we would request persons in responsible positions to refrain from utterances associating Gandhian ideology with these projects.

SOCIAL HEREDITY OF PRESENT-DAY MIDDLE-CLASS BENGALIS

The Means of Its Orientation for Progress of the People

By PROF. P. KUNDU,

Head of the Department of Chemistry, Surendranath College, Calcutta

THE term "Heredity" has been defined in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as "the resemblance between an organism and its ancestors in so far as this resemblance is not due to similarity of environment." That is, Heredity is the resemblance between an organism and its ancestors due to qualities and characteristics acquired through protoplasmic continuity in the birth of the organism.

As applied to human beings the term may be conveniently divided into Physical or Inborn Heredity and Social Heredity. Physical Heredity includes well-marked Mendelian inheritance and other physical characters, acquired through birth. The size and form of the body, the texture of the skin, the colour of the eye, the functioning power of the vital organs and its effects on the character of an individual are all the result of Physical Heredity. It is static and almost fixed and cannot be easily changed, for it has been transmitted through a million years of evolution in human beings just as in other lower animals and in plants. Very slow change can only be produced in the elements of this inborn heredity in human beings in the manner in which it is attempted to be produced in animals and plants by breeders.

But by far the most important part of a man's make-up comes to him through the instrumentality of Social Heredity which means social and family culture. This term refers to methods by which one generation imposes upon the minds of the generation under its immediate control, the superstitions, beliefs, legends and ideas which it, in turn, inherited from the generation preceding.

Our conceptions of religion, politics, economics, philosophy and all other subjects with which we are concerned in our individual, family and social life are solely the results of the most powerful forces of environment and early training.

The inheritance transmitted through social heredity to different nations is very complex and depends to a great extent on geographical, religious, economic and material causes of many kinds. Like an individual, as a society advances in evolution, the gains of progress are accumulated and transmitted from generation to generation by social heredity. Beyond this point the mechanism of social heredity does not, in any way, resemble the mechanism of inborn heredity of an individual. The gains of progress of inborn heredity of

an individual are held and transmitted to him at birth and exists in his body as it has come down from the past. But the gains of progress of social heredity are accumulated in the society through social culture which comes down from the past. They are outside of the body of the individual at its birth. In every generation the child has to acquire the social culture, with a clean slate, from without. It is imposed upon him by the Society.

Let us now proceed to analyse the social heredity of the present-day middle-class Bengalis. From their infancy our children begin to see the colossal misuse of time and energy. Laziness of body and mind is the main characteristic of our people. This kind of physical and mental inactivity gradually grows out of frustration which is caused by general unemployment due to economic causes. Institutions of different kinds consisting of schools, colleges and training centres in all the branches of knowledge always grow, in our State in absence of definite plans for the expansion of suitable avenues of employment, and young people who acquire degrees, diplomas or training certificates in those centres of learning soon find themselves faced with economic bankruptcy. This economic miserableness initiates a mental attitude due to which we soon begin to form the habit of depending on a so-called all-powerful imaginary and supernatural power commonly called "Fate" about which we begin to hear from a very tender age when the mind remains in a plastic state and read so much in literature of all times and of all countries. The oft-quoted expression "Who will turn the stream of destiny" spreads its magical influence over our mental faculties and often discourages us from taking initiatives in new fields of activity for the fulfilment of an ambition, for we are never taught that we are spinning every day our own fate, good or evil, by our own thoughts and actions.

Thinking in this line brings in its wake the habit of expecting something and indeed substantial something without doing anything for its acquisition which makes us altogether forget the universal rule that if we desire to have a thing we must pay the proper price for it. We begin to play the game of chance in all the spheres of action neglecting the universal truth that speculation always swallows more of its victims than it enriches. We generally hope that we will get abundance by a single turn of our so-called wheel of

fortune without caring to know that the wheel generally stops at a wrong place pushing its victims towards misery, want and disaster.

If we look at our educational institutions we observe that our boys and girls are taught from even the elementary classes, how to pass the different examinations by short-cut ways. As a result, these future hopes of the people are moulded in such a way that they generally become indolent and avoid to exert themselves to the full extent, in every sort of work. This is why they are converted into hopeless failures in their future life.

This expectation of getting something for nothing often prompts us to take dishonest and illegal means in different walks of life. It creates in our character negligence to discharge our duties and a hankering to earn money and secure a position of distinction by cheating others by way of black-marketing, excessive profit-taking and thousand other grossly unfair and anti-social means in trade, industry and commerce. Although the desire to accumulate money and property is to a certain extent a universal instinct yet this greed for money born out of selfishness and want of character has been aggravated by the second World War and big people of our country are taking all means, fair or foul, to amass wealth through ruthless exploitation of the masses. We see adulteration in food, drugs and other essential commodities of everyday life on a gigantic scale by all sorts of people.

Although the geographical position and atmospheric condition of our country enervate us to a certain extent in our daily endeavours, yet due to a dark economic future and disorganised social conditions we have developed a remarkable antipathy against arduous work. We do not feel any enthusiasm for any work or training to qualify ourselves for any job or profession and when we get a chance we cannot show any superior efficiency.

In the absence of a suitable occupation of our choice, time hangs heavily on us and negativeness and obstructiveness gradually but secretly establish their seat in our mind. We spend our time uselessly in talks and discussions concerning subjects which do not in any way come to our help in our respective field of activity. In order to create an alibi to minimise and hide our own guilt for our inactivity and want of effort in the proper line for the attainment of success, we engage ourselves in destructive criticisms of others, and put the blame for our failure on others' shoulders. We often challenge others to engage us in useless arguments about subjects which have no connection with our definite aim or object. This habit of whiling away time by destructive criticisms and finding faults of others without the slightest idea of constructive work may be observed clearly in gatherings of highly educated and cultured persons.

Want of occupation in the fields of our choice and

a constant fear of poverty which always exists in our subconscious mind, also produce a kind of vacuum in our conscious mind and gradually develop in it a preference for easy-going life and a hankering for that sort of pleasure which can be enjoyed without the slightest exertion on our part.

For the last few centuries our people were debarred from taking the military line as profession. This is why the essence of discipline has completely evaporated away from our mind and we have altogether forgot its blessings. Self-control which is nothing but control of thoughts and actions, and subordination of individual interests to collective interest are the two healthy fruits of discipline and so its absence in our every-day life has developed in our character a sense of strong individualism for which we cannot work collectively with superior efficiency in any corporate body. This is why there are want of personality and leadership and the overnight growing, like mushrooms, of so many parties in the State. Want of personality, selfishness, greed, dishonesty, corruption and subordination of collective interest to individual interest are the causes for the failures of joint-stock companies, banks and other sorts of big business amongst our people.

Nepotism is another weakness in our character. Lack of self-control produces a sort of softness in our character. Tender-heartedness, subordination of collective interest to individual interest and expectation of something for nothing are all blended together and give rise to nepotism, which is universally practised in different fields of activities at the expense of individual efficiency. Thus more efficient and energetic persons seldom find any chance to show their superior qualities for which the country suffers in the end.

Due to the geographical situation of the State of West Bengal and the easy-going way of our living we are by nature highly sentimental. But our emotion is comparatively short-lived like the fire in a heap of dry straw which dies down in no time. This is due to our want of self-control. When we are charged with an emotion we cannot control our feeling and transmute it into creative energy which may produce healthy results beneficial to us or to the people as a whole. So it dies a natural death within a short time leaving in its tail exhaustion of the body and the mind.

Let us now proceed to see whether it is possible to change this Social Heredity of ours within a short period of time, say, within one or two generations. Social Heredity was for the first time changed in Germany during the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Then it was changed in Japan, Soviet Russia and Italy. It is now being done in the People's Republic of China. The method is the same everywhere. It is the instrument of the "Emotion of the Ideal." It is the creation and transmission, as part of the collective heredity, of that psychic element which consists of ideas and idealisms

that rest on emotion and are conveyed to the young under the influence of psychic emotion through the medium of educational institutions, specially primary and secondary schools, religious institutions and festivities and the public press. This psychic emotion is the most powerful of all the elements in the Collective Heredity. The social progress rests on it.

The first remarkable feature of the emotion of the ideal is that it is a state of mind which is highly developed in the child for deep physiological reasons. The extraordinary intensity of the emotion of the ideal in the mind of the child and the part which this faculty plays in creating that capacity for sacrifice upon which progress of social evolution rests, must always be kept in view. It is the basal fact in the science of social heredity. The effect of training and example under the influence of the emotion of the ideal on the mind of the child is absolutely ineradicable. It coins a permanent impression on the character of the child which can never be effaced. It produces in the individual a *capacity for sacrifice* in the realisation of ideals which rises above self-interest and is entirely independent of the reasoning faculty of human mind and inborn heredity of the individual. This spirit of sacrifice has its spring and origin mainly in the collective heredity imposed upon the young through the emotion of the ideal powerfully awakened by teaching and example in the mind of the child which is in a plastic condition and which gradually grows harder with age.

It has already been mentioned that Germany for the first time created a history by changing the entire social heredity within a generation. The seat and centre of the vast experiment throughout the whole period of its performance are in the mind of the young. It was the German educational system which created the psychology of the whole nation. The grand achievement was acquired in the main through the initiatives of two persons—Adalbert Falk, the Prussian Minister of Education up to 1879 and Emperor Wilhelm II. Although in most of the countries, leaders of great national movements generally come from amongst the intellectuals who become prominent in various national activities, in Germany the *Teachers of Elementary Schools* were chosen first, by the State, in its attempt to create the idealisms of German nationalism and to impose them on the young. After the teachers of the elementary schools, the State looked to the teachers of higher schools and then to University professoriate. Not a single branch of the whole educational system of the country was in the least neglected. Teachers of all categories were not only adequately paid but also an atmosphere was created throughout the country due to which they were looked upon as persons of honour and distinction.

Soon after his accession to the throne, the Emperor addressed the teachers of the elementary and higher

schools of his kingdom and placed before them the national ideals and the necessity of concentrating the mind of the young on these ideals through the scheme of education which was imposed on the entire nation immediately afterwards. In the address and in the scheme, the ideals of subordination of individual interest to national interest, of self-sacrifice and of duties, occupied the most prominent place. The spirit of this speech and of the measures that followed it, was carried out afterwards into every detail of education by the whole organised power of the State. The national ideals were continuously impressed by teachers on the mind of the young of the whole nation from the earliest age, touching the springs of mind at its deepest psychological centres. The continuous note of the necessity for sacrifice, duty, discipline, devotion and iron obedience in the service of national ideals through the constant support and co-operation of the educated classes, completely changed the mental horizon of the rising generations of the whole nation within a comparatively short period of time.

In addition to work through educational institutions the State of Germany oriented the public opinion through all the spiritual and temporal departments, through the bureaucracy, through the military departments, through the State direction of the press and of the entire trade and industry of the nation so as to bring the idealism of the whole nation to a conception of and to a support of the national policy of Germany.

Through exactly the same agencies, Japan forced upon the mind of her young, the ideal of subordination of individual rights for the sake of national interest and power and within a single generation advanced from her lowly position of a fourth-rate nation to the rank of a first-grade nation. The fire-works of national power acquired through the metamorphism of her social heredity were exhibited by the tiny islanders during the second World War which ultimately became one of the causes of the liquidation of the mighty British Empire.

The same method was adopted in Russia by the Soviet Government after the Bolsheviks seized power through the October Revolution of 1917. Orders for printing 20,000,000 books in Russian language mainly for children, were placed on behalf of the Soviet Government in Germany which supplied the books at a rate less than the actual cost. Russia grew an army of soldiers who supported to a man, whatever ideals the Soviet Government set up. The press was completely controlled. Religious institutions were abolished from the country, persons holding different ideology, were liquidated, put into concentration camps or exiled. As a result, homogeneity in social heredity has been established amongst the greater majority of different peoples of U.S.S.R. within a very short time.

Before we proceed to deal with the actual steps

which should be taken to alter the entire social heredity of our people it will be very helpful, if a very important historical fact is discussed here. From the very inception of the National Congress, leaders preached the necessity of establishing Hindu-Muslim Unity, which was rightly considered as the most powerful instrument for the attainment of national freedom, in Congress Sessions and in numerous other mammoth meetings of adult persons. But as it was not possible for our leaders to adopt scientific methods as was adopted in Kaiser's Germany, the effect on the entire population was only temporary. It could not eradicate communalism from the country and establish complete harmony amongst Hindus and Muslims and as a result the country has been ultimately divided. At present our leaders are again trying to follow the same erroneous method of destroying communalism in the country and establishing unity amongst the entire population. Our Hon'ble Premier, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, in his recent election campaign all over the country delivered lectures on various platforms on the removal of communalism. The result is known to all. The Hon'ble Premier himself will perhaps confess in the secret of his heart that his endeavours have not produced the desired result. Under the existing conditions our State can not become completely secular, unless our social heredity is changed in the right line.

If we really desire to change our social heredity so as to make progress in social evolution we must employ the same agencies. The entire structure of the educational system must be oriented in the same manner as was done in Germany, Japan and Russia. Education is only a means to an end. So an ideal should be set up in a crystal-clear form and the entire machinery of education should be harnessed by the State in such a manner that the ideal should be infused into the heart of the children of the soil from the very beginning of their life, through the instrument of emotion of the ideal.

Due to a Himalayan error the top-ranking leaders of the country who are managing the affairs of the State have blindly relegated education to an unimportant position amongst other affairs of the State and only an insignificant fraction of the total revenue of the State (about 9 per cent) is being spent on education on the ground of paucity of fund while a huge amount of money is becoming available for other purposes. The teachers engaged in Primary, Secondary and Collegiate education are being kept in a perpetual state of poverty and starvation for which they are generally looked upon as objects of pity. They, in their turn, hard pressed by poverty, lose all interests in their life and cannot pay their full attention to the cause of education. As their mind always remain filled with discontentment they lend their influence in creating discontentment amongst the public over whom

they have tremendous influence. This state of affairs must be changed without delay.

The education policy of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany should be followed in toto immediately. The education of the young ones of the State should be given the first preference. About 25 per cent of the total revenue of the State should be set aside for Primary, Secondary and Collegiate education under all circumstances, however unfavourable they may be.

A man of imagination and open-mindedness and of enormous capacity to work should be selected as the minister of education. In the ministry of education a high-power committee should be created, the members of which must be nationalists in the first place. They should be men of imagination and of scientific and co-operating temperament who will prepare and control the entire scheme of education of the State. The Directorate of Public Instruction should be reorganised and extended. Capable men of unadulterated nationalist views should be placed in every key position of the department who will check and control their respective spheres of action.

The teachers of all denominations should be carefully selected from amongst persons who hold nationalist views and to whom any sacrifice for national cause is not too great. Without any distinction they should be most adequately paid and honoured in the State so that the best products of national education may be allured to take to teaching as profession. The heads of the educational institutions of all grades must be persons of good administrative ability. They must possess qualities of leadership so that their subordinates may work in harmony under them. They should always keep in view their foremost duty of putting into practice the national policy of the State according to the co-ordinated plan.

From the very beginning attempts should be made to select the teachers of the Primary schools from amongst women. At present it may not be possible to get all the teachers of primary schools from amongst the fair sex. But gradually the male teachers should be replaced by female teachers. It has been previously mentioned that the Emotion of the Ideal is the most powerful of all the elements in social heredity. We should always bear in mind that it is through the emotion of the ideal and through this cause alone the collective will can be directed and concentrated over long periods of time to definite ends. It is through emotion only that the present can be subordinated to the future and the organised will of a people can be transmitted from one generation to the next through the young. It is through the emotion of the ideal that any organised will of a people becomes possible of achievement and this in an incredibly brief period of time. It is in the "woman" and not in the fighting man that we must seek for the centre of power which may be utilized in employing

the instrument of the emotion of the ideal. The driving principle of woman's nature by purely physiological necessity, has ever been, at all its highest levels, the subjugation of the present with all its commanding demands to a meaning beyond herself and beyond all visible interests in the present. By reason of her functional, racial and evolutionary history she is a creature to whom "Race is more than the individual and future is greater than the present" (Schopenhauer). So the effect of the emotion of the ideal transmitted to the young of the rising generation by the woman is tremendous which can never afterwards be entirely effaced from the character of the individual. It is greater, deeper and more enduring than the effects of any system whatsoever, of subsequent education. But when it is combined with the effects of Secondary and Collegiate education, it becomes the most powerful element in the formation of character, giving after-results, in the individual, which cannot be attained by any other method.

In order to create an ideal of national education in a limited way a Residential University should be immediately established in the State of West Bengal which will have under it, all kinds of institutions beginning from primary schools and ending in research institutions. All the employees and the scholars must reside in the premises of the University.

In addition to the Residential University, the State should also establish an ideal, residential primary school and a secondary school in every big town and a residential college in each divisional headquarters.

Let us now proceed to see how private enterprise may help the State in changing the social heredity of the people through education. Like Irish Hospitals' Trust, a "West Bengal Education Trust" should be created with persons enjoying public confidence. They should be carefully selected from different professions. The Trust will have to function in two lines.

Firstly, they are to collect donations from suitable rich people by appealing to their heart in the right way. For the cause of national education, money will not only be available but will be available in plenty if proper personnel of the trust is selected. Secondly, the trust should run sweepstakes thrice or four times in the year in the manner of Irish Hospitals' Sweepstake. By the second method alone, the trust may collect at least rupees ten lakhs in a year. By these two methods the trust will have at its disposal suffi-

cient money to manage an ideal residential educational institution in or in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, the want for which is being felt by the middle and upper-middle class people for a long time.

The second agency which exerts a tremendous influence on the formation of character of a people is the public press. Healthy criticism is essential in a democratic State. But only obstructive and destructive suggestions always bring harm. This kind of press activity should be stopped by all means. Under the present Indian constitution it is not possible to control the press to the fullest extent. But if the Ministry of Information is formed with efficient persons and the "Directorate of Public Information" is reconstructed in the proper line, there is possibility to control the press in a suitable way after respecting the fundamental rights of the press as given by the law of the country. In this way a healthy public opinion may be created through press which will help the progress of the people in the desired line.

For a very long time religious practices and festivities have taken the place of true religion amongst the members of the majority community of the State but our every-day life bears no consistency with the principles of these socio-religious functions. We have altogether forgotten the teachings of the *Gita* and the *Upanishad*. Elaborate arrangements should be made to educate the public with the fundamental teachings of the *Gita* and the *Upanishad* which are helpful in the development of national character. The *Sarbojanin* celebrations should be oriented in the proper line which will increase the organising capacity of the individuals and bring about integration and strength to the people.

In the modern age, the cinemas have been developed into a great source of power in colouring the character of a nation. The State should have control over the film industry of the country. The producers should be advised to produce films which will help in carrying out the national policy of the State.

All the agencies which are essential in building the social heredity of a nation have thus been discussed to a certain extent. If all these agencies are co-ordinated in a comprehensive scheme, an irresistible power will be generated which will mould the character of the people of our State within a short interval of time.

APPRAISING AND EVALUATING MODERN PAINTING

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

As a phase of contemporary culture or culture in the making it is a responsible national duty to take stock and evaluate the expressions of modern artists as symptoms of the normality or abnormality of the pulse of the national life and the modes of the revelations of representative dynamic elements in society. Unfortunately, we are so much obsessed by our habit of concentrating on the happenings in our political life that we pay very little attention to happenings in the psycho-social spheres in the formulations and expressions of our cultural life. Yet the happenings in cultural life are of more serious and sometimes, of more permanent consequence than many incidents in the world of politics. The expressions of cultural life fall into three distinct divisions of Literature, Music and the Visual Arts. The daily output of books put forward by our enterprising publishers (alas! they are too few now-days) are systematically reviewed by competent critics in the pages of our dailies, monthlies, and weeklies and the appearance of significant literary works, be it poetry, philosophy, history or belles lettres, receive in the hands of serious critics, competent analysis and appraisal.

In the sphere of music our musical conference and musical competitions and the outpouring of the Radio are dissected and appraised by our musical critics. In the sphere of the visual arts, the products of our pictorial artists and sculptors do not receive the same systematic attention and competent criticism as the products in other fields of culture. As a rule, in India, the number of persons who take interest in the visual arts are very few, and do not include our literary men whose outlook is invariably confined to the products of printed matters and who, by a pernicious habit and custom developed in Indian life, avoid and even boycott the exhibitions of pictures. During the last few years, a number of Indian artists have been attempting by means of one-man shows to thrust their products on the attention of the meagre world of the art-public, that is, to say, a few handful of sensitive men and women who like pictures truly so-called and who relish the thrills and spiritual elations which good pictures can give, outside the incessant importunities of the machine-made abominations of our cinemas, which are corrupting our normal capacity to enjoy, appreciate and appraise the qualities of the works of the genuine makers of pictures. In other civilized countries in Europe—and particularly in America—there are important collections of masterpieces of painting and sculpture assembled by expert historians and critics of art who provide for the visual and spiritual education of the citizens and keep alive and

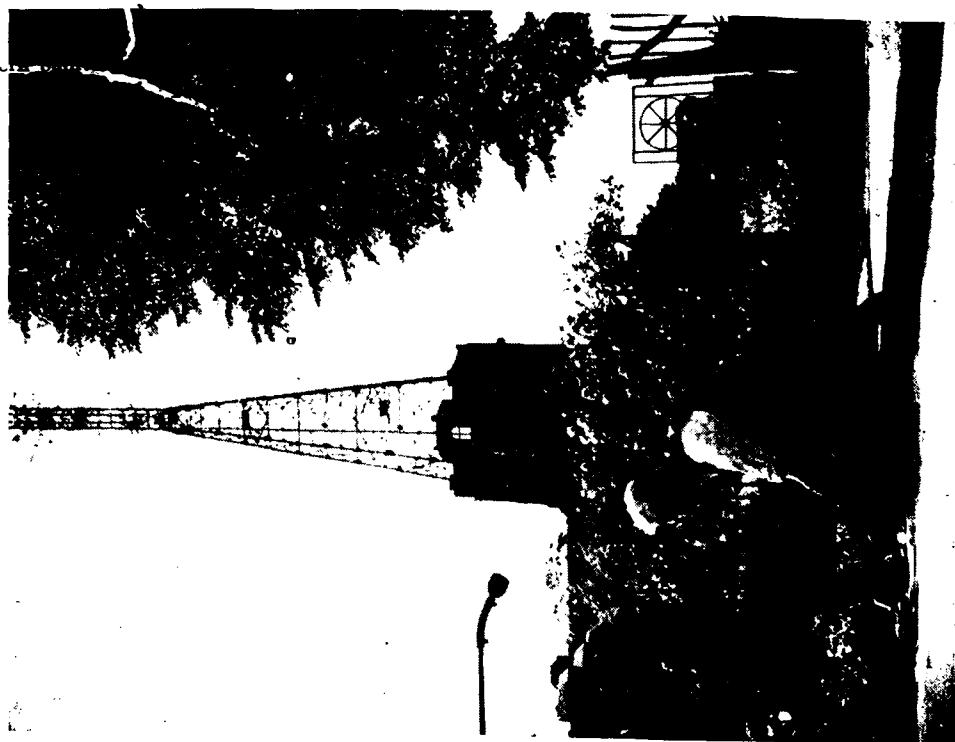
improve the powers of appreciation of the general public and turn them into discriminative judges and patrons of the best phases of contemporary art.

We have in India a number of public galleries of art and museums of antiquarian exhibits, badly chosen and badly exhibited, which do not help our aesthetic education, nor stimulate our hunger for beauty, nor induce us to love pictures as essential part of our civic virtues.

As remarked above, recently, there has come into our public life an artificial stimulus to turn our attention to Art by the incessant invitations of individual modern painters, anxious to make a living by selling pictures, for which alas! the patrons are too few. In Calcutta, Bombay and New Delhi, there have been numerous one-man shows of various talented artists trying to develop their genius in an atmosphere of cold neglect on the part of our educated citizens. Sometimes, these one-man exhibitions receive the reviews of competent and unbiased critics but as most of our dailies do not care to commission competent experts to appraise these exhibitions, the exhibitors are driven by the necessity of publicity and propaganda to seek the aids of friendly volunteers to provide a booming write-up and get it published by some accommodating editor who is glad to be relieved of an embarrassing duty to go to an expert valuer to write a competent review. The more responsible editors do not act upon the inspired praises of the friends of the exhibiting artist, and commission competent critics, generally attached to their staff. Except in these rare cases, the general public is misled into accepting the works of every charlatan on the valuation of an inspired review, cooked up by a willing friend of the exhibitor. As a rule, the reviews of our art exhibitions do not provide a competent guide to the lay public to develop correct appreciation of the achievements of our contemporary artists, as many talented artists fail to win an impartial evaluation of their talents while many incompetent dabblers in paint by means of manipulative publicity leap into an ill-deserved heaven of fame. Even with the best of luck the real man of talent cannot secure a cool, well-considered appraisal of his works in the hurried newspaper reviews, which must be published the next morning after the show, for the sake of an urgent publicity and advertisement.

There is, therefore, a pressing necessity if not a demand, for the publication of individual monographs and albums presenting the products of our contemporary artists for a leisurely and responsible appraisal of their contribution to our modern culture.





A special demonstration garden is maintained by the B.B.C. for British Television viewers, where Fred Street, the famous gardener, is seen hard at work



The Crown Prince of Jordan, Prince Hussein, recording a talk to be broadcast in the B.B.C. Eastern Service

FOOD FACTS—AN ANALYSIS

297

including many charming examples of etchings and drawings of Mukul Dey of which the most charming are *Gandhi's Hut at Sevagram, Harvest, Time and On the Ganges.*

On a different footing stands the fascinating Album of *Six Paintings* of Bhabani Charan Gue, Art-tutor of the Mayo College of Art, Ajmer (published by International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Six colour plates, two pages of letter-press, price Rs. 10). The album is introduced by Bireswar Sen of Lucknow Government Art School and foreworded by Frank Brangwyn "who is happy to see that there are still artists in India who keep alive the noble traditions of the art of their country, as there is far too much of the influence of European art showing in the many artists of the East." The six examples chosen are very charmingly reproduced in colour, and tastefully presented on mounting boards with plenty of margins they will help to popularize the work of this artist though the collection does not include his latest and more mature works. *The Birth of Lakshmi*, a charming

masterpiece, had made his reputation in a day. It is hoped that he will publish in later albums other and more maturer presentations of Indian mythology which is now generally avoided by our Indian artists obsessed by the latest "isms" imported from the West. In this connection we should like to draw the attention of artists and critics to the last words of Acharya Abanindranath Tagore quoted in the Government album cited above: "It is a pity that Indian Art did not continue along the line it had taken at the start and deviated a great deal; my heart aches when I think of this." As regards the beautiful album of Sri B. C. Gue it is gratifying to find that all the *Six Paintings* have found their way into the collections of connoisseurs of Rajput chieftains in Western India. This is a healthy sign in contemporary appreciation of art. For, if Indian citizens do not patronize the works of living painters, artists could not live and art could not live and help to provide spiritual stimulations in intensive and dynamic living.

—:O:—

FOOD FACTS—AN ANALYSIS

By P. C. BANSIL

It is an irony of fate that man who alone from among all the living species produces his food, is faced with the problem of food today. It looks all the more paradoxical that this problem should occur in a country like India, where more than two-thirds of the population live on land and where agricultural income constitutes as much as 50 per cent of the national income of the country. Truly speaking, agriculture in India is not merely an occupation or a profession for the people, it is a tradition—a way of life which for centuries has shaped their thought, outlook and culture.

Today India is undoubtedly in deep sea about finding enough food for her millions. Government spokesmen along with certain economists have been making us believe since 1930 that our population has gone ahead of the agricultural production. We as students of economics must, however, see for ourselves as to when precisely this problem arose and if so what was it due to.

India had a balanced economy before the advent of the British and had self-sufficient villages, 700,000 odd in number. As a result of improvement in the means of transport and foreign demand for cash crops, commercialization of agriculture took place. The alarm of any food shortage was not raised till 1930 when it was said that our food production had lagged behind

our population. It would, however, be seen from the facts as stated below that the pessimistic conclusions reached were due to the faulty data then available. Not to talk of the 30's, even today the whole of our agricultural statistics are nothing more than a guess-work; our estimates being nothing but 'guesstimates.' The Prime Minister while talking about food statistics before the conference of Food Ministers last month, said:

"I am sorry to confess it that we base it on nothing solid at all—on just guess-work, surmises. That is not good enough in a matter of vital importance."

No allowance, for instance, was made for the existence of "non-reporting" areas by eminent economists like Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee and even then the deficit calculated in terms of calories was clearly in respect of the protective foods rather than the cereals. The report of the Enquiry conducted by Sir John Megaw saying, "Only 39 per cent people were adequately nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished, and 20 per cent very badly nourished." And that of Dr. Aykroyd that, "Ninety-five per cent of the population cannot afford the balanced diet" did not and

1. *Hindustan Times*, February 20, 1952.

2. *Sir John Megaw Enquiry Report*, 1940.

3. Krishna Swami: *Rural Population in Madras*, p. 101.

From this point of view, some recent publications on modern painting deserve more than a passing notice. The large Album of Thirty Plates of works of Abanindranath Tagore (published in December, 1951, by Visva-Bharati at Rs. 25, all in colour, excepting three) is a commendable enterprise to place before lovers of art a number of the works of our greatest modern artist now almost on the verge of oblivion. It cannot be claimed that the collection includes the best masterpieces though the assemblage is, on the whole, well-chosen. The works of this artist are notoriously difficult to reproduce except through the most expensive and perfect processes of reproductions, so that one cannot complain that most of the reproductions do not convey the flavour of the originals. Of the colour plates in ordinary three-colour process (current in Calcutta) *Ganesh-Janani* (6), *Dream of Shah Jahan* (7), *Tisarakshita* (8), *Kajri* (11), *Uma* (16), are the least successful, while *Omar Khayyam* (6), *End of the Journey* (12), *Ghidi on the Seashore* (13), *Gandhi and Tagore* (17), *Huon Tsang* (18), *Dream of Freedom* (23), and *Monkey and Goat* (24), are on the whole, successful presentations of the originals. We may judge of the quality of the reproductions if we compare the present version of *Tisarakshita* (8) with the chromo-colotype facsimile published by the Indian Society of Oriental Art several years ago. Many will be grateful for inclusion of the great masterpiece *The Eyes Take to Wings* (15) of which the original is now lost. Considering the fact that most of the plates are reprints of existing blocks the price is a little too high. Nevertheless this edition, limited to 60 copies, should find immediate buyers as the works of the artist are practically inaccessible to the present generation of scholars and students. The publication is timely and should revive interest in the works of a great artist to whom the nation still owes a worthy memorial.

A much more laudable and planned effort to present *Abanindranath Tagore and His Early Works* has been issued by the Art Section of the Indian Museum (April 30, 1951) presenting a series of 13 pictures all in the Museum collection, edited by the Principal of the Government School of Art, together with some critical essays contributed by Nandalal Bose, O. C. Ganguly, Stella Kramrisch and Benod Bihari Mukherjee and with accurate descriptive notes for each picture (price Rs. 15 in tassar cover, Rs. 13 in paper cover). Here also the colour plates made by Sree Saraswati Press, cannot claim to be perfect copies though at least four of the group, viz., *Abhisarika* (I), *The Traveller* (IV), *Rukmini* (V), *Siddhas* (VI) and *Upper Air* (VIII), are charming and fascinating in spite of their imperfections. It is a pity that the processes of reproductions generally current in India have not reached the standard of rendering accurate facsimiles of originals so as to stimulate art education in our schools and colleges and to afford facilities for art

appreciation through cheap but accurate reproduction of the best masterpieces of Indian national art. Very commendable efforts were made by the Indian Society of Oriental Art many years ago to present reproductions of modern paintings through the finest medium of the Japanese colour wood-blocks and colour collotypes made in England. From this point of view the remarkably accurate colour reproductions of *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (1923), issued by the present reviewer, are unapproachable in quality and accuracy. As things stand as present, even a happy monotone reproduction is much more preferable than the clumsy caricatures of our best tricolour printings.

Happily the enterprise of presenting the works of contemporary painters is not now confined to Bengal, as other provinces have started these commendable studies of the works of our artists. Messrs. Dhoomimull Dharamchand, a Delhi publisher, has issued several beautiful albums of modern painters with commendable self-sacrifice which were reviewed in *The Modern Review* (May 1932, p. 405). And now comes a very reverent tribute to Abanindranath Tagore from Benares by the first citizen of the great city, Rai Govinda Chandra (published by Thacker Spink, Calcutta in December, 1951 and printed by Kashi Mudralaya, Benares, with 8 colour plates and 33 monotone reproductions, price Rs. 18). In a small volume of 90 pages, the author has given a very detailed presentation of the life of the artist and his activities in various phases of life and art. When the resources of Calcutta have failed to present Abanindranath's worthy reproductions, it is unreasonable to expect a provincial city to produce a better result. But we are grateful to the author not only for his sincere tribute but for the many new and hitherto unpublished early sketches of the artist which will provide valuable data for the study of the unfoldment of the artist's talent from early beginnings. But the author has also given us an illuminating and original criticism of the artist's works which more than compensate for the poverty of the reproductions.

But the most significant feature of this volume lies in the fact that it comes from the pen of the Chairman of the Municipal Board of Benares. We should like to see our own city-fathers take the same serious interest in Art as this enthusiastic citizen and art-collector of a provincial city. We should like this book to be in every library in India as a commendable monument to good citizenship in Free India.

From the same author comes another publication devoted to the works of Sri Mukul Dey's Art (published by Kashi Mudralaya, Biseswarganj, Benares, 23 illustrations, 13 pages, price Rs. 2, December, 1950). Though less ambitious in its scope than his tribute to A. N. Tagore, this booklet in its stimulating letter-press offers significant evidence of the original powers and connoisseurship of the author, the illustrations



Bala-Krishna



Two Sisters

could not apply in the quantitative aspect. These or any other such reports had, if at all, only qualitative meaning behind them.

Permanent under-feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30 per cent of the population do not get enough to eat, while a much larger section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a preponderance of cereals, sugar, root vegetables, and insufficient "protective foods" of higher nutritive value. Intake of milk, pulses, meat, fish, vegetables and fruits is generally insufficient, which leads to ill health, disease and high mortality in India among the "vulnerable group" including infants, children, pregnant and nursing mothers, factory workers and school boys.

FOOD SITUATION IN INDIA

The analysis made by Dr. Thomas⁴ clearly shows that during the 30 years (1900-30) population increased only by 19 per cent while agricultural production increased by 29 per cent.

Without attaching much weight to these calculations, even a formal study of the situation then prevailing goes to prove that there was no shortage of cereals. In the presence of a world glut of wheat, other countries like Australia had embarked on far-reaching schemes of helping and subsidising the farmers to sell their wheat in foreign markets. Australian wheat was cheaper at Calcutta and the Punjab wheat was rotting at Lyalpur simply because it was dearer when transported to Calcutta. Even though a wheat import duty of Rs. 2 per maund had already been levied in March 31.⁵ Again, the results of various diet survey reports⁷ indicating that throughout the country, the food of the rich as well as the poor predominated in cereals, the recommendations of the Crop Planning Sub-Committee,⁸ 1934, calling for a halt to further expansion of rice cultivation; and continued export of wheat to the tune of 2.2 lakh tons is more than sufficient to prove that there was no real shortage at that time; this idea was based either on wrong or imaginary notions or still better, it was a piece of British propaganda.

In 1937 came the separation of Burma, as a result of the Government of India Act of 1935. It is contended that our rice imports increased after the separation. The available statistics however belie the statement. The average of our total rice imports for the 5 years ending 1937-38 was 1.96⁹ million tons,

Burma supplying as much as 1.2 million tons. The total imports for 1938-39 stand at 1.56 million tons. This fall in the import coupled with the rise in export from .24 to .31 million tons is a clear indication of the fact that the supply of rice from Burma in the pre-1937 days was due to the fact that Burma was a part of India, Burma rice was cheaper¹⁰ when landed in India than the Punjab or the U.P. rice and Burma rice was specially suited for certain dishes like *khichari*. The fall in the import immediately after separation even though the home production¹¹ of rice in 1933-39 was 1.2 million tons less than 1936-37, shows clearly that efforts were made to readjust the demand by internal arrangements. A study of the total home production and net import of rice for the decade 1930-40 would reveal that the latter had no relation whatsoever with the former. If the supplies from Burma were required to meet the deficit in India, they should have increased in the years when there was a decrease in the home production and *vice versa*. This was, however, not so. The increase or decrease in the Burma supplies responded to the decrease or increase of rice prices in Burma. Burma imports had further been completely stopped by 1942, when it was occupied by the Japs, and there was no food crisis in the country.

It has been accepted by all that even the Bengal Famine was due mostly to the mal-adjustment rather than any real shortage and failure of crops in that year. Provincial barriers immediately before the Bengal Famine had in the words of the Bengal Famine Commission created real "food republics" throughout India and as concluded by the Food-grains Policy Committee, 1948, "The food position worsened after the fall of Burma due to the serious shortage of transport, unsettlement and alarm over large areas." Even the organizers of the 'Grow More Food Campaign' in 1943 were fearing a glut and hence low prices. That is the reason why serious efforts were not made to give a stimulus to the production at home. Food exports, on the other hand, were allowed to be continued up to the end of the war; the figure for the export of rice for the period—April to November, 1946—being 42,860¹² tons.

During his study of the problem of agriculture and nutrition in 1946, Sir Feroze Khareghat, the then Vice-Chairman, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, illustrated fully well that before partition, India had available with her 55.5 million tons of cereals against 48 million tons required for the whole of the population,¹³ giving a surplus of about 7.5 million tons.

10. *Agricultural Marketing in India—Report on the Marketing of Rice in India and Burma* (1945), p. 198.

11. *Adopted from Crops Planning Production* (N.P.C. Series), p. 38.

12. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

13. *Indian Farming*, Special Number, 1946, p. 106. The require-

August, 1947, witnessed the greatest cataclysm—the partition. With the existing food position in 1946 as given above, this otherwise unhappy episode, should not have put our food economy out of gear to the extent shown by the protagonists of the shortage school, notwithstanding the fact that it deprived us of the agricultural land of the Punjab and Sindh. We had in the United India about 219 million acres of land under food crops and were left with about 177.9 million acres which comes to about 81 per cent of the total area under food crops.¹⁴ Against this out of a total of about 417 million of people, we were required to feed about 337 million, i.e., about 80.8¹⁵ per cent. There should not therefore have been any point or question of alarm about our food position; the percentage of the area under the food crops being a little more than that of the population. The position would become more clear if we study the grain trade in the United India. "Sindh used to supply rice to the provinces in India to the extent of 1.5 lakh tons. Punjab and Sindh used to supply wheat to the deficit provinces of India to the extent of 5 to 7 lakh tons a year. Pakistan has (today) a surplus of 5 to 7 hundred thousand tons of wheat.¹⁶ If Pakistan today cannot afford to spare more than 5 to 7 lakh tons of food-grains, we can safely presume that the maximum loss that India suffered could at the most amount to a few lakh tons. Much is made out of the loss that India suffered in respect of the irrigated area of which her share was about 75 per cent of the total. Against this one should not forget that 91.4¹⁷ per cent of Pakistan's population is rural whose cereal requirements are 25 per cent more than the urban. The rural population in India as every one is aware of is estimated only at 70 per cent. It would thus be seen that even after the partition, there was not any question of deficit.

Now a word about the position existing as today. The population figures by age groups are not available for the year 1951. Working on the basis of 1941 census¹⁸ and taking the average of three provinces, we find from Table I below that children below 12 formed 36 per cent of the population.

TABLE I

Name of the Province	Total in 000s.	Percentage by Age Group					
		Below 1	1 & 3	3 & 4	4 & 7	7 & 12	Total
Orissa	11746.6	1.3	5	2.9	11.6	13	
Assam	7909.2	2.8	5	3.0	13.5	13	
Bihar	36545.8	1.9	5.2	3.3	12.9	13.4	
Average of the three provinces		2	5	3	13	13	36

ments were calculated by him at the rate of 16 ozs. per day per consumption unit.

14. *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in Undivided India* (1936-37 to 1945-46).

15. C. N. Vakil : *Economic Consequences of Divided India*, p. 69.

16. Dr. K. K. Sharma : *Evolution of Indian Economy*, p. 109.

17. C. N. Vakil : *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

18. *Census of India*, 1941 on Y-Sample, published in 1949.

Applying the same percentage to 1951, we get the distribution between children and adults as in Table II below per hundred of the population :

TABLE II

Population Distribution

Children up to 12	Adults		Total
	Rural at the rate of 70 p.c.	Urban at the rate of 30 p.c.	
36	44	20	100

The requirements of children as laid down by the Nutrition experts for the various age groups are as given in Table III below :

TABLE III

Age groups	Ozs. per day
Below 2	0
2 to 3	1
3 to 4	2
5 to 7	4
8 to 12	6 to 10
13 to 14	10 to 12

With due regard to the fact that consumption of cereals in India is more than the normal, we may reconstitute the age groups as in Table IV below after giving a further margin in the sense that all children above 12 are considered as adults and maximum is allowed for the groups as a whole including the one of minimum age, and that a child after the age of 1 starts taking cereals.

TABLE IV

Age groups	Ozs. per day
Below 1	0
1 to 3	1
3 to 4	2
4 to 7	4
7 to 12	10

Now calculating at the rates given in Table IV for children up to the age of 12, giving 16 ounces per head to the rural and 12 ounces to the urban adults according to Table II above; presuming that all the ladies and all the old men above 50, whose percentage alone is about 9, consume as much as the young, our requirements for a population of 100 come to 11.3 tons a year. Rounding this figure again to 11.5 so that a provision is made for table wastes, etc., it would be seen that the total population of India which is 361.68 millions according to the 1951 Census would consume a little less than 42 million tons of cereals.

The estimates of cereal requirements have also been made from time to time by the various authorities on the subject. According to Dr. Baljit Singh,¹⁹ the cereal requirements for the whole of India in 1941 when the population stood at 389 million, was 46.6 million tons. Working on this basis for a population of 361.68 million, we require not more than 43.3 million tons. It should be borne in mind that Dr. Baljit

19. Lt. Col. Baghat Narain : *Nutrition*.

20. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Op. cit.*, p. 13 and p. 29.

4. Sir John Boyd Orr : *The Modern Review* for February, 1952, p. 114.

5. *Indian Journal of Economics* : Conference Number, April, 1935, p. 742.

6. Dr. A. L. Qureshi : *The Present Food Situation in India*.

7. *Report on the Results of Diet Surveys in India* (1935-48).

8. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Population and Food Planning*, p. 97.

9. Trade figures from the *Famine Enquiry Commission Report in Bengal*.

Singh had also taken into consideration the extra consumption required for marriages, etc.

Table V given below shows the requirements as worked out by Shri J. C. Kumarappa, Nutrition Advisory Committee and the Food Ministry :²¹

TABLE V
(in 000 tons)
Nutrition Advisory Committee Standard Food Ministry Nutrition Standard J. C. Kumarappa Standard

Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian	Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian	Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian
41.554	41.554	37.511	47.490	47.490	47.490

Our food requirements can again be calculated more accurately on the basis of the actual issues of food-grains in the year 1950 from the Government stocks in statutory areas. In an answer to question No. 1578 by Pandit Bhargwa, the Honourable Food Minister, Mr. Munshi, stated on February 12 that the total issue from the Government stocks during the year 1950 for statutory rationed areas whose population was 45.36 million in that year, was about 4 million tons. Population under statutory rationing may be taken as purely urban, though there are labourers whose consumption of cereals is more than others. Out of the total population of 361.68 million, we have thus 110 million (30 per cent of the whole) urban population. According to the actual off-take as given above, 110 millions of people would consume about 10 million tons. The requirements of the balance of 251.68 million rural population (giving them, of course 25 per cent more) come to nearly 27.5 million tons. The whole of India would thus require something like 38 million tons only for human consumption.

This fact is again corroborated when a smaller and compact area like Delhi is taken as a unit, where there is statutory rationing and no smuggling from outside is permitted. The black market, if any, is only from the stocks issued from the Government stores and smuggled by the dealers. The average actual off-take of cereals per fortnight in the Statutory area of Delhi including Shahdra and Mehrouli during the years 1950 and 1951 was 156,300 and 167,700 maunds respectively and the population of the area who consumed this much of the cereals was about 15 lakh during both the years.²² At the rate of issues and population given above, we find that 110 million of the urban population requires exactly the same amount of cereals as worked out in the preceding paragraph according to the data supplied by the Food

Minister. Total requirements would also be the same therefore.

Having calculated out actual requirements by the various methods, I leave it now for the reader to judge for himself as to how much we must have for human consumption. It must be emphasised here that the calculations made on the last page on the basis of the actual issues from Delhi as well as the whole of India include all sorts of wastage that we find in the cities. There cannot be any quarrel about their accuracy as every ounce of food-grains issued from the stores has to be accounted for and a daily record is maintained for the same.

Before we dismiss this issue and pass on to the next point, it would be interesting to note here that even according to Government calculations we do not require more than 42 to 43 million tons as shown above. At the earlier Food Ministers' Conference, the advance estimates of production for the year 1951-52 were made as 36.9 million tons. It was then decided that the country would be required to import 7 million tons more to feed the nation for the whole of the current year. This in simple and clear words means that it was estimated that the country could very well pull on with a total production of 44 million tons. Now when according to the revised estimates the production is said to be 46²³ million tons, it is really a pity that the Government insists on an import of 5 million tons.

That was the demand side about which there has been and still is a lot of controversy. I do anyhow hope that an impartial reader will be fully convinced from a study of the previous pages that our requirements for human consumption would not even on a liberal estimate exceed 42 to 43 million tons. As regards the supply or the production the only course open to us is to go by the figures given out by the Ministry of Food from time to time, although they have been under-estimated to a great extent as already explained in foot-note 23. As the final figures for the year 1950 are now available, it would be better to concentrate on them. This would be all the more proper because we have all along been considering the demand for the population as it existed in the beginning of 1951. In the year 1950, the amount of food-grains (including gram) produced in the country was 49.86²⁴ million tons. If we subtract from it, the amount required for purposes of seed and

21. J. C. Kumarappa : *A Note on Balanced Cultivation*, p. 19.

22. Figures obtained by courtesy from the Director, Civil Supplies, Delhi. The number of permanent, temporary and guest ration cards during the two years was as follows :

Year	Permanent	Temporary	Guest (average daily)
1950	15,01,000	67,000	1,000
1951	15,08,000	59,000	1,000

Their Statistical officer has made an elaborate study of the actual population during the two years and told me that it could not in any case be less than 15,18,000.

23. The gap between the first and the revised estimates confirms more clearly the statement made in the opening paras at page 1 about our statistics of Food. The trouble here as admitted by the authorities is that the surplus States want to hide their surplus and the deficit ones want to exaggerate their deficits, both to save themselves from the hard task of intensifying their procurement drive and thus remain popular with the peasants.

24. *Supplement to the Bulletin on Food Statistics* (January, 1951), published in August, 1951, p. 5, and *Agricultural Situation in India* (July, 1950).

wastages, etc., at 12½ per cent (the percentage accepted by the Government) we get a net production of 43.66 million tons. This should and certainly is sufficient to meet our requirements, particularly so when we take into consideration that there are a large number of people who consume huge quantities of subsidiary foods like tapioca and sweet potatoes in the South and potatoes in the North²⁵ and also there are huge tracts²⁶ of land—"non-reporting" areas—the production from which is not reflected in the All-India figures.

Objections would be raised for including gram in the total production taken in the last paragraph. Gram was excluded by the authorities from the category of cereals for the first time in the year 1950 for reasons best known to them. Every North Indian knows it well that this is the food not only of the poor, but the rich relish it all the more. The *Report on the Marketing of Gram in India* (1945) says :

"For human consumption gram is used in the form of boiled whole gram, ata, dal, baisin and parched gram. Gram ata is consumed in large quantities, usually after mixing with wheat and/or

25. The total area under tapioca in Travancore-Cachin is 6 lakh acres and in Madras about 3 to 4 lakh acres. The area under potatoes in the year 1950-51 was 1.5 million acres with a production of 1.6 million tons.

26. There are 224 million acres as 'non-reporting' areas out of a total of 781 million acres.—*Agricultural Situation in India*, Vol. V, p. 32.

barley ata, in the form of *chapatties* and is very popular in villages particularly when the price of gram is lower than that of wheat. In urban areas also, specially in North India, gram and wheat *ata chapatties* are much relished."

A study of the marketing of gram would further reveal that only a very negligible portion of the total produce in the various States is exported outside, the rest being consumed within the borders of the producing areas. There would not therefore appear to exist any justification for excluding gram from other cereals.

To summarise the ground so far covered we find that India never suffered from the shortage of food in its history. Periodic famines have no doubt been there which were mostly due to transport difficulties in the earlier periods and mismanagement at the later ones. Nobody can at the same time deny the fact that the country is facing a serious food problem for the last so many years and we have imported about 10 million tons of food-grains costing hundreds of crores of rupees during the last few years. The causes of this problem and the remedies thereof will form the subject-matter of a separate essay.

27. *Agricultural Marketing in India—Report on the Marketing of Gram in India*, p. 14. Also see *Economic Geography of Indian Republic* by Dr. R. N. Dubey, p. 93 : "Barley and gram are two other winter grain crops which rank along with wheat as staple food-grains of Northern India."

PAKISTAN—"THE STRANGE EVOLUTION OF A POLITICAL PARTY"

By ZALMAY MAHMUD*

THE partition of India on the eve of the British departure is perhaps one of the most notable events of the first half of our century. An empire rich in natural resources, offering vast cultivated areas of a sub-continent, fully developed in terms of communication and transportation, in brief, the land which with justification had been called the shining jewel of the crown, had overnight been transferred to its legitimate owners, and its destiny, whatever it may be, left for its inhabitants to decide. Events which took place during those fateful days were witnessed or watched from afar with mixed emotions. The end of the British rule was perhaps the anti-climax of decades of planning, plotting, and scheming on the part of the great powers, and the beginning of a new era. It came peacefully, peaceful that is as far as the relations of the ex-masters and subjects were concerned, to some it was a manifestation of the age of reason, to others it was the ultimate triumph of patience and persuasion. At last India was free. India for the sake of whose maintenance so many lives had been taken, so many homes ruined, and so many battles fought had peacefully bade

farewell to its late conqueror and was set to occupy its position in the free world.

A long-cherished dream had admittedly been realised, and a new era had just dawned, but the jubilation which the occasion might have deserved was killed in its bud. Hatred filled the hearts which were eagerly awaiting joy, and violence and bloodshed flared in far corners of the land. Thousands who died of wounds and starvation might have easily been called the victims of fanaticism, but the underlying causes were deep and not easily brought out to light. The dead and the dying were in fact the victims of treachery, lack of faith, and one of the most villainous schemes mankind has ever witnessed. They were the victims of a ghost hand reaching out of the grave to kill, to maim, and to punish. Fanaticism was only its vehicle.

The full story of the partition of India is somewhat beyond the logical scope of this short study.¹ Much has been written about it and more is undoubtedly forthcoming.

* This essay is by a Moslem scholar specialising in World Politics at Columbia University, New York City.

Pakistan as the leader of the Moslem World would indeed have been a handy tool at the British disposal. Through Pakistan and her leaders Britain hoped to control the policies of Moslem governments across the width of Asia and of North Africa. Under the banner of Islam that solid bloc, they hoped, would turn hostile to other Asians who did not share their faith, and would thus undermine any solidarity which might develop on that continent. One seldom fails to wonder at the consistency and scope of certain British policies. Britons are indeed a very conservative race. For decades they ruled India by playing the Moslems and the Hindus against each other, and now they plan to control not only India but also other vast expanses of Asia by perpetuating the same religious antagonism.

Our study so far establishes the fact that the partition of India was not necessitated by religious antagonism or any other consideration which might in any way be termed as beneficial to the people of the countries in question. In view of what has been said one often tends to wonder about future developments in that area, and the political set-up which may some day replace the present chaotic conditions.

It is hardly a confession of human failure to admit on any occasion that the future of any issue remains largely shrouded in an aura of mystery. Too many unforeseen and unforeseeable factors may at any moment come into play and radically modify the fate and the destiny of a nation. With such definite reservations in mind we may still attempt to catch a glimpse, furtive as it may be, of what lies ahead in order to better prepare for it. The elements of any rash estimates and prophecies are, needless to say, ruled out in such undertakings. We may, nevertheless, approach our problem by making an analysis of events, past and present, and derive our clues from any logical pattern which these may evolve.

It may be high time now to recognize the fact that India never has, and perhaps never shall consider the large areas severed from its body under the convenient pretext of religious difference as permanently alienated. Several million Indian Moslems live happily today under the banner of the new republic and we have no reason to believe that other millions now separated from it could not have done the same. India will sooner or later reclaim the territories of Sind, Punjab, and Bengal, and the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan might return to their logical orbit. The issue of Kashmir, the present source of disagreement between India and Pakistan, is perhaps only a link in a chain of events still in the making. India is fully aware of the fact that she cannot look forward to achievement of her legitimate national aspirations in her reduced form, and is not likely to forget her dreams of future greatness. A needless battle in this case has been forced upon her and should the need arise she shall stand to fight it out.

Britain even today pursues in that area the policies which in the past have won her the hatred of millions living

throughout the Eastern countries. The shipments of arms, ammunitions, and jet planes silently slipping through the port of Karachi to be used for purposes of aggression in Kashmir, and "pacification" of the Pathan borderland, are daily observed and taken into account. The policies pursued by Pakistan are actually dictated from London; the arms, logically enough, needed for their enforcement are supplied by Britain. The constant preaching of the "big Moslem brother," a reincarnation of Lawrence of Arabia, has deceived only a few gullible souls in the Moslem World, and the comical act of parading Pakistan as a bulwark against communist aggression has lately ceased even to be funny. The ceaseless flow of war materials into Pakistani seaports has at best upset the balance of power in that area, and is never likely to accomplish much more than that. Need we remind everyone that there is a balance of power to maintain among the smaller states also?

How long, one wonders, will Britain continue to remain the undaunted champion of Pakistani cause, and how much more borrowed money is the British treasury willing to pour into Pakistan? Perhaps only time and circumstances will provide us with the accurate answer. On the whole, however, as long as Pakistan remains a handy tool of Whitehall, and is ruled in accordance with best traditions of the Muslim League the British help will not cease to pour in. The goodwill of Britain on which Pakistan thrives today is thus dependent upon the latter's usefulness as a tool.

The vision of Pakistan, so dear to the heart of Whitehall, as the power through which Britain might control the Moslem World is perhaps an inspiration dictated by the facts of a world largely left behind. The days of Caliphate are as irretrievable in the modern Middle-East as the heroes of the Arabian Nights. The Middle-East of today is swiftly moving ahead on the path of Turkey, and whatever solidarity they might develop among themselves will be chiefly inspired by political motives not by religious affinities. Pakistan, one might say, has already outlived its usefulness to Britain in that particular respect.

Speculation at this point about the future of Pakistan, in so far as its ties with the British Commonwealth are concerned, is perhaps relevant to a logical conclusion of our study. A number of factors beneficial either to Britain or to Pakistan, seem to assure the permanence of the set-up as it exists today. Nothing, however, in the nature of racial, cultural, religious, and historical affinities which keep the so-called "White Dominions" attached to the crown exists between the Asiatic dominions and Britain. The overwhelming majority of the people in the former dominions are British in origin and refer to the British islands as the mother country. These are the real bonds which keep the British Commonwealth together, and in their absence the Asiatic dominions are not likely to remain permanent members of that family of nations.

HATFIELD: THE HOME OF THE CECILS

305

We must repeat here that the future always retains an element of mystery. In view of the foregoing arguments we may, nevertheless, assume that Pakistan is not likely to outlive its usefulness to Britain. Indications are clear that Pakistan has failed in a number of respects. She has failed to produce a rift between India and the Moslem countries, and has suffered set-backs in her bold attempt to gain leadership in the Moslem World. Despite the atrocities, the mass imprisonments, and secret trials the Pakistani regime has failed to subdue the Pathans of the North-West Frontier and the people of East Pakistan. In these

areas the opposition is daily gaining strength. Some day when reality emerges out of chaos, and the people of Pakistan become aware of the true foundation of their country, the leaders of the Muslim League shall have to pay the price of treason. We may then look forward to an era of peace, understanding, and true co-operation among the countries of Asia. With the disappearance of the last relics of British Imperialism from their midst, the people of Asia will have an opportunity to live peacefully and to devote their energies and resources to reconstruction of their lands and improvement of their lots.

—:O:—

HATFIELD: THE HOME OF THE CECILS

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

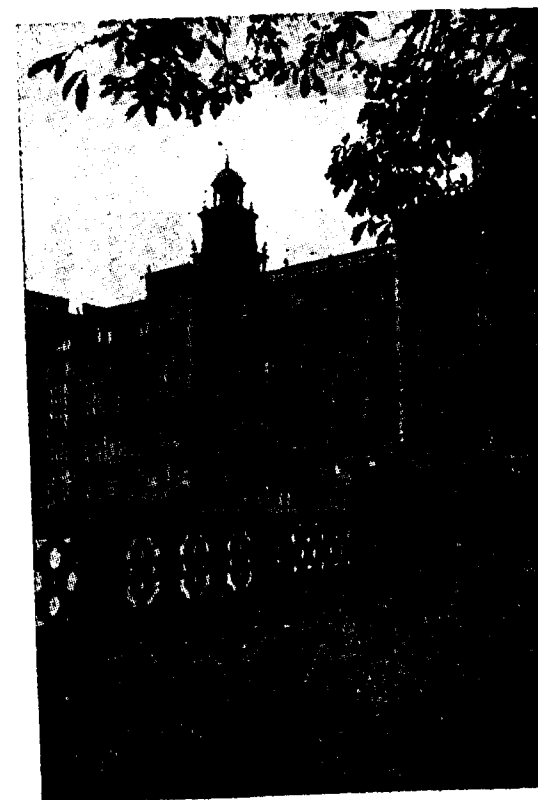
Of all the great houses in England, Hatfield surely takes pride of place. Others may seem more lovely or own as beautiful things but Hatfield is the house which sticks closest to the past. It is said that the history of the Elizabethan and Jacobean ages could be written from the records and manuscripts which are preserved there. But it is not only in the library and muniment room that history is paramount. From its site, from its origins, from its trees even, the past leaps out at the visitor from the moment he enters the gates of the Park.

It is part of the fascination of this mellow Jacobean house that it should begin life with a couple of ghosts. The ghosts, of course, are Queen Elizabeth I and Robert Cecil. Both of them pervade the place and neither of them ever lived in it. The house was built by Robert Cecil, the younger son of William Cecil (Lord Burleigh) who was Elizabeth's faithful Treasurer for nearly forty years. He began to build it in 1607—just about the time of the building of India's famous Taj Mahal—four years after the death of the Queen, and he died in 1612 just as the house was nearing completion.

Elizabeth's portraits, her gloves and her stockings and her garden hat—and for some, above all, her beautiful handwriting in the library—are the things which will always be associated with Hatfield House. But if we want to retrace her steps we must go outside. And here we come to its origins.

A few yards away from the present house is a very different kind of structure. It is a vast Tudor hall with flying buttresses and it is all that remains of the old fifteenth century Palace of Hatfield. This Palace belonged originally to the Bishops of Ely but in 1534 it was ceded to Henry VIII. He used it as a country home for his children, and Mary I, Elizabeth I and Edward VI all lived here. Elizabeth and Edward were

especially attached to the place and to each other. Both were precocious children of the Renaissance and



Hatfield House. The North Front.

it is recorded of them while at Hatfield that 'they desired to look upon books as soon as the day began.' Poor Edward VI! He was only ten years old when

History alone shall be the final judge of its merits, or lack of them, and its verdicts take time to formalize. Only time may reveal the secret agreements and expose the contents of files carefully hidden in the inner sanctums of the foreign offices. Certain issues, however, need not await the verdict of history. Their defects, their wretchedness, and their utter disregard of justice speak loudly for themselves. The world may choose to disregard them or to turn a deaf ear to their clamor for a while, but the question is for how long? The partition of India solely based on religious considerations gave rise to a number of such issues.

The creation of Pakistan and its emergence as an "independent" nation bears the ugliest earmarks of certain old and outmoded policies of the British empire builders. India was divided in two parts, and the newly created state of Pakistan was given to include territories carved out of India proper as well as areas forcibly severed from Afghanistan in a not distant past. The consent and willingness of the millions inhabiting these territories in throwing their lots with the new Moslem state were not even questioned. Britain had decided to leave a divided India behind, and the leaders of the Muslim League were clamoring for an adequate reward for their unquestioning loyalty to the crown. Pakistan was thus born, and the knights of Karachi were given the dubious honor of forming the nucleus of the new state. All other considerations were hastily brushed aside.

In view of the present tension between the East and West, and in the face of great dangers created by militant communism, particularly in Asia, the great Western Powers can no longer even pretend to remain aloof from the disturbing issues which stir the heretofore neglected millions of the Orient. India has always in the past been in the foreground of all issues pertaining to Asia, and shall continue to play that same vital part in any foreseeable future. The fate of India may well determine that of Asia, and hence the fate of mankind. A strong peaceful, and unified India might easily have been counted upon to control and to pacify the growing unrest of the Eastern nations. The divided India of to-day, however, is plagued with unrest and confusion herself. While the Republic of India is sometimes rashly accused of seeking alliance with the communist dictators, the knights of Karachi are often heralded as friends of democracy, and as saviors of Asia.

In view of such developments one seldom fails to question the underlying causes of the present confusion in the Indian sub-continent, and to seek any possible remedies. The answer, according to a majority of those who know that country, lies with the fact of partition. Here we face then a new set of questions. Is the division of India along the present lines the ultimate solution, and Pakistan as a nation a real going concern? Is there any likelihood of peaceful co-operation between India and Pakistan in any near future? These and similar questions are never easily answered. Their importance not only to the people of the Indian sub-continent but also to the world

as a whole cannot be over-emphasised. Mere speculations and rash prophecies are obviously ruled out. A logical approach will have to bring out to light the underlying causes of the partition. These are perhaps best revealed by a study of events in India since the turn of the century. Only a study of the past may offer us glimpses of the path still lying ahead.

One could hardly maintain that the division of India was in any way designed to secure the welfare of the Indian people whether Hindu or Moslem. The entire scheme, as it turned out, was designed, carefully prepared, and finally carried out by the British government of India. The interests of Britain, in India as well as elsewhere, were the only motivating forces behind the partition. The millions whose destinies were entrusted to the leaders of the Muslim League simply became the unwitting tools of a new version of British imperialism.

It would be obviously absurd to ever maintain that the Hindus and the Moslems of India have failed in the past to develop the sense of unity which makes a nation a going concern, or cannot hope to achieve that unity in the days still ahead. Yet such contentions were the only excuses offered for the act of partition. The history of India clearly reveals the fact that Hindus and Moslems have for hundreds of years lived in harmony, and have fought for India side by side in numerous campaigns. The sense of unity and allegiance to a nation above and beyond the narrow considerations of religious antagonism do not seem to have been lacking during the period of greatness which India achieved under the banner of the Great Moghuls. Nor are today the millions of Moslems who chose to remain in India after the partition treated as aliens or have their loyalties questioned. A number of them are now occupying positions of great responsibility within the framework of the Indian state. There was no likelihood of the Moslems becoming an insignificant minority at the mercy of a purely Hindu state once India had achieved its long-denied freedom. Separation of the electorate system for the Hindus and the Moslems was a purely British scheme, designed and carried through for furtherance of British aims in India. It is a pity that pure selfishness, greed, or baffling ignorance blinded some Moslem leaders to that simple fact.

The nationalist movement of India started as a unified effort. There was no question of religious antagonism or separation along religious lines when the cry of liberty was first heard in that land. The man who later came to be known as the founder of Pakistan was at the outset an ardent champion of unity and devoted his energy to the task of building a unified and independent India. One often wonders whether Jinnah himself was fully aware of the scope of the disservice he rendered his country towards the end of his life. In view of his mental alertness and his fine education one finds it hard to classify him together with the exalted knights of the

Karachi regime. Could his great error be attributed to a case of all-consuming ego and intense vanity?

The partition of India and the creation of Pakistan were to serve the British aims in two separate areas. The scheme as originally planned was to secure for Britain certain definite advantages in India, as well as in the countries collectively known as the Moslem World. A brief survey of the plan as revealed of late by certain events taking place throughout that part of the Orient might well establish our point.

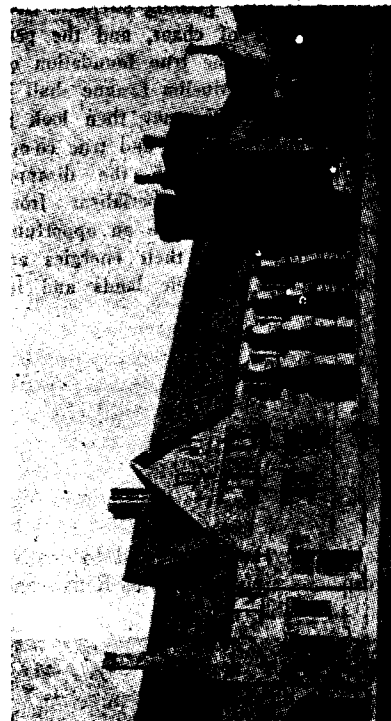
The aimed effects of the partition on the future of India are in their general scope nothing short of what we might term as sadistic. India as a whole unified nation endowed with great riches, and well on its way towards industrialisation might soon have been intolerant of any type of foreign control, and might indeed have chosen to ridicule the idea of remaining within the commonwealth. She would soon find herself in the enviable position of a sought-after customer and furnisher, and would bargain only at terms most satisfactory to herself. England today is in no condition to compete with the younger and more productive commercial rivals in the modern world. The dilemma was a hopeless one, and England would have to suffer great losses. It was time for the well known British wit and cunning to rescue whatever bits it could. For decades Britain had ruled India by playing on the petty quarrels of the two powerful factions who had worshipped God each in its own way, and thus prevented the growth of a sense of unity. Why not keep India divided along the same line? Why not create a new state which indirectly would force India to remain within that large and convenient organisation known as the British Commonwealth? That was a masterly stroke and it certainly paid well. India was literally forced to remain a member of that huge happy family. Were she to sever her ties with the British Empire, the arms and ammunition, the tanks and the jet warplanes so readily placed at the disposal of Pakistan as a member of the Commonwealth would threaten her security.

The position of India as a potential great power has long been recognized throughout the civilized world. India is endowed by nature with vast supplies of raw material, occupies an exceptionally favorable geographical position, with respect to Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia, may some day in the future rule the Indian Ocean, and commands vast areas of a sub-continent thickly populated by hundreds of millions of hard-working men. The expansion of Indian industry, spreading of technological knowledge and skill among the millions of workers, better nutrition and better standards of health could not fail to bring that country in the near future among the rank of the leading powers. India controls the means and has developed the will to become a great power. Such developments will obviously take time, but when they take place their influence will be felt throughout Asia and perhaps also Africa. The British position in those parts of the world would be hard to maintain indeed. India might not only

become self-sufficient but might also furnish the ever increasing demand of the vast areas which presently absorb a great percentage of the British manufactured goods. Politically as well as economically India would be a strong rival for Britain to contend with. The scheme of partition was thus to remove also the danger of India becoming too powerful or too self-sufficient at least for the time being. Mutilated bodies need time for recovery. While there is still time a number of things can happen. Time and more time is the urgent demand of despair.

The presence of a Pakistani army armed and supplied with some of the best and the latest weapons that England can produce along the India borders produces in India the very conditions that Britain hoped for. During the crucial years when India should be assigning the greater part of her national income to the welfare of her long-neglected millions and to improvement of her economy the larger proportion of her annual budget is allotted to national defence. Her security now is assured only at the expense of peaceful and profitable enterprises. She must spend millions on arms and ammunitions in order to keep the mercenaries of the Karachi regime at bay. The process will obviously weaken her economy and the profit made on sale of armaments will flow to the British treasury. In this instance many birds seem to have been killed by one stone.

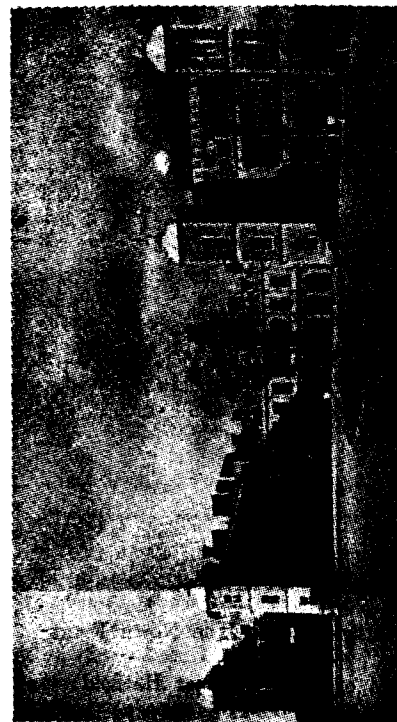
One seldom fails of late to notice with amusement the bold and somewhat peculiar attempts of Britain and Pakistan to display the latter country as the undaunted champion of the Moslem World. The cause of Islam from the shores of the Atlantic to the islands of Indonesia seems to have become the main concern of Pakistan. Strange as it may seem a number of Western observers, particularly in the United States, actually believe that Pakistan by acquiring the position of leadership in the Moslem World may eventually bring that area in line with the policies of the West. The revival of the Caliphate, a fanciful dream of certain Indian Moslems, seems to have impressed even some logical Western thinkers. It might be sad indeed to witness such basic lack of understanding of the actual issues in the East, but that under-estimation of the Eastern mentality is not altogether new. It has been rather fashionable for years now to throw up one's arms and candidly state the area has not changed at all since the days of the prophet. To the British, however, the issue is clear and simple. The present British policy follows with great consistency the path of the original scheme which further motivated the creation of Pakistan. A large Moslem state, inhabited by millions of people already accustomed to British subservience, and ruled by the leaders of a party originally created for furtherance of British aims, might place in the latter's hand a trump to be used in the Middle Eastern "Great Game." It is hard not to pity the fate of the Moslem World. They seem ever to find a self-appointed champion or leader amidst their chaos. A decade ago it was Mussolini, and now it is the turn of the exalted knights of Karachi.



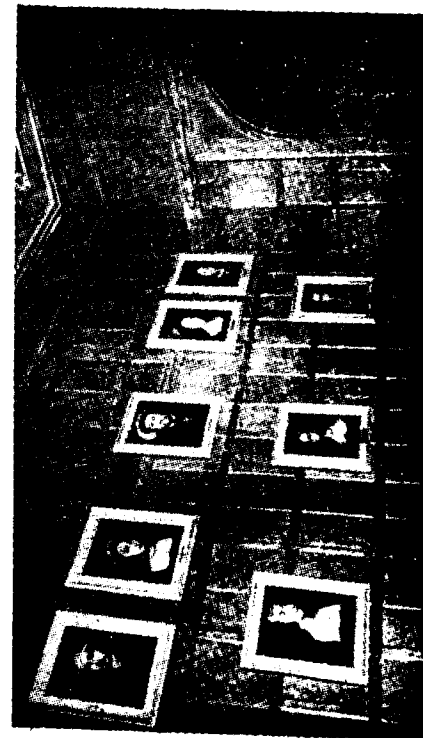
The Old Palace



The Marble Hall



Hatfield House. The South Front



Tudor Portraits. Henry VIII and his wives

they carried him away from Hatfield to become King. Four years later and two before he died he gave Hatfield to his sister Elizabeth. And that is how Elizabeth came to be sitting under a tree in Hatfield Park—in



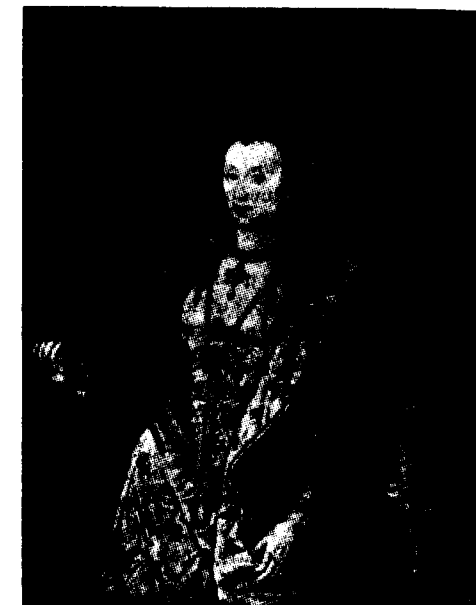
The Ermine Portrait of Queen Elizabeth

November one cannot help remarking—when she heard that her sister Mary was dead and she in turn had become Queen . . . As for the old Palace today, it is remembered chiefly as the place where the weary tourist can get some tea? Even the Cecils make use of its walls to dispose of some very indifferent Kneller paintings. Yet in this hall, beneath its fifteenth century rafters, Elizabeth held the first council of her reign. And from its roof the tragic Mary Tudor waved in vain to her father Henry VIII—who had divorced her mother and was bent on cutting his daughter too.

A legacy from the old Palace of Hatfield and now in Hatfield House are the many early portraits, painted on wood and perhaps not very remarkable, but which enhance its atmosphere enormously. We are told that they are to be found all over the house. Three of the most attractive are in the Marble Hall. They are of Henry V, Henry VI and Richard III. All are wearing their crowns and all, as the guide points out, are 'fiddling with their rings.' The rings—and the hands—are extraordinarily beautiful. But this fidgeting with their rings! It recalls Malvolio in Shakespeare's

Twelfth Night. It will be remembered that when the steward Malvolio is indulging a phantasy of what his life will be like when he becomes the husband of his mistress, the Countess Olivia, he speaks of how he will perhaps 'play with some rich jewel.' Was playing with some rich jewel a trick of kings and nobles in olden times?

When Elizabeth came to the Throne in 1558 Hatfield House was still half a century ahead in the mists of time. But the Cecil star was already on the horizon. William Cecil was one of a brilliant group which hailed from Cambridge and included Roger Ascham who had been Elizabeth's tutor. He was a Protestant and had held office during the minority of Edward VI. When Mary Tudor succeeded Edward and reintroduced Catholicism he was 'prudent' and conformed. (This kind of *prudence*, as we shall see, was to be a feature of the earlier Cecils). But Elizabeth knew her man and her first action was to make him a member of her Council. In this way began the long ascendancy of the Cecils, father and son, which was to outlast Elizabeth and to continue well into the reign of James I.



The Rainbow Portrait of Queen Elizabeth

Close to the three Kings in the Marble Hall is a portrait of Mary Queen of Scots painted, as the artist inscribes on the canvas, in the tenth year of her captivity in England. By then the once dashing and beautiful Queen had come to live only for the Catholic religion and its restoration in England by way of the assassination of her cousin Queen Elizabeth. In her black gown, with a crucifix as its focal point, and a rosary hanging from a still larger cross, she seems

like an Abbess. Only the lovely frame of the head-dress and the sad, caustic eyes suggest a different destiny. Cecil, of course, played a principal part in bringing Mary to the block. And this portrait, which she is said to have sent to an adherent in England, was confiscated by one of his agents.



The Grand Staircase

The Marble Hall is a Jacobean version of the great hall which has come down to us through the ages. It has the usual features: the minstrels' gallery at one end, the great carved screen at the other, the very imposing fire-place. But this hall has the artistic advantage of facing north. So there is an excellent light in which to view the portraits, and some 17th century Flemish tapestries, which are set above the fire-place, survive in all their unfading glories.

There are two famous paintings of Queen Elizabeth here and one in the lobby outside. All are allegorical. They are known as the Diana, the Ermine, and the Rainbow portraits. In Elizabeth's day, and before her, allegories and symbolism were the fashion in Europe. The first of these portraits is the simplest to understand (although it carries symbolism rather far in that it does not even pretend to be a likeness). Elizabeth, Virgin Queen, appears as Diana, Virgin Goddess of the Moon. It is a guise in which she is often found in contemporary sonnets. But the painting is no mere courtly gesture. This moon-goddess, as a critic has pointed out, has a 'strangely compelling, magical glance.' It is, in fact, a highly psychological composition.

The Ermine portrait is very different. It is bold and successful and strident. On a sword which lies beside the Queen is the date 1585, that is two years before the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and three before the defeat of the Armada. These two great crises of her reign were rapidly approaching and the Queen seems already to be staring them down. The whiteness of the hands and the face and the ermine give tremendous force and clarity to the conception. The ermine with its jewelled collar is a symbol of

chastity and is said to derive from a poem of Petrarch. But the collar here is a crown. And it is pointed out that in that great Elizabethan allegory, Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, Sir Artegall who represents Justice also carries on his shield the device of a crowned ermine.

I suppose the Rainbow portrait is Hatfield's greatest glory. Certainly one could look at it for hours on end. Every detail in it is said to be significant. And yet an observer, who knows nothing and cares less for allegory, must still be transfixed by its beauty. The rainbow in her hand, the strange and lovely balance of the head-dress, the serpent embroidered on her sleeve, the line of the cloak which echoes the line of the rainbow—all combine to make a most exquisite painting, so light that it seems almost to move. (A superb retort, is this portrait, to the modernist who proclaims that a picture which tells a story must be bosh artistically. It need not be).



Lady Mary Amelia, First Marchioness of Salisbury, by Sir Joshua Reynolds

Zuccaro, who painted it, must have been deeply attached to its subject. It is the only painting I know

of in which the Queen's expression is one of immeasurable sadness.

Rising up from the lobby in which the Rainbow portrait hangs is the Grand Staircase which leads to the state rooms. Though it has not the grace and lightness of the staircase at Knole, it has its own peculiar charm. It is a combination of Italian and English craftsmanship. Jolly little boys, such as abound in Italian court-yards and fountains, share the pillars with heraldic English beasts. And the sides of the pillars are decorated with carvings of simple domestic subjects—a more elegant version, this, of the kind of

called Theobalds. James coveted the place because it was nearer London, and had 'the commoditie of a navigable river falling into the Thames at a place convenient for His Majesty's princely sports and recreation.' (All that need be said about Theobalds here—in case it throws some light on the first Cecil—is that its great hall had an exciting plaster ceiling, decorated with the signs of the zodiac, in which 'the sun by some mechanism ran its course and the stars came out at night!' It was destroyed during the Civil War by the sour-puss Puritans).

Robert Cecil, whom James I was to create first



George III by Sir William Beechey

art which has existed in our churches from the earliest times. On one pillar, for instance, there is first a design of gardening tools (so delicate that they seem fit for a great lady's chatelaine); above it is a basket of flowers; and topping it all, as he should do, is the gardener in smock and hat. On the walls are many royal portraits and portraits of Cecils past and present. Conspicuous amongst them is a large white horse. It is the horse which Elizabeth rode when she visited Tilbury and made that never to be forgotten speech on the eve of the battle of the Armada. Riding that horse, in the words of an on-looker, 'she passed like some Amazonian Empress through her army.'

At the top of the stairs is the King James Drawing Room. Here we must make an important digression. It was not until the reign of James I that the Cecils came to Hatfield. In 1607 James asked Sir Robert Cecil if he would take the Palace of Hatfield in exchange for his house near Waltham Chase which was



Frances Mary, Second Marchioness of Salisbury, by Sir Thomas Lawrence

Earl of Salisbury, was perhaps not pleased with the exchange. At any rate he began at once to demolish the old Palace, except for the hall, and to use its bricks to build the present Hatfield House. He gave it the shape of the letter 'E' in memory of Elizabeth. It was a fashion which many had adopted—a lucky whim which was to transform English architecture. Gone was the old method of building with its stuffy courts and quadrangles. Great houses at last had views and fresh air.

It is to the covetousness of King James that we owe Hatfield House and whether by accident or design the Cecils have made the King James Drawing Room a mirror of family history. The curtains belong to the 17th century, the windows and furniture to the 18th, the decoration to the 19th and the portraits span the whole time down to the present. (Robert Cecil seems the great absentee. But he is by the staircase, in the

Library, in the Winter Dining Room and I suspect all over the house). James himself, presented by himself, presides in bronze from the mantle-piece. Next but one in line with him hangs a glorious Reynolds. It is of Lady Mary Amelia, wife of the first Marquess of Salisbury, and a close runner-up to Elizabeth in the legends which she has left behind her at Hatfield.



The Long Gallery

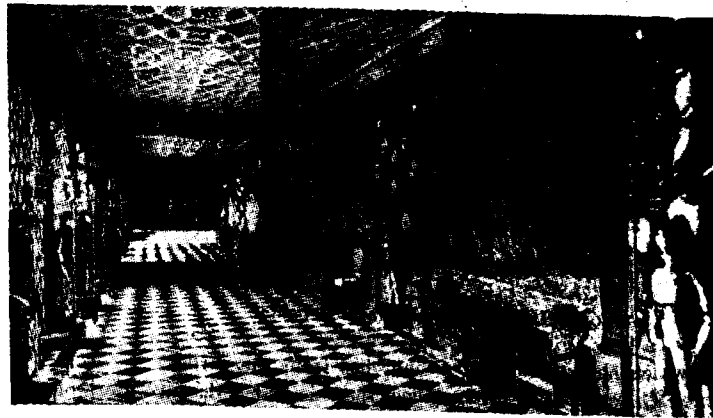
Indeed from the death of Robert Cecil in 1612 until the advent of Lady Mary Amelia in the middle of the 18th century, the Cecil records are not momentous. It is the house that is the principal character. The second Earl, during the Civil War, sided first with the King and then with Cromwell. (Charles I, as prisoner, stayed at Hatfield House on his way to his trial in London). This Earl comes down to us as 'My simple Lord Salisbury.' It is how he is described by Pepys who saw him in Hatfield Church on a far-off Sunday morning in October, 1661. Pepys was more interested in the house 'and above all the gardens, such,' he wrote, 'as I never saw in my life.'

The house still makes the news in the days of the third Earl. James Duke of York and his wife, fleeing from anti-Catholic rioting in London, decided to seek shelter there. But the Earl, Protestant and impolite, absented himself and left it unprovided. So that when the Duke arrived he had to send into the town for food and candles. Even more eccentric was the fourth Earl but he bequeathed to Hatfield its principal tourist-stunt. For, at first he favoured the rebellious Duke of Monmouth and hung his portrait on the stairs. But, uncertain how the rebellion might end, he grew uneasy and had his own portrait painted over that of the Duke. In the last century the canvas was

cleaned and Monmouth's head came into view! So now, over the staircase, hangs a strange figure with two heads.

The fifth Earl, we are informed, was remarkable only for his large turned-out feet. But he married an energetic lady who founded a school near the old Palace and, above all, planted the wonderful copper beeches which today—after more than two hundred years—form such beautiful views from the great windows. The sixth Earl claims attention only for the injury which he did to the house. Feeling overpowered perhaps by too strong-minded a mother, he refused to live there and sold off the family plate.

But with the seventh Earl, the Cecil family comes into prominence again. He it was who married the Lady Mary Amelia in the Reynolds portrait and became the first Marquess. For twenty-four years he was Chancellor to George III who in June, 1800, came to Hatfield Park to review the Militia. In honour of



The Armoury

the occasion the King presented the Earl with his portrait which now hangs in the Winter Dining Room. He is represented standing in Hatfield Park and the house appears in the background.

The Lady Mary Amelia, first Marchioness of Salisbury, was also the first of the great political hostesses whose sway, alas, has ended with the days of austerity and the passing of Londonderry House. She brought breeding, gaiety, and courage to Hatfield House—and got away with anything she wanted. Thus she held card parties in the Long Gallery on Sunday afternoons and even saw to it that her butler should announce in church such items of news as: 'Her Ladyship's band will play on the terrace this afternoon.'

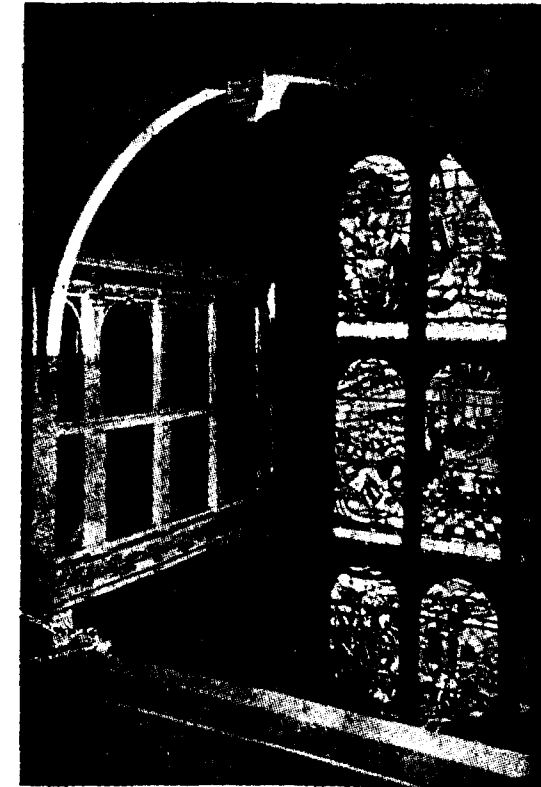
She started the Hertfordshire Foxhounds and continued to hunt when she was nearly blind. It was this approaching blindness which led to her death in the famous fire at Hatfield which is described by Dickens in *Oliver Twist*. (She was writing in her room and had sent for more tapers. It is thought that stooping over her desk she set her head-dress alight).

Another lovely if lesser portrait in the King James Drawing Room is that of the second Marchioness by Sir Thomas Lawrence. She was a friend of the Duke of Wellington whose portrait also hangs here. He gave her the many captured banners and trophies there are in the house and he used always to wear the coat of the Hertfordshire Hounds when he was campaigning. It was the second Marquess, her husband, who made Hatfield the easiest of all the great historic houses to get at. In 1850, when the railway was being constructed, he determined to have it at his very gates! (The Great North Road was deflected to make this possible). As a result, and I have timed it, one can reach Hatfield from Westminster in exactly one hour. But the house is not spoilt in any way by the nearness of the railway. Standing high on a hill it is shut off from station and trains by the massing of trees in the Park.

All the guides and guide-books, of course, lead up to the third Marquess as if he were the greatest of the Hatfield Cecils. Leader of the Tory Party and three times Prime Minister in the time of Victoria he sits solidly at the entrance to Hatfield Park in an enormous statue put up by his admirers. There is also a painting of him by Richmond. With his deep-set eyes and broad black beard he seems the very embodiment of triumphant terrestrial Toryism. He is not to my taste. I prefer the portrait of his grandson, Lord David Cecil. He too is in the King James Drawing Room, painted as a child and with his mother. As a great admirer of his books, and especially of his life of Metternich, I was delighted to meet him at about six years old! Gentle and eager he seemed, which is surely the right beginning for an eminent historian. Two other members of the family, still alive, are Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (perhaps better known as Lord Robert Cecil) renowned for his keen interest in the League of Nations, and his brother Lord Quickswood (formerly Lord Hugh Cecil), who was Provost of Eton College from 1936 to 1944.

But this room is too crowded with history for comfort. Leading out of it is the Long Gallery. It is a peaceful shadowed place with patches of sunshine cast by the windows. Here, behind some sliding panels, and then behind some iron gates, and then behind a sheet of glass, is what the Cecils evidently consider the loveliest thing in the house. It is a crystal and gold posset set and was a wedding present to Mary Tudor when she married Philip II of Spain. It is by the great Italian craftsman Benvenuto Cellini.

Long Galleries were intended as an indoor promenade. This must be a delightful one, with its views across the Park, and the family still use it. Except in the lobbies at either end, where there are more Tudor paintings including Henry VIII and all his wives, the walls have only carved panelling for decoration. Otherwise the field is left clear for promenading and admiring the 17th century furniture. But half way down its length and leading out of it is a smaller gallery where Elizabeth's hat and stockings and gloves—and the cradle of Charles I—are to be seen.



The Chapel East Window

After the Long Gallery comes the Winter Dining Room. In the window stands a long elmwood table cut in a single piece from the tallest imaginable tree.

And so at last we come to the Library. What drama is shut up in one of the cases! Next to a letter in Elizabeth's beautiful handwriting is one from her successor, James I. Elizabeth executed his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and he begins his letter to her 'Madame and dearest Sister' . . . Over the mantle-piece is a portrait of the builder of the house, Robert Cecil. It is in mosaic and was the gift of our Ambassador in Venice who in 1609 had it made there. With the gift he sent a 'special' injunction from the artist that it should be 'set in his true light and at a little

more height for the eye than a coloured picture would require. A point to remember with mosaics.

There remain the Armoury and the Chapel. The Armoury is another indoor promenade and it is hung with old Gloucestershire tapestries. Much of the armour here was salvaged from Spanish ships after the defeat of the Armada. How small the Spaniards were! Or were we all much shorter in days gone by?

It is most fitting that the tour of the State Rooms should end with the Chapel. The Cecils are great sup-

porters of the Church and prayers are said here daily. The stained glass in the windows is Flemish and was put in when the house was built. Round the chapel runs a little gallery meant for distinguished foreign visitors. Not sympathetic to the Anglican communion—and so perhaps reluctant to come into the body o' the kirk—they could none the less join their hosts in prayer.

Westminster, London, July, 1952.

ART OF SREEMATI DEVI

By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

BEFORE I enter into the main features of Sreemati Devi's contributions I may be permitted to make a brief survey of the function of art and how it is executed in keeping with the temperament of the artist.



Goddess Bani

Every form of art reveals a symbol of beauty. The symbol is the outcome of a sincere search and hard labour. The search is initiated by a strong emotion which is always in urgent need of satisfying

a purpose. The purpose aims at a serious project which is a revelation of truth, I mean the truth that underlies the created form, it is the inherent quality. The difficult task of search, discovery and release is not accomplished without effort but we often come across such an expression as "effortless execution." Usually it comes from the pen of over-enthusiastic connoisseurs or critics in the making. The expression is intended to lay emphasis on mastery of technique. However well-meaning the remark might be, it loses its objective and value if false understanding sits on judgement and explanation. It is so indeed when self-constituted critics become desperately ambitious to be artistically bent and intellectually arbitrary.

The expression "effortless" is applicable only to technique because technique stands for a language which is the vehicle that conveys the expression. In the circumstances the load, the distance and the time required to cover the destination have to be adjusted according to the capacity of the carrier.

I am constrained to say that many critics, particularly of the new order, do not even know which part of a painting is called technique, how the one is distinct from the other, or why a particular treatment is necessary for a particular theme. Let us compare this aspect with the language we use every day for our exchange of thoughts. The language of our daily use has also its different stages which convey meaning according to the capacity of an individual's knowledge and power of pressing his point of view. For instance, a child's thought and expression will be different from that of an adult and the adult who has cultivated language to be intelligible on an intellectual level will be different from an adult who had not had the benefit of education in this direction. Therefore the understanding of language and what purpose it is going to serve is desirable before an analysis is indulged in. But the current of the day has swept away this common sense.

ART OF SREEMATI DEVI

Presume this unfortunate condition has come to stay on account of a sudden rush for quick cultural attainment. In consequence of which, the enthusiasts of the class I have mentioned find no time or patience to study how a picture is made. The indifference towards a proper understanding of values does not count much so long as some quotations from any article on the modern trend of art find a place in their so-called learned treatises.

honour thrust upon him, or he is condemned by a sweeping remark which effectively crushes his work that might have taken months or years to complete. The wrong thus done in both the cases gets no change for a fair trial because of the cultivated indifference and lack of interest of the public. It is strange that even a cricket or a hockey player is privileged to defend himself if such a situation arose, but, alas, the artist who feels for the masses and speaks



Profile



Village Belie

Criticism as I understand it, in its true sense, is an interpretation of facts as they exist in the patterns, with such suggestions as would be constructive and would be helpful for a progressive outlook and not merely supporting a propaganda just because it happens to be a raging fashion of the day. To get at the correct attitude one has to be prepared to face labour and limit expression to the capacity of one's knowledge. But labour and knowledge do not go well where a quick survey has to be made on impressions which are gained superficially to meet the demands of the press as otherwise their news value is lost. So haste takes the place of speed and the result is frustration.

Sense of responsibility under such circumstances is considerably reduced, if not completely disowned. The consequence is a catastrophe as I have already said. Either the artist is boosted up to a dizzy height just to collapse for want of stamina to fit in with the

on their behalf is left at the mercy of these irresponsible critics. This, in spite of the fact that telling stories of joys and sorrows of life through the medium of art lends no little service to the understanding of humanity. Therefore, we cannot but accept the artist's contribution as a great asset that reinforces that strength of the pillars on which grows the structure of civilization. Despite this fact, he remains a condemned being and the pursuit of his religion is considered to be an extravagance in luxury.

It has not come to light yet, that the vocation of an artist is nothing short of a *sadhana*, a *yoga* for which every bit of energy has to be harnessed and concentration accentuated often to meet failures which succeed each other to lead to the path of success. The path goes beyond from one destination to another and so on continues the search. It is something like swimming in the midst of an im-

measurable ocean. Approaching the shore remains only a hope.

We can conclude from this that the genius in this sphere is not born, but he is made as the result of hard struggle. As such, what appears to be effortless or simple on the surface, is really a concealment of labour and complications. Simplicity also in its illusive presentation is nothing other than the sum total of complications which is most intriguing. The illusive effect is the outcome of a serious thinking to avoid a clash between the unwanted and the indispensable; each of which is arrogant and insists on staying in a disorderly manner. To establish harmony in such an atmosphere, requires a thorough grip of the subject.



From the fair

This principle is not confined to picture-making alone, but it also applies to sculpture, literature, music, dancing and architecture. Each of the creative arts has a composition of its own. And in each sphere the arrangement is condensed to the bare essential by eliminating the jarring elements. Otherwise the disturbing factors do create a discord which is not the function of art since art stands for harmony and joy.

A well-arranged pattern therefore cannot be accomplished by a beginner, or those who delight in reckless experiments for a successful chaos. The care-free attempts of a beginner, I do not mean the innocent child, but the experienced grown-up, have a tendency to be carried away by the strong emotion which stresses all importance to the subject without considering how the contents of the subject will have

to be revealed. There is again the boasted one who takes for granted that he is an artist. He is a menace to the cause of progress since his belief leads to a conviction and the conviction begets contagion which adds to the number of conceits. In the circumstances, the question of a reference to the facts of nature which can tell the truth does not arise, since reliance on truth threatens a cure. They thrive on ignorance when it is bliss; hence folly is taken as wisdom. Works of these artists excite curiosity on account of a following made by propaganda just because it is something queer. The project has a vested interest which is an exploitation of the artists on the one side and self-glorification of the interested on the other.

The whole question cut short would mean that one must know where to stop. This is where discipline comes in, which is subjected to severe restrictions imposed by the medium and also the limitations of personal experience. But discipline and *sadhana* have been done away with by the fanatic domination of unassimilated modernism borrowed from the West in order to make simplicity an easy affair. No doubt, the objective has been gained since the pictures composed by cubes and cones or so-called dashing strokes create complicated puzzles, and the puzzles are placed on such an intellectual plane or abstract themes as could be hardly understood even by one who is prepared to extend a liberal attitude towards the new movement. Whatever sort of sympathy one may wish to extend, in this respect, the reactions of

truth and falsehood remain opposed to each other, that is to say, a puzzle capable of giving a headache can never be converted into a picture that radiates joy.

In this tumult of life where pride is eclipsed by vanity and haste joins aimless speed to arrive at nowhere, one feels a great relief to come in contact with the work of Sreemati Devi. She has all the best assets to grow and I do hope she will.

Patience is her main hold and perseverance is her stimulating force. Combined with these rare qualities that an artist must possess, she has the gift to take any amount of pains to satisfy her mission which is motivated by religious trends and supported by conventions of traditional technique.

I am glad to say that despite the presence of the strong sentimental aspect of religion Sreemati

Devi has not failed to pay due attention to the pattern that translated her subject-matter into a visual form. It is indeed a difficult performance as one is apt to be carried away by the devotional aspect which often ignores the aesthetic delight that the form beautiful can give. It would not be out of place if I mention that out of millions who visit temples very few see the beauty of the shrine. Beauty, as such, needs entirely a different approach which may be associated with Bhakti but absolute Bhakti does not depend on this form or that to meet its objective, since the quality of the form to be worshipped is built up in imagination which would work even if the form were not visible, or devoid of aesthetic appeal.

She has chosen wash and tempera as her medium for the execution of her works. The effect is influenced by the Rajput, Moghul and Ajanta schools, the last being the dominating one in respect of form and colour scheme as well. The arrangement of colour has a musical quality. It is no wonder that it should have been so, because, in my opinion, her musical attainment excels her graphic expressions. It is due to the fact that the form of art created by the artist would reflect on her whole being.

Coming back to the arrangement of colour, I should say it is sober and a source of relief to the

eye and the mind when contrasted with the effect produced by the ultra-modernists. The colours of their choice are hardly good to their neighbours. They are restless and scream till they shake your healthy nerves and force them to succumb to a physical pain.

Sreemati Devi could have been easily recognised as a genius for the amount of pains she takes to see the minutest details carried out in order, and the arrangements of the composition balanced to the best of her knowledge.

But details too have their dangerous elements since all of them do not make for profit unless they are filtered. This is where a scientific training is required but she could not go through rigid discipline for not being able to work under a master. She is entirely self-taught and extremely shy. This modesty prevented her from exhibiting her works before the public earlier. But for the gentle and continuous persuasion of her brother, Mr. Duraiswamy, this exhibition would not have been possible.*

* An introductory speech delivered by D. P. Roy Chowdhury on August 25, 1952, asking C. Rajagopalachari to open an Exhibition of Paintings by Miss Y. G. Sreemati, under the auspices of the South India Society of Painters, at the Museum Theatre, Madras.

—:O:—

REMINISCENCE OF M. ROMAIN ROLLAND

By PANDIT DEVACHARYA, M.A.

It was perhaps January, 1933, when I was finally persuaded by a friend of mine, who was at that time studying Comparative Philology in the Post-Graduate class, to read the *Life of John Christopher*. For some time previous to this I had discarded novel-reading as a harmful occupation, dangerous to mental peace and spiritual progress and not at all justified because of emotional disturbances easily created by a powerful writer, depicting life in an atmosphere of romantic extravagance. How I took to M. Romain Rolland's Nobel prize winner, I do not exactly recollect now. Perhaps, I had argued that a friend who is interested in Comparative Philology as a career must be a level-headed fellow, and a book with the title of a biography should be considered with prospects of mental elevation. Being a bigot—almost a fanatic lover of physiocratic simplicity I had developed a number of prejudices, and I was at that time unable to find out a single profession or job which could satisfy the demands of my inmost soul. I was restless and as storm-tossed as John Christopher—the subject of my study.

Imagine my surprise when I turned over the first page and knew the baby was born. An ugly child. I could hardly swallow the description. A hero is always beautiful to look at, that is, what the average reader expects from the author. But then all babies are ugly at the time of birth and John Christopher like the ugly duckling might still grow up into a fine-looking young lad. I maintained my hope and persevered through the labyrinth of musical discussions and other details of the social and family background. I was amazed to discover that the father of the hero could be a drunkard with a violent temper and the mother could be drawn from the class of the ordinary masses. And then girl after girl came and went out of John Christopher. It was difficult for me nursed in Puritanic traditions and prejudices to forgive John Christopher for what appeared to me the ordinary man's passion for sex. How idiotic of him to be so intimate with Ada, a woman with no soul, I supposed. O what nonsense that a character with vast dreams for brother man and endowed with rare creative genius should fall down at every new turn of the road like a reed shaken by the



M. Romain Rolland and Gandhiji

wind of sexual hunger. I was then myself young and knew little about the tragedies of human nature.

Any way I finished volume after volume and I was agreeably surprised to meet Marie Antoinette in the third volume. She was the daughter of a bankrupt banker who committed suicide. She had made the supreme sacrifice of her life in living and earning only for the sake of her brother's success; and though as governess she was noticed by John Christopher who was also a music-tutor in the same family, she was never addressed by the hero. When at the opera everybody ridiculed or ignored Christopher's new music-composition, she was mortally aggrieved. She sent her silent solace through the gaze of her eyes. She was aware of John Christopher who was equally aware of her. Both had fallen in a state of mutual attraction and mental sympathy and this time John Christopher came up to the expectations of an Easterner's standard; and I thought that at last the hero was going to settle in life. How nice it would be for a restless soul to be looked after by such a woman of sweetness and heroic self-sacrifice! And how poetically just it would be for the author to reward such a character of nobility who has been the victim of life-long suffering without compensation of any form—nay, not even in the form of a single sentence of love from any youthful suitor! I mused and nursed my hopes. O cruel! the author simply finished her in one sentence, so to say: She

had developed signs of consumption, went to Switzerland and passed away.

I can hardly describe the agonising pathos of the story at this juncture. Alone and friendless a young woman of rare charm passes away and the author hardly stops in his narrative and goes on to describe the friendship that now develops between Antoinette's brother Olivier and Christopher. I could hardly concentrate on these chapters as the wound was still fresh in my mind.

I could not persuade myself that it was only a story I was reading. For days and nights during one whole week, the woman, who passed away from the world of life I shared, haunted my memory. There was perhaps a private context of this trial of my sensibilities. I had an aunt who had been given in marriage to a fair-looking boy when she was barely nine. The boy died soon after marriage and the girl widow—a handsome maid who later on received high education also—had to face the realities of life without the consolation of motherhood. I had heard that she had a desire to adopt me as her son; but another aunt—my father's sister—stood in the way; and the lady pined away before she was even twenty-six years of age.

Having lost my mother when I was only ten months old, and being fed on the breasts of kindly ladies during brief intervals when their own kiddies did not want to suck, I was a sensitive child from early

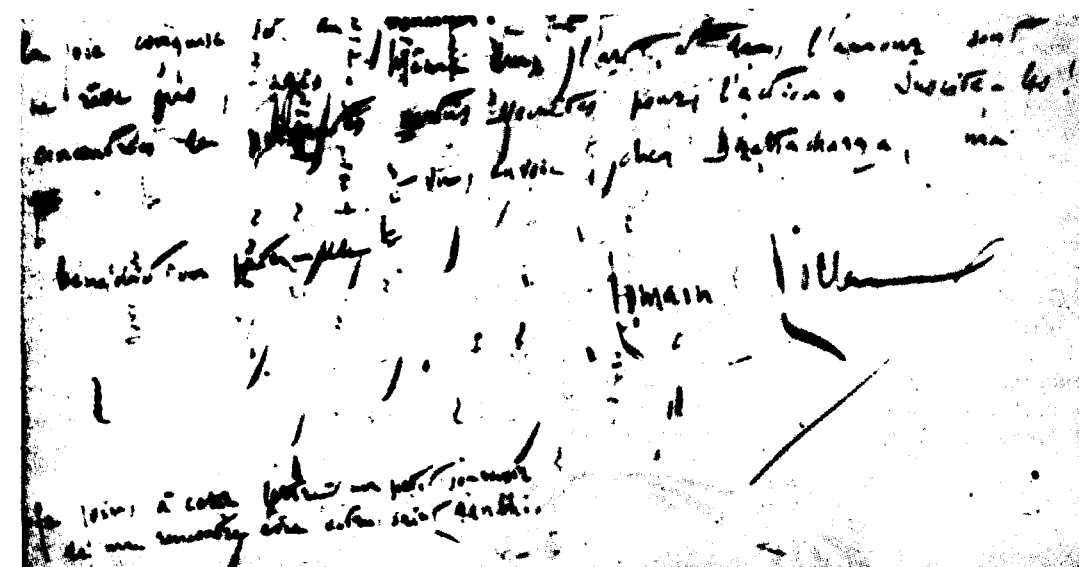
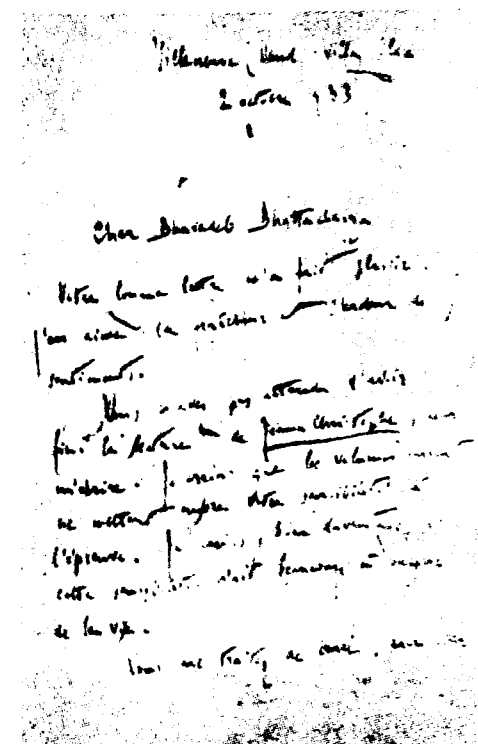
boyhood. I could therefore hardly resist the temptation of tearing off a number of pages from the first note-book I could lay my hands on. I wrote a long letter to M. Romain Rolland in which I unburdened my mind in a boyish manner and accused him of heartlessness in having disposed off Antoinette.

"... No doubt," I wrote, "the sudden removal of

Antoinette from the stage heightens the pathos; but it verges on the distressingly painful. The author, who inflicts such pain on his readers may not be pardoned. You are cruel—cruel beyond measure..."

M. Romain Rolland is a big name and I was and am still the man of the street. I had naturally doubts about my getting a reply. Months passed, no reply came. I was a bit ashamed of my rash venture. I did not disclose to any of my friends in the post-graduate class—and I had a good number of them—that I had addressed a letter to Rolland. I kept it as a secret and ultimately in the course of a few months I forgot the whole incident. I had then lost all hopes of getting any reply. It was a big surprise for me when one day in November, 1933, the postal peon delivered to me a bluish registered packet with acknowledgement due. The packet bore the seal of an unknown foreign post-office. Naturally I could not be sure if it would be the long-awaited reply from Rolland. I opened the packet—a big envelope with chambers—and found a photograph of Rolland and Gandhiji signed by Rolland in his own handwriting. In another chamber there was the letter in reply given in his own handwriting in French.

Being innocently ignorant of French I could only decipher my name addressed in the beginning of the letter and saw the date of the letter given at the top. I ran to a friend of mine living in the neighbourhood. He knew French and was himself an ardent admirer of Jean Christophe. He immediately translated it for me excepting that portion which was underlined and in which Rolland was referring to a quotation from Swami Vivekananda. Those lines, my friend informed me, were rather stiff and he would not risk his own version. This portion remained untranslated for long



years because of my failure to contact any good French scholar who would do the job gladly for me. Recently I have been lucky in getting the letter completely deciphered and translated by a lady scholar of the French embassy.

True copy of Rolland's letter in French
Villeneuve (Vand) Villa Olga
2 Octobre 1933

Cher Bhavadéb Bhattacharya,

Votre longue lettre m'a fait plaisir. J'en aime la fraîcheur et l'ardeur des sentiments. Vous n'avez pas attendu d'avoir fini la lecture de *Jean Christophe* pour m'écrire. Je crains que les volumes suivant ne mettent encore votre sensibilité à l'épreuve. Je crains, bien davantage, que cette sensibilité n'ait beaucoup à souffrir de la vie.

Vous me traitez de cruel, mon cher garçon, parce que je n'ai pas donné Antoinette pour femme à Christophe. Ce n'est pas moi qui suis cruel c'est la vie—Je l'observe je l'écoute, et je dis ce que je vois et entends. Je ne suis pas poète qui gardent la vérité. J'ai appris à la regarder comme vous regardez la grande mère . . . Vous souvenez-vous des paroles de Swami Vivekananda ?

"Apprenez à reconnaître la Mère, aussi bien dans le Mal, la Terreur, la Douleur, la Néant que dans la Douceur et la Joie ! Oh mère ! Les faibles entourent ton con de guirlandes de fleurs et puis, ils tremblent terrifiés et l'appellent du nom de la Misère Cordieuse ! Méditez sur la Mort ! Adorez le Terrible ! Seulement par le culte du Terrible, le Terrible peut être vaincu et l'immortalité gagnée."

Le vrai sens de Jean Christophe comme de l'Annette de mon "Ame Enchantée," est de ne jamais remder devant le visage de la Mère. Elle les escorte jusqu'à la mort et jusqu'à "L'immortalité gagnée."

Et puis, mon jeune ami, que savons-nous des destinées ? C'est probablement mieux que la tendre Antoinette ne soit pas la femme de Jean Christophe. De même qu'il est préférable que Beethoven n'ait pas épousé son "Immortelle Aimée." La solitude et la douleur révèlent au génie les mystérieuses puissances de la vie intérieure. Et les humbles âmes aimantes, comme Antoinette, parviennent aux mêmes révélations par le sacrifice de soi.

Nous vivons actuellement une ère de grands combats. Ce que j'enseigne, ce que je tâche d'inspirer aux âmes, c'est le courage, c'est l'énergie du cœur et de l'esprit devant la tragique réalité. Après viendra le repos du rêve dans la victoire de la joie conquise et du bonheur. Pour le moment ne t'endors pas, ne rêve pas, agis ! Même dans l'art et dans l'amour, sont concen-

trés de puissantes vertus scrites pour l'action. Suscitez—Je vous envoie, mon cher Bhattacharya, ma bénédiction paternelle.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

P.S.—Je joins à cette lettre un petit souvenir de ma rencontre avec votre saint Gandhi.

Dear Bhavadéb Bhattacharya,

I was pleased to receive your long letter. I like the freshness and ardour of its sentiments. You did not wait till you had finished reading *Jean Christophe* to write to me. I fear that the volumes which will follow will again put your sensibilities to the test. I am afraid these sensibilities have not much of the sufferings of life.

You call me cruel, my dear boy, because I have not made Christophe marry Antoinette. It is not that I am cruel, it is life. I observe, I listen, and I relate what I see and hear. I am not of those poets who disguise the Truth. I have learnt to look at it as you look at the Great Mother. Do you remember the words of Vivekananda : "Learn to recognize the Mother in Evil, Terror, Pain, Nothingness as well as in Sweetness and Joy ! Oh, Mother ! The weak garland you with flowers and then, terrified, they tremble and call you Merciful ! Mediate on death. Adore what is terrible. It is only through the cult of what is dreadful will dread be conquered and immortality won."

The true sense of *Jean Christophe*, as of Annette in my book, *L'Ame Enchantée*, is never to draw back from the face of the Mother. She escorts them until death and immortality is won.

And then, my young friend, what do we know of destiny ? It is probably better that the gentle Antoinette is not the wife of Jean Christophe. As it is better that Beethoven did not marry his "Immortal Beloved." Solitude and pain reveal to the spirit the mysterious powers of inner life. And the humble loving souls, like Antoinette, reach the same revelations through the sacrifice of oneself.

We are at present living in a period of great struggles. What I teach, what I try to inspire in the soul, is courage, strength of the heart and spirit in the face of tragic reality. Repose will come after. In the victory of conquered joy and happiness. For the moment, do not fall asleep, do not dream, act ! Even in art and love be concentrated on puissant virtues—secrets of all action. Develop them !

I send you, my dear Bhattacharya, my fatherly benediction.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

P.S.—I enclose in the present letter a small souvenir of my meeting with your saint Gandhi.

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE TANTRAS

By PROF. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

AN extensive literature was produced during a fairly long period both by the Hindus and the Buddhists known as the Tantras or the Agamas that have been regulating the religious life of the vast majority of the Indian people. But it is a pity that the literature has not received as much attention as it deserved at the hands of modern scholars. This is in no small measure due to the fact that the teachings of the Tantras are held as close secrets by their followers and it is difficult to get at their real significance on many points. To add to this there were revolting rites and practices prevalent among people professing the Tantric form of religion and described in a portion of the literature, partly genuine and partly spurious. A number of scholars have from time to time made laudable attempts at interpreting the contents of this literature though their conclusions cannot be considered, for the reasons stated above, to have always been accurate. We may mention here three of the latest publications in this line which we have received for reviewing.

*The Garland of Letters or Studies in the Mantra Shastra** by Sir John Woodroffe is a collection of essays on the cardinal principles of the worship of Shiva-Shakti. The work was first published about thirty years back. We have now before us a new edition in a handsomely got-up volume brought out by a well-known publishing firm of Madras. Students of Indology, particularly those interested in the Tantras, will extend their hearty welcome to it and be thankful to the enterprising publishers for issuing and proposing to issue similar editions of other works of the great savant whose writings for the first time succeeded in attracting sympathetic notice of the world of scholars to a phase of Indian religion and culture that has been much neglected and evidently misunderstood in these days.

There are widespread misconceptions about the nature and contents of the Tantras. We find an echo of them in the *Tantras, Their Philosophy and Occult Practicest* which identifies Saktism with Tantric religion and makes the dogmatic statement (p. 34) that "all the Tantras deal with the worship of Sakti." In the Preface, however, curiously enough, "Tantrism" is distinguished from Saivism, Saktism and Vaisnavism. There are similar other cases of apparent inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the book. The *pancha*

makaras of the Tantras, it is pointed out, are intended to be taken in a figurative sense and not in their primary sense as done by 'vicious people more from a desire to give a sanctimonious air to their animal appetites than from real ignorance' (p. 113). Almost in the same breath, the significance of the use of *pancha makaras* in their crude form is also explained (pp. 125-6). There is an old view about the close connection between the Tantras and the Sankhya system of philosophy. But according to the present book this is a 'wrong' and absolutely 'erroneous' belief held by even 'many educated people' of the modern times (p. 21). The manner of presentation in the book is not quite happy and the language is occasionally defective.

It is a relief to turn to *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism†* by Dr. S. B. Das Gupta which throws welcome light on an obscure aspect of Tantric religion. Buddhist Tantras are little known in these days and Tantric Buddhism has a very narrow circle of followers in a comparatively small area. Dr. Das Gupta has spared no pains in reconstructing an account of this obsolete creed on the basis of a literature only a small portion of which has been published. He had therefore to collect considerable material from manuscripts deposited in different oriental libraries in India and abroad. The work is divided into six chapters which deal with topics like the different schools of Tantric Buddhism, the theological position of the Tantric Buddhists, the element of esoteric yoga and the argument of the Tantric Buddhists in defence of their yoga. A chapter on the literature and renowned authors thereof would have been welcome.

As regards the relation between Tantrism of the Buddhists and that of the Hindus Dr. Das Gupta has tried to show that there is no essential difference between the two. "The ultimate goal of both the schools," to quote the words of the learned author, "is the perfect state of union—union between the two aspects of the reality and the realisation of the non-dual nature of the self and the not-self. The principle of Tantricism being fundamentally the same everywhere, the superficial differences, whatever these may be, supply only different tone and colour" (p. 3). According to him, "Buddhism in the later phases of Mahayana seems to have adopted these (Tantric) practices, which were a growth of the soil and as such a common heritage of the Hindus and the Buddhists" (pp. 2-3). And gradually, in course of time, all the features of Tantricism including even the "Sexo-yogic Tantric practices" found their way into Buddhism.

* Second edition. Published by Ganesh & Co., (Madras) Ltd., Madras-17. Price Rs. 15.

† Edited by D. N. Bose, author of *Harikamsa*. Revised by Hiralal Halder. Published by Dharendra Nath Bose, Proprietor, Oriental Publishing Co., 11-D, Arpuli Lane, Calcutta-12. Price not mentioned.

‡ Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 7-8.



"But the aim of these practices is not always the fulfilment of some or other mundane desire (though instances of them are not wanting), but these practices with their minutest details are said to be undertaken only for the attainment of the Bodhicitta, i.e., for the realisation of perfect knowledge and for the uplift of

all beings" (pp. 70-71). It will be seen that the Hindu Tantras also had similar high ideals placed before their followers. The book will thus be interesting not only to students of Buddhism but to students of Brahmanism as well.

—O.—

BOOK REVIEWS

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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SELECTIONS FROM THE NAGPUR RESIDENCY RECORDS, Vol. I (1799-1806): Edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha. Published by Nagpur Government Printing. Pp. xxii + 565. Price Rs. 12.

Though the Bombay Government has been the first and most successful among the Maratha States to publish its historical records and Baroda a very good second (with much later and poorer materials), the Bhonsle Government's successor has made a good beginning with this volume. The early British dealings with the Nagpur Government are available in print in the State papers of Warren Hastings and Volume V of the Poona Residency Correspondence Series (*Nagpur Affairs, 1781-1820*, edited by Y. M. Kale). But the latter does not replace the book under review, which is fuller and more varied and has a value of its own for purely provincial details. Dr. Sinha has done a laborious work well. The crude old spelling of the thousands of oriental names in the volume could have been modernised only at an immense cost in retyping the entire press copy, and this, I know from my experience as joint-editor of the Poona Residency Records, is impossible in these days of economy. It ought to be kept in every research library. These English records are touched at the end by the Marathi volume, *Atihasik Patravayavahar*, 2nd Edition, edited by Sardesai, Kulkarni and Kale (1933).

J. SARKAR

THE VEDIC AGE (The History of the Indian People, Vol. I): General Editor R. C. Majumdar, Asst. Editor, A. D. Pusalker. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pp. 565. Price 35 shillings.

This is the first instalment of a noble national work sponsored by the *Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti*, an institution started in Bombay in 1944, for this very purpose by our distinguished countryman Dr. (now H. E.) K. M. Munshi with the generous support of the well-known industrial magnate Sri G. D. Birla. The work is designed to be a comprehensive history of India in ten volumes dealing according to the most approved methods of historical criticism with the

whole history of our land from the earliest times to the present. When completed, it will form a standing monument to our newly-awakened spirit of constructive endeavour in the service of our motherland. It is impossible in the course of a short book-review to notice even all the important chapters of the present volume and we have necessarily to make a selection. The title of the volume, to begin with, is admittedly anomalous, as it "begins from the dawn of human activity in India" (Preface p. 25) and indeed further afield with the story of the Aryans in their original home, to which is prefixed "an introductory section dealing with certain general topics bearing upon the history of India as a whole" (*ibid*). In chapter I the learned General Editor deals at length with the difficulties in the way of reconstruction of ancient Indian history and its special appeal, while shorter notices follow as regards the methods of reconstructing the mediaeval and modern history of India. Chapter II from the same learned pen describes the sources of Indian history under the three heads Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. The author treats his subject with his usual lucidity, thoroughness and critical acumen, but we may be permitted to make a few remarks. On p. 47 he refers casually to "the lists of teachers in various Vedic texts as well as in writings of Buddhists, Jains and other religious sects," along with "songs and poems in praise of kings and heroes referred to in Vedic literature." Instead of this vague and meagre statement, one would have expected from the author a fuller consideration of the Vedic sources (under the heads of the *vamsas* and the *gotra-pravara* lists and the *gathas* and *narasamsis* and the *itihasas* and *puranas*) and of the Buddhist and Jaina sources (under the heads of sacred biography and church history). The author's statement (p. 49) about the absence of Purana-like texts in the post-Gupta period ignores the evidence of such a work as the *Manjusri-mulakalpavastu*, while his account of the *Harshacharita* and the *Rajatarangini* (pp. 49-50) is silent about such features of these works as vivid characterisation of individuals and types and brilliant descriptions of contemporary manners. Instead of making a dubious reference (p. 56) to "kings or

states" as probably issuing the so-called punch-marked coins, the author might have mentioned that silver coins of this type with five obverse marks have been shown by the recent Taxila excavations to fall into two distinct categories. Of these one, consisting of small thick coins, is now generally assigned to the imperial Mauryas, while the other, comprising large thin pieces, is attributed to the earlier ruling houses. Chapter III gives a good account of the progress of Indian archaeological excavations under British rule from the expert pen of the late lamented Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. Of this chapter we have only to complain that the Sanchi excavations should not have been dismissed in one single sentence (p. 73), while the account of archaeological explorations in Greater India is too sketchy and imperfect to be of much use. In chapter VIII Dr. S. K. Chatterji presents us with a highly suggestive and important description of the contribution made by each of India's component racial stocks to the common culture. Chapter IX consists of an excellent summary (with well-selected illustrations) of the salient features of the Indus civilisation, written by Dr. A. D. Pusalker, though his statement (p. 195) that "the Rigvedic Aryans probably contributed their share to the evolution of the Indus Valley civilisation" is not likely to command general acceptance. In a very learned chapter (chapter X) Dr. B. K. Ghosh, an accomplished scholar (alas, too soon cut off in the midst of his activities) states on what appears to be conclusive grounds the case against India as the original home of the Aryans and then proceeds step by step to show that this last is most likely to be sought in South Russia. After this the short Appendix containing a list of arguments for the theory locating the original Aryan home in India appears to be quite unnecessary, and the General Editor himself appears to be of this opinion when he says elsewhere (Preface p. 26) that this theory has "a sentimental appeal to Indians" but is believed by few scholars today. The very high standard of scholarship shown by the author of Ch. X is well-maintained in his two following chapters (Chs. XI-XII), of which one describes the relations between the ancient cultures of India and Iran and the other presents us with a general review of Vedic literature from the Rigveda to the *Srautasutras*. The concluding portion of this work deals in successive sections with the Vedic period under the captions, 'The Age of the Rik-Samhita,' 'The Age of the Later Samhitas' (add. and the Brahmanas), and 'The Age of the Upanishads and Sutrae' (read, *Kalpasutras*). In these sections Dr. B. K. Ghosh contributes very valuable chapters (Chs. XVI, XX and XXIV) on language and literature, while useful chapters on the various aspects of Vedic civilisation, viz., political and legal institutions (Chs. XVII, XXI, XXV), religion and philosophy (Chs. XVIII, XXII and XXVI) and social and economic conditions (Chs. XIX, XXIII and XXVII) are added by Dr. V. M. Apte. On these latter chapters we propose to make a few remarks. In Ch. XVII, the author should have added some references to the status of the king's retainers and dependants (*ibhya upasti*, etc.) and the order of princes and nobles (*rajaputra*) as well as the limitations imposed upon the king's authority by the conception of an all-powerful law or custom and still more by the separation of the priestly and ruling functions. Ch. XXI in its account of political theory

should have included, on the one hand, fuller notices of the theories of creation of the divine king by the will of the Highest Deity (Prajapati or Varuna) and on the other hand, some references to the ideas of "divine covenant" for strengthening the political society of the gods. The account of political theory in Ch. XXV is silent about such important topics as the sources of Dharma and of *vyavahara-law*, while it fails to bring into clear relief the opposing principles and clauses of the law relating to the king's authority as well as obligations. Throughout these chapters no mention is made of the striking theories of the relations of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas with the others as well as *inter se*. The volume concludes with a good bibliography which is exhaustive for the chapter on Indus Civilisation, two maps showing the division into botanical regions and the distribution of the Indus Valley sites, as well as a valuable index of nearly 20 pages. Occasionally, however, the bibliography is altogether a blank (as in the case of references to archaeological explorations in Greater India), or out-of-date (as in the reference to the first (1923) edition of the present reviewer's work *A History of Hindu Political Theories*).

Altogether the publication of the present volume is a great event in the history of Indological studies in this country and abroad, for which we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the enlightened founders of the Institute, and especially and above all to the learned editors of this volume as well as the scholars who have contributed to it its different chapters.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHIJI'S AUTO-BIOGRAPHY: Abridged by Bharatan Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. February, 1952. Pp. xi + 296. Price Rs. 2.

The original of the Auto-biography runs to well over six hundred pages (Second edition, 1940). The Navajivan Publishing House has therefore thought it fit to bring out the present abridgement at a very popular price. Mahadev Desai also once compressed the book, but that was done specifically for school-children. The present abridgement however retains much more of the original than the former, for it is meant for the general reader.

DRINK, DRUGS AND GAMBLING: By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. January, 1952. Pp. xi + 176. Price Rs. 2-8.

Gandhiji was an ardent social reformer, and one of the principal items of his endeavours in this direction was temperance work. He wrote often on drink and drugs in the *Young India* and *Harijan*, and also invited others to write on the same subject. Such articles have been gathered together in the present booklet. They are altogether 97 in number.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HISTORY AND REGISTER OF KRISHNAGAR COLLEGE (1846-1945): Part I—History, compiled by Tarak Nath Talukdar. Part II—Register, compiled by Nirmalkanti Majumdar. With a Foreword by Principal J. M. Sen. Price Rs. 10.

Like the History and Register of the Presidency as well as the Hugli College, this is a publication of Government of West Bengal—Education Department. In the history of modern education in Bengal, Krishnagar College occupies a prominent place. Lord

William Bentinck settled once for all the controversy over the medium of instruction in secondary and higher stages of education, which was raging for the previous ten years, by his famous Resolution of 7th March, 1835. Since then English schools and colleges multiplied. Krishnagar College, though founded a decade later, was one of the finest fruits of the government's educational policy. The College was started as a Government institution, but the zeal and contribution of the local people, headed by the Maharaja of Nadia, hastened its fruition within a few months from the issue of the Government circular, on 1st October, 1845. The public meeting held on the 18th November of that year for this purpose is 'very important, and though the author has drawn upon the account of the meeting, published in *The Friend of India*, he would have done well to get it published in *extenso*.

In the short compass of fifty-four pages, however, nothing but a rapid survey of the achievements of the college can be expected. But even in this, the author has entertained us with many interesting topics and observations. The views of Principal Lobb on higher education in Bengal simply betray the mentality of at least a section of those who guided our educational policy at the time. The statement of Umesh Chandra Datta, the first officiating Indian Principal of the College, on the utility of Bengali medium, at least in History, Geography and Mathematics, in the higher stages of University education, is very refreshing and is yet to be materialised. It is also refreshing to find a Principal propose to the D.P.I. for eschewing Sanskrit for ever, while at another time the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple exhorting the students to take to Sanskrit studies seriously. Principal Satish Chandra De's stress upon the loyalty of the students during the revolutionary activities of the first World War will also sound queer to the reader of Independent India. Mr. Talukdar, even in the space at his disposal, has done considerable justice to the academic and extra-academic activities of the premier institution of Central Bengal. Krishnagar College had the possibilities of becoming a full-fledged university, but the State policy changed from time to time, and once had to be demoted to a second-grade College in the time of Sir George Campbell! The author had to ransack many records, both in MSS and in print to prepare this history. The stamp of his industry and research is evident at every page.

One word should be said on the *Register*. To compile the names of the students and the instructing staff for a hundred years, is, to say the least, a herculean task. Like Mr. Talukdar, Mr. Majumdar had to handle records both in manuscripts as well as in print to ascertain many things regarding each individual whether student or teacher. Principal Sen's informative Foreword, tracing the governmental activities regarding the foundation of a college in Nadia for Sanskrit studies upto the foundation of first-grade English College at its headquarters, has enhanced the value of the publication. For the historian of modern education in Bengal this volume will very well serve as a source-book. It will prove instructive even to the lay reader.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE VOICE OF A POET: A collection of Subramanya Bharati's Poems. Published by the Bharati Tamil Sangham, 93 Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.

Subramanya Bharati lived during the Swadeshi period of the Bengal Anti-Partition days, and in the introduction we get an estimate of his life and work. "Bharati, the poet, was the voice of the newly-awakened national consciousness. He is the father of the present era in Tamil." What that fatherhood has meant to the evolution of this particular culture, enshrined in a provincial language, spoken by 3 crores of people, is found described in the publisher's note. It quotes Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, whose balanced use of words is an art in itself. "Just as in ancient days, Vyasa and Valmiki served human progress and culture, so has Poet Subramanya Bharati the Tamils. In recent times by his writings..."

Again, "he wove into song" what had "preceded Gandhi," whose field had been prepared by men and women from Ram Mohun Roy to Dadabhai Naoroji, Vivekananda, Tilak, Bipin Chandra, Aurobindo and their other colleagues like Upadhyaya Brahmanandhab. The poet stands apart as the voice of ages, ancient and modern, throwing a bridge of reconciliation of creeds and races.

Bharati's life-story, its human details, are not given in this booklet of 48 pages only—a defect which the publishers propose to remedy on the occasion of the next Bharati Day—December next. The present attempt gives us an idea of the infinite moods of Bharati—his worship of the country as Mother. In the Introduction (IX) he has his quarrels with the world when the Mother bade him:

Sing and soar with a song
The sickness and poverty of the land,
Sing and forge with a song
The peoples of the earth into one love-knit band.
And then the Mother's voice is heard
"No, my poet, sing of Me."

Liberty (The "Mother" here) is a jealous goddess who exacts the last ounces of blood and tears, so that she may win. In his own life Subramanya Bharati paid this price; he died young, at about 1921, at the age of 45. The British regime drove him to the French Settlement at Pondicherry where Aurobindo Ghose had taken shelter. Thither had come from Britain V. V. Iyer, a Tamil prose writer of note, a friend of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and others from Bengal, Maharashtra and the Punjab. In this company Bharati passed a few happy years, afflicted with poverty though these were. The Aurobindo Ashram can throw the needed light on this period, and the Bharati Sangham can easily arrange to have a little research work carried there.

OUTER MONGOLIA AND ITS INTERNATIONAL POSITION: By Gerard M. Fritters. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 25s. net.

The Communist victory and the consolidation of that victory in China has increased manifold the importance of the understanding of Outer Mongolia—the Mongolian People's Republic—which separates China from Russia. It is the common meeting ground of influences radiating from China, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and 'new centres of political ferment' such as Korea. Yet we know next to nothing about this country. The U.S.A. voted against its admission to the United Nations as it knew "too little about the country or its government."

The six chapters of Dr. Fritters' work describe the social, economic and geographical condition of Outer Mongolia, her relations with Russia, China, Japan, France, Great Britain, Germany, America, Sweden and other States and the present position in that country. The Appendices include a very useful bibliography, the constitution of the Mongol People's Republic, short biographical notes of some notable Mongol personalities and a catalogue of important events in Mongolia from 1688 to 1948.

The learned author has written more or less a connected and very readable volume based on original materials. He has searched the files on international diplomacy to collect his materials. But unfortunately he has not been able to find much "in the way of statements of fact and expressions of opinion by Mongol participants in the events of Mongol politics." The paucity of original Mongol materials is, however, a problem to all serious students of the history of Mongolia—Inner and Outer. Dr. Fritters, nevertheless, has done the best of a bad bargain and his work, to quote the *International Politics* (July, 1950), "fills a crying need in the contemporary English documentation on the Far East."

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE KATHA UPANISHAD (With English translation and notes): By Ganga Prasad, M.A., M.R.A.S. Published by the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi. Pp. 122. Price Re. 1-4.

The author, who is the retired Chief Justice of

Tehri Garhwal state, has more than a dozen books in Hindi and English to his credit. His translation of the Kena Upanishad has preceded the book under review. In this book the verses of the Katha Upanishad are given in Devanagari script followed by word-meanings, free rendering and important notes. The notes contain some information that are very valuable and interesting. In his notes to the fifteenth verse which refers to the number and size of bricks required for the making of a sacrificial altar the author quotes the remarkable opinion of Dr. Thibaut, the German Sanskritist. Dr. Thibaut observes that these Vedic formulas not only laid the firm foundation of Geometry in ancient India, but also travelled to ancient Greece and inspired the Greek scientists to formulate their Geometry including the celebrated works of Euclid. The author, who is a staunch follower of the Arya Samaj, interprets this Upanishad according to Swami Dayananda. In an introduction he criticizes the advaitistic interpretation of Sankaracharya and quotes Sri Aurobindo to show that this and other Upanishads consistently support a kind of dualism. Hence this book will be more welcome to the Arya Samajists than others. The author's endeavour to popularise the Upanishads is however commendable and exemplary.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

MĀNDALAYER KATHA: By Sudhansu Bimal Mukherjee. Baikuntha Book House, 153 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta 6. Price Re. 1.

SRIMAD BHAGAVAD-GITA

By SWAMI SWARUPANANDA

Contains the original text in Devanagari characters and word-for-word English rendering followed by running translation and exhaustive Notes. Highly appreciated by all. Beautiful cloth binding. Also Index to the first line of every Sloka and topics. Price Rs. 5-8

Pp. 464

BRAHMA-SUTRAS

By SWAMI VIRESWARANANDA

Contains Text in Devanagari, word-for-word English rendering and running translation together with exhaustive notes based on the commentary of Sri Sankaracharya and the glosses of later scholiasts on his commentary. With an Introduction containing a comparative study of the Bhashyas of Sankara, Ramanuja and Nimbarka. Price Rs. 6.

Pp. lxviii+560.

BRIHADARANYAKA UPANISHAD

With Sankara's Commentary

By SWAMI MADHAVANANDA

Containing: The Text of the Upanishad in Devanagari, a lucid and faithful translation of the Text and Commentary, relevant notes, reference to quotations and an Index.

Pp. 959. Price: Rs. 10-8. Superior Edition: Rs. 13

MANDUKYOPANISHAD

With Gaudapada's Karika and Sankara's Commentary on both

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

Cloth Bound. Excellent get-up. Price: Rs. 8

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE

CALCUTTA-13.

As the Head of the Department of History in the University College, the author had to stay at Mandalay in the year 1940. Sometime after the declaration of independence, a rebellion broke out in Burma, in which the Communists and the Karens joined hands. During the author's stay at Mandalay, the rebels grew so very strong and active as to capture this capital city of Upper Burma. The city was, however, recaptured by the Government forces soon. The author has given us a day-to-day account of the events that happened during this period covering about three months in the form of a diary. The account began with 22nd February and ended in 12th May when he sailed back home from Rangoon. Some of the events are quite thrilling. The author has got a penetrating insight into human character, and he has been able to depict it in its true colours. We are thankful to the author for putting in black and white his first-hand experience of a period which was critical not only in the history of Burma, but also in the life of the individuals like him. The book is an welcome addition to our literature.

JOSEPH C. BAGAL

NABAYUGER MAHAPURUSH: By Swami Jagadgururanda. Published by the Orient Book Co., 7 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta 12. Pp. 444. Price Rs. 6.

This nicely got-up cloth-bound book is a welcome addition to the growing Ramakrishna-Vivekananda literature in Bengali. It is unique in this respect that it presents in a handy volume short biographies of twenty-four disciples of Sri Ramakrishna and six disciples of Swami Vivekananda for the first time in Bengali. Materials of these biographies are collected from authentic records published in Bengali and English. Some biographies appeared as articles in the Bengali monthlies—*Udbodhan*, *Prbartak* and *Visvabani*. Separate lives of some monastic and lay disciples of Sri Ramakrishna have already come out in Bengali or English. But they are not within the reach of busy readers for whom the book under review is specially meant. Life of Sri Ramakrishna may be likened to a substantial aphorism and those of his disciples to the commentaries on it. As the aphorisms are not fully understood without studying their commentaries so the depth and breadth of the significance of the Master's life cannot be fathomed without knowing the lives of his disciples. The author who has devoted a decade of his studious life to the perusal and research of the lives of Sri Ramakrishna and his disciples rightly observes in the preface that the life of each disciple is, as it were, a chapter of the greater life of Sri Ramakrishna.

The lives of six monastic disciples of Swami Vivekananda such as Swami Swarupananda, Vimalananda, Prakasananda, Suddhananda, Atmananda and Paramananda given in this book are equally interesting and informative. For the first time the lives of these dedicated souls are brought out together for the public. These lives may be regarded as chapters of the greater life of the illustrious Swami. The first three disciples were closely connected with the Advaita Ashrama at Mayavati and the *Prabuddha Bharata*. Swami Swarupananda was the first president of Advaita Ashrama and the first editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata*. Swami Vimalananda worked many years at Advaita Ashrama and died there. Swami

Paramahansa and Prakasananda dedicated their lives and died for the Vedanta movement in U.S.A., started by their Master. The title meaning 'Great men of the New age' is appropriate. Pictures of some lives dealt with adorn the book. A long list of the principal events of the Ramakrishna movement is appended. The frontispiece picturing the Kali Temple at Dakshineswara is significant. The book deserves perusal by the Bengali followers and admirers of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda.

B. N. PRATIHAR

HINDI

BHARAT KA VIDHAN: By Sundarlal, Secretary, Hindustani Culture Society, Allahabad. 1950. Pp. 278 + 60. Price Rs. 7-8.

This has been a complete translation, not the first in modern Indian languages, of the Constitution of India, but it has the unique distinction of keeping in view the background of the people's language, Hindustani. The yoke of the classical language is never felt in this version, which by itself constitutes a challenge to the official Hindi version. In the meantime, along with use, some Hindi words in the technical context have gained currency, and it would be now difficult to dislodge them—and would it be any good?—from their position. The bold simplification of spelling even of *tal-sama* words resorted to in this version also does not appeal to the conservative reader, though the interest in and attitude to the language of the people as apart from that of the government or the scholars is certainly an emphasis on the right side.

The last sixty pages contain the glossary from Hindi to English and from English to Hindi, necessary for the understanding of the constitution as embodied in the governmental publication, and this will be very useful for the translation of the document to other modern Indian languages.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

SAMULI KRANTI: By Kishorelal D. Mashruwala. Revised second edition. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, July, 1950. Price Re. 1-8.

This book of essays is divided into four sections: (i) Religion and Society, (ii) Economic Revaluation, (iii) Political and (iv) Educational. Those who are inclined towards reforms will find here a complete code for consideration, indeed, ready for adoption. There is a Ruskinian flavour in all of them. The summing up in verse form by way of recapitulation of the findings is a novel feature in some of them and commendable.

P. R. SEN

GANDHIJIKI SADHANA: By Ravijibhai Manibhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 344. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is a Second Edition, the first was published in 1939, and noticed then. Messrs. Kaka Kalelkar's informative Introduction gives the reader glimpses of what is to be found in the succeeding pages. About forty incidents in Gandhiji's early life are narrated here, together with jail experiences in South Africa of the author himself. The picture of the Satyagraha practised there is vivid.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Meaning of Freedom

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

The strength and power of a nation or State depend largely on the innate strength and power of the individuals, who more or less determine the shape and organization of their government. Freedom is the will to be responsible for oneself; it is judicious exercise of the right to seek work, wealth, and happiness in the manner most appropriate to oneself, without transgressing the law or hindering the freedom of others. A perfect society that can regulate its own affairs and govern itself has the least occasion for an authoritarian or militaristic type of government. Hence is it often said that self-government is better than the best form of good government. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, 'Government over self is the truest Swaraj, it is synonymous with Moksha or salvation.'

None can deny that freedom is the most essential condition of all progress. Where there is no freedom—political, social, and spiritual, there can hardly be full growth and well-being of the human personality. Many a modern State, while granting complete political and economic emancipation to the people, seeks to curtail or deny social and even spiritual freedom. The physical needs of the body—food, shelter, and the largest amount of pleasure possible—have assumed a profoundly meaningful aspect to the majority of men today. The reason is obvious. At no time has the world been wanting in those who glorify the laws of the flesh and find 'freedom in the thousand bonds of delight'. Self-seeking mass orators, with deceptive slogans and insufficient factors of altruism, are surely the least fitted for meeting the demands of the present situation humanity finds itself in. The price one has to pay for achieving real and genuine freedom is much more than a mere revolutionary urge or a life of privation. It calls for infinite patience, simplicity, renunciation, and purity of motive. It may seem strange, but it is true, that the meaning of freedom can be properly understood only in relation to an abiding and deeply felt faith in the Divinity or Reality inherent in man.

The war-weary world is aghast at the insincere ways of some of the vociferous protagonists of peace and freedom, who speak with their tongues in their cheeks, hiding the most lethal secret weapon in one hand and holding out the olive-branch in the other. A hectic race for the increase of armaments is occasionally interspersed with glib talks of freedom and feelings for peace, the implications of which even their ardent sponsors do not seem to be aware. Mutual rivalry and clash of self-interest have given rise to mutually repellent ideological superstructures and spheres of influence. Standing in the midst of mighty world movements, India finds herself in an unenviable position. The raging conflict of norms and ideologies is not unknown or non-existent in India. But, true to her great ideals and lofty aspirations, India has stood firm as the symbol of man's complete freedom from every shackle that binds the individual and contracts his infinite personality. She has preserved and proclaimed not only social, political, economic, and religious freedom, but also cultural and spiritual freedom, and that for everyone throughout the world, irrespective of any distinction

based on birth, caste, race, religion, or nationality. Hence, let not her sons and daughters forget that India stands for the most exalted freedom—the Freedom of the soul of man. She has not less emphasized the mundane and more immediate aspect of freedom too, ensuring thereby, to all the people of the land, 'justice—social, economic, and political; liberty—of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship; equality—of status and of opportunity; and fraternity—assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the national equality.'

Where individual freedom is unhampered and the right of each individual to live the life of his choice is fully assured it is imperative that the sanctity of human personality should be realized and accorded due recognition. Freedom, as a Vedantin would view it, is nothing short of ultimate Freedom or Mukti, the transcendence from the world of limited freedom to the state of Infinite and Eternal Freedom. To be free in every respect one has to remain independent of the control of and subservience to anything other than the Self. 'Man the brute' has to loosen the bonds that tie him down to the myriads of passions and prejudices, sorrows and sufferings, and attain the blissful state of 'Man the divine', who not only enjoys the highest freedom for himself but also helps others to attain the same.



Bhu-Dana-Yagna—Its Meaning and Place

Suresh Ramabhai writes in *The Indian Review*:

Narrating the condition of India's masses Gandhiji observed in 1921:

"The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has got to be experienced to be realized."

More than three decades after, even when we are citizens to-day of a sovereign and independent Republic, our flag flying high in all the capitals of the world, the plight of the vast majority of our countrymen has not known any change. Rather it has gone worse, unemployment has grown and starvation or semistarvation stares in the face of a greater number of our people than perhaps ever before. Besides, there is the widening gulf between the rulers and the ruled. Our predicament is very much like that of a patient whose condition gets deteriorated with the progress of the treatment.

But is there any way out of this morass? Can not we save ourselves at this critical hour of our existence? There is a calm and quite answer:

"In olden days when disturbed conditions prevailed in the country, our ancestors used to perform Yagnas. I also want to perform a Yagna. So I have started experimenting this Bhu-Dan-Yagna. I have asked many persons to donate lands. Everyone should take part in this Yagna which is in the interest of the upliftment of the people. Just as we give our share to the Yagnas, so also we should donate lands."

It comes from Acharya Vinoba Bhave, well-known as India's first Satyagrahi of the Great War II. He launched this Bhu-Dana-Yagna movement on April 18, 1951, while trekking his way through the Telangana area of the Hyderabad State. Like a lonely stream winding its way through hills and hedges, crevices and cleft, he has now taken the form of a river majestically flowing on and at whose sacred waters many a needy and oppressed have slaked their thirst.

And why does he want land? His reply is:

"We must make sacrifices for the poor. I am asking for land. It is just a symbol of that spirit of sacrifice. In every heart there should be a desire to serve Daridranarayan."

Thus this Bhu-Dana-Yagna strikes three targets:

- (1) The sacrifice of the rich brings them nearer the poor and breaks the great wall in between;
- (2) The possession of land revuls the sides of the new owner with a furious spur to activity and work, thereby increasing the food-production of the country;
- (3) It provides the world with a way to solve its socio-economic problems in a perfectly peaceful and lovable manner.

Significantly enough, Vinobaji does not want donations in money. He knows that distribution of money-alms will not be of any avail at the moment. To quote his own words:

"Why do I not want money? It is because money has brought the country to its present state. It is at the root of the country's degradation."

"People should work rather than ask others for money. Money should be eliminated from the daily routine. Money tells lies and is like a loafing tramp. And yet it has been made the basis of trade and commerce."

Obviously money has so overpowered men that he has degraded himself. But if man is to recover his lost soul money must be dethroned from its present pedestal. Vinobaji is quite conscious of it:

"I realize that money, like God, is present everywhere, and it is not easy to eliminate it from life. But that is my aim. I never cared to undertake an easy task. I became enthusiastic when the task was difficult. I have taken up the land question knowing it to be full of difficulties. Similarly, I have undertaken to free the worker and the peasant from the shackles of money, fully aware of the difficulties involved. Freeing people from the dependence of money means removing them from all kinds of bad and evil influences. I have, therefore, been asking people to reduce their dependence on money by producing things they need."

Stupendous though the task is, Vinobaji has no doubt about the success of his mission. As he said at Lucknow the other day:

"The work I am made to do is the continuation of the 'Dharma-Chakra-Pravartan',—revolving the wheel of Dharma which Buddha had started. And mark what I pronounce with the same commanding voice as that of the lion which drowns all other smaller voices and rings clear across the forest. The land has already come to me; it has already gone to the landless. It remains for you only to choose the manner of effecting the transfer."

He went on:

"The equal sharing of wealth is the cry of the age and it will come to be. Land will have to be redivided. I have no doubt that it can be done peacefully. I can see it quite clearly and this is why I speak so confidently about it; and this is why I ask you to wake up, for as Tulidas sang to Rama, I sing to you, who are but other forms of Rama: 'The day is dawning and the birds on the trees are chirping merrily, and it is time when gifts should be made to the poor, so get awake, Oh Rama!'"

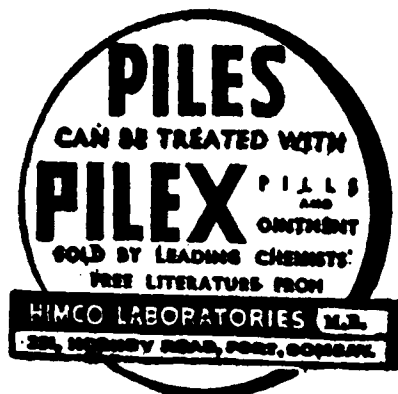
In fact the same warning was given by Gandhiji as early as 1929:

"There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other, the impending chaos into which if the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play can avert."

Vinobaji seems to awaken the powermad capitalists, landlords and all varieties of 'haves' and asks them to read the writing on the wall. Like the proverbial Vaman who covered the earth in three steps, Vinobaji's three steps are:

"What I want the people to do is, first, to give away some of their land. Secondly, they should engage themselves in the service of others. Finally, in their service they should lose all and voluntarily sacrifice everything. This is the path into which I want to initiate the people."

And what is his objective in this Yagna? In Vinobaji's words:



"My object cannot be achieved by obtaining a little Bhudan here and there. It is to transform the whole society."

The Bhu-Dana-Yagna is, therefore, a movement to make the people stand on their own feet and be self-sufficient. Discarding the servile method of begging for food, money or experts from without, it teaches us to solve our problems by seeking ways and means within and by our own earnest endeavour and innocent skill.

Surely, it is the selfless and honest devotion to his duty that by now he has acquired more than two and a half lakh acres in Uttar Pradesh alone and about 50,000 acres in the rest of the country.

Higher Education in India

Science and Culture observes:

The problems of higher education came up for discussion at the House of the People in connection with the passing of the budget demands of the Ministry of Education. Prof. M. N. Saha, one of the principal speakers from the Opposition Benches, drew pointed attention to the important recommendations of the University Education Commission. These recommendations were the results of mature thought and long experience of distinguished educationists who toured the whole country, visiting all the 30 universities and institutions of university rank, interviewing heads and ministers of States, educationists and other men highly placed in life. Prof. Saha observed that these recommendations, if given effect to, would have put new life into the frame of our universities and prevented them from falling into decay as they are doing now. It is a matter of extreme regret that within these three years no action has been taken to implement any of these recommendations.

A few of these recommendations given below are:

- (1) that university education should be placed on the concurrent list;
- (2) that the President of the Republic should be the visitor of all universities;
- (3) that the concern of the Central Government with the universities be with regard to finance, co-ordination of facilities in special subjects, adoption of national policies, ensuring minimum standards of efficient administration and liaison between universities and national research laboratories and scientific survey etc.;
- (4) that for allocating grants to universities a Central Grants Commission be established, its composition and functions to be as indicated.

BACKGROUND OF RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the Constitution of India, education including that of universities, is subject to provisions of entries 63, 64, 65, 66 of list I, and entry 25 of list III. Provisions under these entries may be briefly summarized.

63: The Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance.

64: Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part, and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance.

65: Union agencies and institutions for:

- (a) professional, vocational or technical training, including the training of police officers; or
- (b) the promotion of special studies or research; or
- (c) scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.

66: Co-ordination and determination of standards in

institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

According to these schedules, university education is a provincial subject except for the Universities of Delhi, Banaras, and Aligarh to which recently the Osmania University and the Visva-Bharati have been added.

The Commission were not satisfied with this state of affairs. They say:

"There are issues in India to-day in which there is grave and obvious danger of disunion through the provinces acting independently both of each other and of the Centre. Some of these issues vitally affect universities, e.g., communal quotas, and the use of national or regional languages. We feel very strongly that the universities, as the main source from which India is bound to draw not only most of its leaders but all its high-grade national officials must throw their weight on to the side of national unity (which need not mean uniformity)."

This explains the need for concurrency and the desirability of the President being the visitor of all universities.

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE PROPOSALS: CONCURRENCY RECEIVES UNIVERSAL SUPPORT

The Commission took the opinion of hundreds of witnesses, including men occupying the highest responsible positions in society regarding their proposals for concurrency. They say:

"Nearly all our witnesses have expressed their opinion as to the proper category for university education—Central, Concurrent or Provincial. A minority, but a minority including some important witnesses, think it should be Central. A very large majority both of university spokesmen and of public men and women think it should be Concurrent. Practically the only witnesses who thought it should be Provincial were the representatives of Provincial Governments in only one or two provinces. The significant thing was that even among the representatives of Provincial Government a substantial majority preferred Concurrency" (Page 404).

The Commission found that Concurrency would not to the slightest degree interfere with either university autonomy or authority of the Provincial Government.

The Commission were alive to the need of provision of ample finances for universities by the Centre, and recommended the establishment of the Central University Grants Commission about which we expressed our considered views in our editorial article, "University Education Commission" (*Science and Culture*, Vol. 15, No. 7). In the Commission's own words,

"Generous grants from the Centre must be forthcoming; and these grants the Centre will not, and should not, allocate blindly or mechanically. A Central University Grants Commission working through the Ministry of Education must allocate the sums made available by the Central Government, in accordance with the special needs and merits of each University."

It may be added that the grants to most of the Indian universities have not received proportionate addition after the World War II, though the value of the rupee has gone down by one-fourth, the number of students has increased and the burdens on universities have multiplied. The consequence is that most of the teachers in colleges and universities are underpaid, the laboratories are without equipment, and libraries remain poor.

In certain universities—in the University of Allahabad for example, there is an Enquiry Committee appointed by the State Government to find out the way the university had overspent their budget. According to the information received, the university authorities were actuated by the highest of motives. They did not want to increase their salaries, as many Government officers had done whenever

they were able to do so, but wanted to make ample provision for education to meet the growing needs of the country, and it was a mockery of fate that they should be punished for their enthusiasm.

An extraordinary demand on higher education in post-war years is not peculiar to this country alone. The great role that science and technology play in the national economy and defence was recognized specially during the last war and it was found in these countries that resources of all educational institutions were inadequate for meeting the additional burden. In the United Kingdom, all the universities found at the end of the war that they were grossly under-financed for the tasks they were asked to shoulder. To help them the British Government had appointed a whole-time University Grants Committee to which a magnificent sum of £30 million, a little over 1/100 part of their national budget was annually given in order that these universities may be financed properly for the great task of post-war reconstruction. Even the great universities like Oxford and Cambridge which before the war refused to accept any grant from the Government for fear that it would interfere with their autonomy, obtain 50 per cent of their receipts from the grants made to them through the University Grants Committee. The total receipts of some of the great American universities approach those of our class A States.

Attention may be drawn to the great work which is being done in the University Division in Russia. From a recent issue of *Nature*, May 3, 1952, Prof. Saha obtained the following information which he quoted in his speech: "Russia, as everybody knows, bled almost to death during the Second World War; they lost about 1 crore and 40 lakhs of people; their country suffered devastation on a scale not known to history. But after the War, they courageously undertook the reconstruction of their Universities. For the Moscow University alone, they have built new quarters, new buildings, at a cost of £70 million which comes to about 100 crores of rupees." Dr. Radhakrishnan is reported to have said to Prof. Saha that he was present at the opening of this new University of Moscow, and he was thrilled with what he saw. "I wish", said he, "I could have witnessed similar occasions more frequently in my own country". But unfortunately nothing is being done for the universities in free India, where they are being allowed to fall into ruin.

The Commission made very valuable recommendations for helping the universities. They did not want that the States should entirely wash their hands off from university education. They came to the compromise that while education up to the Bachelor's stage should be wholly a State subject, M.A. and M.Sc. teaching and research work, higher professional training, medicine and technology should be the joint concern of States and the Centre, and costs should be shared on a 50:50 ratio between them. Their estimate of the expenses to be incurred by the Centre was Rs. 5 crores to start with which will ultimately rise to Rs. 10 crores, and recommended that this amount should be granted from the Central Exchequer.

This would raise the present education budget to 12 crores, which will ultimately grow to 17 crores, a bare 4% of the total budget. This falls far short of the recommendations of the Kher Committee (Vide *Science and Culture*, ed. art. Vol. 18, No. 1) which was 10% of the Central Budget, i.e., nearly 40 crores of rupees. But we must not forget that there are other urgent demands on the Centre for education, and 40 crores of rupees are not much for a country of India's size. China has it in her constitution that 15% of its budget should be spent on education.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for Men and Women. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL**: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **OLVITA**: MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.O.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

The Ten Commandments—And Today

In the course of an article in *The Aryan Path*, Elizabeth Cross observes:

Every now and then there is a revived interest in the Ten Commandments. Sometimes it is due to an outstanding personality in the Church, sometimes it is part of a religious revival, sometimes it seems nothing but a journalistic "stunt." In any case it is taken for granted that all Christians are familiar with the commandments and believe that they form a worthy moral guide. Whenever the commandments are studied and perhaps "interpreted in the light of today" (whatever that may mean!) it is assumed that if only everyone took greater heed of these particular directions and endeavoured to live in strict accordance with them the world would be so much the better. And, indeed, when we consider the commandments with an open mind we are bound to agree that they consist of a set of extremely comprehensive and worthy regulations for almost any society. In fact, if one took each command and tried to trace it to logical conclusions it might be possible for the whole system to show applications to all stages of civilization.

An example of this was given by Pearl Buck, in a book based on the theme: "Thou shalt have none other Gods . . ." in which she showed the great moral danger of giving extravagant admiration and worship to human beings. In this case the "hero" was a young mountain climber and the frantic admiration of the public was not only bad for the worshippers but almost destroyed their idol. There is, in almost all Western

countries, a tendency to this type of idolatry; public figures become excessively popular for often trivial reasons. There is the cult of the film star, the theatrical entertainer, the outstanding performer in some sport, and this public worship grows into a monster. What is of particular danger is that young people, dazzled by the brief success of some such idol, spend much of their time dreaming and wishing for equal fame and luxury and so lose the chance of progress in a more reasonable and worthy manner. There has always been a certain amount of "hero-worship" in all ages, but in the past the heroes, (whether of a high or low type) were usually people who had actually done something by very real efforts. They may have been soldiers, explorers, discoverers of new plants or chemicals, but in all cases they had "worked their passage" as it were, and were not the mere chance result of a well-shaped nose or photogenic eyes!

Thus we can see that idolatry, although non-existent perhaps in the original meaning of the commandment, is very much alive today. There is also a still more dangerous form, because more subtle, which is becoming prevalent. That is for men to assume powers that belong, by ancient right, to the supernatural. Because we have gone so far along the road in chemistry, medicine and general power over natural forces, there has come the temptation to imagine that men can usurp the powers of life and death. This was shown clearly in the 1939 war and its legacies of the concentration camp; some human beings were used for experiments, others were disposed of as so much waste material.



Tribute to Beauty...

Quality toilet products are real aids to beauty culture. Our toiletries are humble tribute to Beauty.

Calchemico's

MARGO SOAP

NEEM TOOTH PASTE

BHRINGOL

MAHABHRINGARAJ
HAIR OIL

LABONNY

SNOW AND
CREAM

KANTA

KERCHIEF
PERFUME



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LTD. CALCUTTA 29

M.B. SIRKAR
Jewellers and Diamond merchants & SONS

167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA. (AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNCTION)
OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM TELEPHONE AVN 1761 • TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART BALLYGUNGE 159/1 B. RASHBIHARI AVENUE CALCUTTA
PHONE: 4466

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Economic Crisis in Israel

H. Berger writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, July, 1952:

The Central Economic problem facing Israel at this time is not basically different from those of many countries. Today Israel cannot provide its inhabitants with a fair standard of living because of the gap between its productive capacity and the wants of the people which is wider than in most countries. During the past year (a year of unusual drought, it is true) Israeli agriculture supplied only about one-fourth of the country's austerity food requirements. Industrial production was probably even lower than this, if we take into account the imported raw materials that went into it. The result was a shocking trade balance. Imports were five times as high as exports, and even when we consider that some of the imports were earmarked for investments to increase the productivity of the country, the trade balance would still remain unfavourable at a ratio of about three and a half to one. But Israel cannot renounce these imports. A reduction in the import of essential consumer goods would lead to famine; a cutback in the import of goods intended to increase the productive capacity of the country would within a few years destroy the economic basis of the country. The catastrophic trade balance results in a persistent and severe shortage of foreign currency. Thus far Israel has met this crisis with the aid of loans, campaigns, grants-in-aid from the United States and capital imports. The Sterling accounts accumulated during the years of the British Mandate, especially during the war when Palestine was an important supplier to the allied forces in the Middle East were quickly consumed. It is also clear that outside aid will not continue without end, and it already does not suffice to overcome the foreign currency shortage. Already there are instances of delays in the distribution of rationed goods, and prolonged work stoppages in factories for lack of raw materials. The Israel treasury has to resort to extraordinary efforts to meet its foreign obligations.

But the chief cause of the inflation in Israel is not the unfavourable trade balance but the shortage of goods. Under a regime of economic *laissez faire* these shortages would long ago have led to "natural" solutions—starvation among the masses, flight from the country and perhaps even a total breakdown of the economy. The government of Israel has taken steps to mitigate the effects of the inflation. Rationing assures a minimum of food and clothing for the masses thus obviating hunger. Control of currency and foreign trade assures the import of the most essential products for consumption and investment. Social factors and the future needs of the country determine what should be brought in. Another social measure is full employment, because rationing only provides the opportunity to

buy essential goods, and it is also necessary to provide the masses with the purchasing power to take advantage of this opportunity. In view of the shortage of raw materials and the limited facilities for manufacturing goods of everyday consumption, the policy of full employment is directed toward projects that will pay off in the long run. The net result of this policy is inflationary. The budget of the Israel government was not balanced during the past three years partly as a result of the financing of large scale public works and partly because of the high expenditures on the security of the state. An unbalanced budget is in itself an inflationary force, and the past three years witnessed a constant increase of currency in circulation without a corresponding increase in available goods. This led to a great depreciation of the value of the Israel Pound.

The Government thereupon decided to introduce three different values for the Pound. The former rate of \$2.80 to a Pound was retained for essential food supplies, a rate of \$1.40 to the Pound was set for most other products and for tourists and a rate of \$1.00 a Pound for investors bringing their capital to the country. These three different rates aimed to mitigate the social effects of the deflation, just as rationing and public works tried to protect the masses from the effects of inflation. It is necessary to bear in mind that the social factor carries greater weight in Israel than in other countries, if only because such a large part of the population consists of new immigrants lacking that social and economic resistance which is attained in the course of generations of economic stability. Here a nation is being built out of atomized human material coming from different cultures and standards of living. An economic crisis that emphasizes social differences is therefore more dangerous in Israel than in other countries.

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES
50 TABLETS Rs. 3 100 Rs. 5-8
At All leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
Himco Laboratories
251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

Efforts to skim off the surplus purchasing power by means of compulsory loans and more effective collection of taxes are only part of the plan to solve the basic problem of Israel's economy, which is one of productivity. If the above and other measures will succeed, they will accentuate the trend toward directing labor and capital into basic production and increasing exports. But the ultimate solution lies in a radical increase of the productivity of the Israel economy.

The Israel economy has a low productivity ratio. This is due to a number of causes. The country lacks sufficient machinery in a number of basic industries. Agriculture does not supply the quantities of food required because not enough land has been put under irrigation. Though agricultural settlement has expanded, it has not kept pace with the growth of the population through immigration. Furthermore, many of the new settlements have not had time to attain their maximum productivity. The same holds true for a number of basic industries, such as building materials.

Another factor affecting productivity is the shortage of raw materials. Israel industry has to import the bulk of its raw materials, and until this year the dairy and poultry industries were likewise dependent to a large extent on the import of feed. The result is a state of insecurity and instability. There were instances of work stoppages when the government could not supply the necessary foreign exchange to finance the import of raw materials. Industry thus lives "from hand to mouth" and is hampered in planning its orders and introducing improvements. Why plan improvements when it is not even certain that it will be possible to maintain production at the existing level.

Prospecting for the natural resources of the country has made considerable progress in recent years and the number of raw materials that it will be possible to obtain within Israel is increasing. The resumption of the potash extraction from the Dead Sea will be a great boost. Should the explorations for oil and other materials prove successful it will mean a still greater improvement in the raw material situation. But in coming years, and for a long time perhaps, Israel will be largely dependent on the outside world for the raw materials for its industry. Since the government is not in a position to provide the necessary foreign exchange, it will be up to the industries to obtain the requisite foreign currencies by increasing their exports.

Until now industrialists had little incentive to produce for export. Profits reaped on the local market were greater than could be obtained abroad. But now the export of an appreciable part of the products manufactured will become essential if an enterprise is to continue operating, as this will be the only way to pay for the needed imported raw materials. This arrangement will no doubt lead to the collapse of a number of inefficient concerns which will not be able to adapt their produce or their prices to foreign requirements. But competition, which has disappeared from the country's economy for some years, will again become an operating factor.

The Israel economy is largely capitalist though from the standpoint of its social structure it has made significant progress beyond the customary forms of capitalist economy. Two-thirds of the Israel workers have no private employers. They work in co-operative or self-owned enterprises in city and village, or they

are employed by public bodies such as the *Histadrut*, the government, municipal bodies, the Jewish Agency, etc. The economic activities follow along capitalist lines, even in the co-operative and public sector of the economy. All the negative trait of modern capitalism are there, but the positive trait of competition is lacking. The constant shortages have brought about a situation wherein any commodity offered on the market finds ready customers and the producers do not have to compete with one another in the quality and price of their goods. This condition has been in effect since the beginning of the world war. During the war, when Israel industry supplied the British forces, the "cost plus" system was in effect. This system, by which the manufacturer's profits rose in accordance with the cost of production, was not conducive to a high degree of productivity. There thus arose the strange situation that the trade unions, rather than the manufacturers, became the ones to press for greater productivity. Negotiations between the *Histadrut* and the Manufacturers' Association regarding the establishment of a joint industrial production committee dragged on for years and were concluded only a few weeks ago, when the first effects of the new economic policy were beginning to be felt.

In recent years the *Histadrut* has exerted much effort to arouse the working community to the importance of increasing productivity. These efforts unfortunately were not entirely successful. Opposition to the system of bonuses for greater productivity remained strong. The example of the United States, where the standard of living of the workers rose sharply as a result of greater productivity, did not change this attitude. The example of the Soviet Union and its satellites, where wage levels were made depen-

dent on production norms, likewise proved unconvincing. The Left Wing of the Israel labor movement, which hails everything in the Soviet Union, including its wage system, opposes the introduction of similar systems in non-Soviet countries.

The American press has recently reported that the government of Israel is considering doing away with rationing and control of a number of non-vital commodities in an effort to determine whether abolition of controls may not serve to encourage production. These reports were accompanied with a surmise that the new trend indicated a departure from "socialist" principles in the management of the economic life of Israel. Naturally there is no basis for these surmises. Rationing and controls are not a socialist ideal; they are not even characteristic of socialist economic policy. The rationing and economic controls in Israel are not the result of socialist trends; they are an outgrowth of the special conditions that prevail in a poor country that is absorbing a huge immigration. As long as the purchasing power far exceeded the amount of goods on the market, and a great part of this buying potential was thus directed toward non-essentials, any relaxation of controls would have diverted capital and labor from vital sectors of the economy to those producing non-essentials. Now that the surplus purchasing power in the community is being skimmed off, the danger of a drift of capital and labor away from essential production will be reduced and the factor of competition will be reintroduced into the economy of the country.

The new economic policy is thus an attempt to hasten the process of the economic construction of the country, the basic elements of which have been laid down by the labor movement and the government of Israel in the early days of statehood.

A COLLECTION OF MAXIM GORKY

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

CHILDHOOD

MY APPRENTICESHIP

MY UNIVERSITIES

... Rs. 2- 4

... Rs. 1-11

... Rs. 1- 2

NOVEL

THE ARTAMONOV

... Rs. 2- 4

CRITICAL WRITINGS

ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

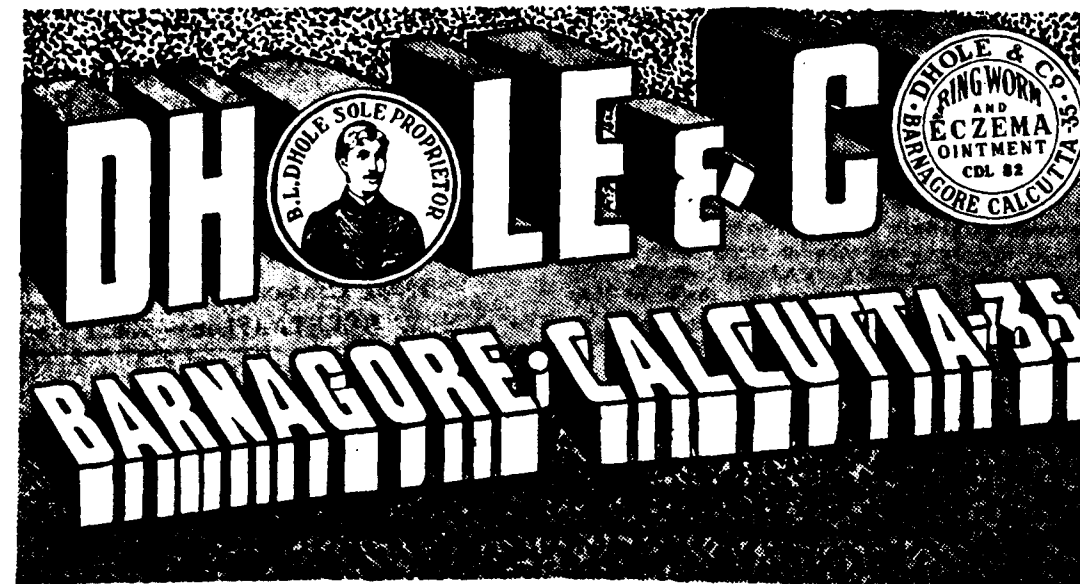
... Rs. 1-14

FOR ALL
SOVIET BOOKS
AND
PERIODICALS

Please contact

CURRENT BOOK DISTRIBUTORS

3/2, MADAN STREET, CALCUTTA-13



Imhotep—Father of Medicine

When speaking of Ancient Egyptian history, it is customary to mention the names of kings whom we credit with all the glorious achievements of the Past. In point of fact there were prominent statesmen among the high officials, generals and other dignitaries of the court who, as often as not, were the real motive power behind the kind and whose genius and initiative left a lasting stamp on the history of their period.

Whenever we come to consider the Great Pyramid of Giza the name of Khufu is recalled to mind, but nobody ever thinks of Hem-Iwn the able architect who is responsible for the planning and building of this huge masterpiece of Egyptian engineering.

Thotmes III affords another example. While all Egyptologists are agreed to consider him as the greatest monarch of the New Kingdom, as well as a first-rate army leader and foresighted administrator we learn from inscriptions on the tombs and temples of Thebes that there were other distinguished men in his reign, such as Rakh-mi-Ra, the Prime Minister, and General Amenemhab who, in fact, were the authors of the achievements usually ascribed to the statesmanship and creative powers of their master.

As these men, however, have always remained in the shadow of the throne their names have hardly been mentioned in their lifetime. But history cannot easily overlook their splendid record of great deeds, since they were the backbone and marrow of all the highlights of Egyptian civilisation.

Among these highly gifted assistants one of them rendered an unforgettable service to his country.

In the Third Dynasty, i.e., some time during the 28th century B.C., there was born a young man whose natural abilities raised him up from the lowly station of a junior scribe to that of a vizier. He had no royal blood in his veins nor was he of noble descent. Yet his genius and wisdom were so widely acclaimed that his name soon became a household word in Ancient Egypt. More than 2,000 years after his death he was made a god and temples were built in his honour.

Im-hotep lived at a time when the Egyptian civilisation was in a state of complete development. It was the custom then to erect rectangular buildings, much like the tombs of the commoners though noticeably larger, to be used as graves for kings. With his remarkable sense of proportions Im-hotep was quick to realise that it was only fitting to distinguish his master's tomb from those of his subjects. He therefore overlaid the first basic mastaba or stone ledge with other superimposed mastabas, gradually smaller in size, until they acquired the tapering shape of the pyramid—thus giving Egyptian architecture what is now universally known as the Sakkara Step-Pyramid, a familiar landmark to tourists.

Not content with the new design of the royal tomb Im-hotep surrounded the step pyramid with wonderful stone buildings while, on the other hand, introducing other innovations in public edifices, innovations which were to have a lasting influence on the architecture of later periods.

The vestiges of these buildings earn the admiration of the visitor with their beauty and exquisite proportions, their imposing portals, their graceful columns and perfect finishing. Im-hotep's contemporaries and later architects of the Middle and New Kingdoms paid tribute to his genius in the numerous inscriptions they caused to be carved out on various tombs and temples of the time.

As a physician Im-hotep gained a still wider reputation in the history of Ancient Egypt, and we find his name associated with nearly every scientific discovery recorded in papyri. More than 2,500 years after his death, Im-hotep remains an undisputed authority in the field of medicine. Recognising his genius, King Zoser conferred upon him all sorts of honours.

From the list of his official titles we learn that Im-hotep had been at the head of every government administration. He was also dean of the clergy. Was not his name inscribed on the pedestal of King Zoser's statue? In a country where the king was worshipped as a god this indeed is the highest distinction that can be bestowed upon a subject. No other court official either before or after him had thus been exalted.

Ptah-shepses, Prime Minister of the Fifth Dynasty boasted to his friends that he was related to the royal family because the king had given him an undeniable proof of his love and esteem by allowing him to kiss his sandals instead of kissing the hallowed ground on which he stood.

NOTICE!

Purchasers & Local agents of the Modern Review of Delhi and New Delhi area are hereby requested to contact with our Sole Selling Agents :

MESSRS CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY,

12/90, Connaught Circus,
NEW DELHI. (Phone—7362)

This story shows us the supreme position of the kings of Ancient Egypt. What then must Im-hotep's influence have been to cause the king—an incarnate god—to permit him to immortalise his name on his own statue in his own temple at Sakkara?

Under the Renaissance—600 B.C.—Im-hotep received divine honours. His statues are put up in every household as charms and protection against diseases. Under the Ptolemies, Im-hotep becomes a national deity worshipped in every temple in Egypt, even in those located in oases.

The Greeks who admit to have gathered their knowledge and science from Ancient Egypt duly acknowledged his position in the history of Egyptian medicine, identifying him with Asclepius.

Despite the repeated efforts of reputed Egyptologists Im-hotep's tomb remains a mystery. But it is certain that when the life story of his great Egyptian statesman comes to light it will outshine the most dazzling and dramatic career of any court official of ancient and modern times.—*Cultural Bulletin of Egypt*.

A New "Great Wall" of Trees

Two thousand years ago, a ruler of China built the Great Wall to keep the country from being devastated by nomads from the desert. Today, the People's Government is building a much vaster system of ramparts to challenge the destructive forces of

nature itself. The new Great Wall consists not of brick and stone but of trees. Second only to the national forestry programme of the Soviet Union in scale, it has no parallel, past or present, in the capitalist world. In the spring of last year alone, more trees were planted in China than in all the 22 years of Kuomintang rule.

IN THE NORTH-EAST

The greatest single project in the tremendous afforestation programme that will change the climate and whole aspect of China is the North-east Shelter Belt. Much work has already been done on it. When planting is completed, ten years from now, the belt will take up 11,600 square miles of land. It will be 680 miles long and 190 miles across at the widest point. Its purpose is to eliminate the dangers of drought, shifting sands and floods that have long afflicted the most industrially-advanced region of our country. As one of its consequences, we shall reclaim 7,000 square miles now useless for agriculture, an area equal to one-third of all the cultivated land in England. The new north-eastern forests will stretch from Fuyu and Kannan in Heilungkiang province to the Liaotung peninsula, on which Talien (Dairen) and Lushun (Port Arthur) are located, and to Shanhaikuan where the Great Wall meets the sea.

In addition, local authorities in the north-east are undertaking to afforest the sources and banks of the Liao, Liu, Taitze, Hun, Nonni, Mutan, Luan; Hsiangmulun, Kuntu and Yalu rivers. Trees will also be

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.B.A.S.

(London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, his Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji
WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.
Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :- for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha :- To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning. civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with life-long effects Rs. 184-4. Mohini Kavacha :- Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with extraordinary life-long & speedy effects Rs. 387-14. Nrisingha Kavacha :- It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9. Saraswati Kavacha :- Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9.
Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English

"MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"

by Jyotish Samrat :- Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

H. O. :- 105 (M.), Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta. 6. Consultation Hours 8-30—10-30 A.M. Phone: B. B. 3685.
Branch Office :- 47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065.
LONDON OFFICE :- Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

Estd-1893

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



planted along all highways and railway lines and along streets in cities, towns and villages.

Apart from its protective functions, the programme will, in time, immeasurably increase the supply of timber for construction.

IN EAST CHINA

A second project that has already been commenced involves afforestation, on about half the scale of the North-east programme, along the seacoast of east China in northern Kiangsu province. Its aim is to check the violent ocean winds (typhoons) that often do serious damage to crops there, as well as the accompanying seawater inundations that have alkalinized much coastal land and made it unproductive.

The main North Kiangsu Shelter Belt will run parallel to the dykes along the shores of the Yellow Sea. It will have subsidiary belts on both sides to which it will be linked by a net of windbreaks. Over 360 miles long, it will abut on the estuary of the Yangtze river in the south and join the existing forests of the Yuntai mountains in the north.

This system has a shorter time-schedule than the one in the North-east. Plans call for it to be finished by 1958, at which time the great Huai river control scheme will also be near completion. The two projects together will change the face of the region. Water conservancy work will have eliminated floods, while the shelter belt will reduce the velocity of winds from the sea by 35 to 40 per cent. Farms and villages will stand amid groves of willow, acacia, ginkgo, mulberry, cedar and cypress. Some 7,700 square miles of land will be assured of secure crops with the result that the average annual output of agriculture in northern Kiangsu will increase by an estimated 50 per cent.

Preparations for this work were begun by the authorities of the North China Administrative Area in 1949, immediately after liberation. Teams of agronomists and forestry experts have already made surveys of the land, and 5 million pounds of tree-seedlings have been prepared for planting this year. Additional seedlings are being grown on 270 square miles of state-farm land in the area, while peasants are devoting 1,800 square miles of their own marginal land to the same purpose.

OTHER AFFORESTATION

Afforestation work in new China is not confined to the projects described above.

Trees are being planted at the headwaters of the Huai and the Yellow River as well as along the banks of rivers and streams all over the country. Along with dams, dykes, reservoirs and other installations, they will play an increasingly important role in flood control.

Shelter belts are being installed in western Hopei province, eastern Honan province and the sandy regions of north and north-west China. In the Central-South China Region, the people have planted twice number of trees called for by the regional plan.

The present upsurge in tree-planting did not arise suddenly. Everywhere activity to repair the ravages of greed and reaction which had reduced the forest

area of China to 5 per cent began as soon as the people took control. Long before the liberation of the entire mainland even in the resistance bases behind the enemy lines in the course of the Anti-Japanese War, local revolutionary governments had paid the greatest attention to such work.

Immediately after its establishment, the People's Government spurred afforestation to greater heights. It also energetically undertook the protection of existing forests. To check forest fires, over 5,000 special protection committees with 21,000 sub-committees have been organized. In the Northeast alone, 940,000 people were mobilized to prevent forest fires in 1951. As a result, the last two years have witnessed no serious forest fires, a situation entirely without precedent. Felling of trees is now strictly regulated so that the exploitation of timber resources can no longer turn into spoilation, as it once used to do.

All sections of the people are participating in the protection and extension of forests. The national minorities are showing great enthusiasm in the work and 25,000 Yaos in Liennan, Kwangtung province, recently planted 2 million trees considerably ahead of the planned schedule. The People's Liberation Army too has made its own large-scale contribution to afforestation, carrying it forward with characteristic vigour in many garrison areas.

TRAINED PERSONNEL

As in many other fields of national construction, the sweeping plans of the People's Government, and the mobilization of millions of people, have created a sharp shortage of qualified personnel to direct the work. To meet this need, 20,000 foresters are being trained. Some are studying in colleges and universities while others are taking short courses or learning on the job.

The long-range campaign to increase China's forests from 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the national territory is under way throughout the country, gathering momentum with every month that passes.—*Bulletin of the People's Republic of China.*

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3% Per Annum

for 1 year & over 1 year 4% Per Annum

Branches :

College Sq., Cal.
Bankura.

Chairman :

JAGANNATH KOLAY

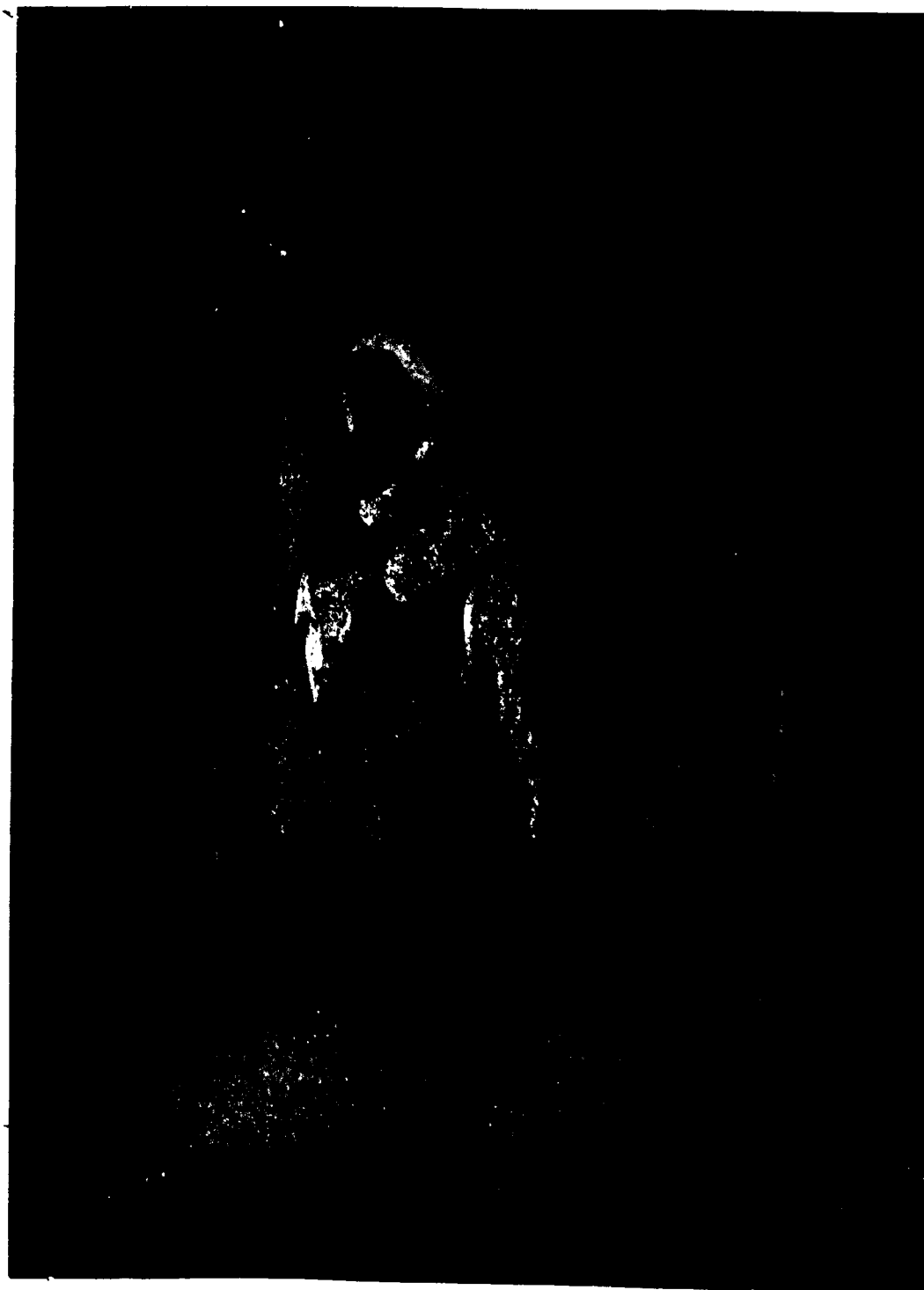
M. P.



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presents a garland to a Tribal child at Ziro during his recent tour of India's North-East Frontier Hills region



The Prime Minister at Imphal. Left to right: Smt. Indira Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maharaja and Maharani of Manipur



Prabhu, Press, Calcutta

MOTHER AND CHILD
By Sukhmay Mitra

1952

THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1952

Vol. LXXXII, No. 6

Whole No. 552

NOTES

Sariputta and Moggallana

The sacred relics of Sariputta and Moggallana of sainted memory have been re-enshrined at Sanchi, whence they had been removed in 1831 by General Cunningham.

Much has been spoken and written about these noble sons of India and at the time of our writing more speeches, accompanied by much pomp and glitter, will be uttered by the great ones amongst the distinguished men and women that have foregathered on the occasion at Sanchi.

In addressing the International Buddhist Conference held at Sanchi on November 29, Pandit Nehru said :

"I have come to Sanchi not with any message, but in search of something. In this confused and distorted world of today I am a very confused person. I try to see the light, try to search for it. Often I stumble, but I get up, go forward. I try to search for what is lacking in me and try to find what is wanted of me by my people and the country. It may be that we are reaching a turning point in history. History today has ceased to become history of one or the other country. It has become the history of mankind. We are tied up together.

"In India, as in other countries, light did shine greatly. This great country not only saw great lights but took them to other countries to brighten their darkness. The message that Buddha gave 2,500 years ago was a great light not only to this country, or the continent, but to the entire world. If we apply the principles taught to us by Buddha, we will win peace and tranquillity in the world."

Very seldom have more significant words been uttered by any statesman on any public occasion. Today the world is all topsy-turvy. The old values, along which human civilization developed almost all its most lasting and resplendent glories, have been

abandoned, and nothing tangible or lasting has come to replace them. Morals, Ethics, Culture, all these have been pushed aside in the rush to establish isms.

Perhaps, the time has come, therefore, to take measure of the new values, or rather the newest devaluations. But who will evaluate the devaluation and debunk the debunker? It is a puzzled and bewildered world where nothing seems to be lasting.

Will this Light, that once lit up most of the old world, prevail again, in showing the Path? Today the blaze of atomic fission, and the minor conflagrations of embattled armies have dazzled the eyes of the Nations of the world. Pandit Nehru is not the only puzzled man. There is no statesman today who knows of a certainty as to what the morrow may bring. Moscow and Peking, Washington and London are as much in darkness as New Delhi.

The difference lies in the preparations for the unforeseen. And there we feel that too much is being left to chance and too little thought is being devoted to eventualities. We do not say that it is wrong to pin our faith on the intrinsic goodness of humanity. But we do say that it would jeopardize our newly won freedom if we minimize the estimate of the evil forces that exist in this world of ours. Just as one firebrand may destroy the fruits of a bountiful harvest gathered by the peaceful toil of thousands, so can one powerful destroyer wreck the peace of half the world. After all the greatest general, the greatest killer and the greatest conqueror the world yet knows of, was Genghis Khan the Buddhist.

All of us yearn for peace, and as such the Shining Light, undimmed by millenniums of strife, hold great promise. But that promise has always remained unfulfilled to those who slackened their vigilance or abandoned their guards.

Economic Sanctions Against Pakistan

With the progressive influx of refugees from Pakistan, a section of the Indian public opinion is viewing it as the result of deliberate and planned efforts of the Pakistan Government to drive out the Hindus from that territory. As a reprisal measure, they are demanding that economic sanctions should be imposed against Pakistan. Without going into the political aspects of the question as it is for the Government of the country to decide that, we shall examine here briefly the economic implications.

Champions of the Indo-Pakistani amity put forward the plea that economic sanctions against Pakistan would be ruinous to India. We have to see whether that plea is based on economic or on political grounds.

In Indo-Pakistan trade, the total deficit incurred by India on current account with Pakistan amounted to Rs. 46.9 crores in 1951 as against Rs. 2.0 crores in 1950. Almost the whole of the deficit in 1951 was settled by transfers of sterling. Under the new agreement, India has undertaken to supply Pakistan with pig iron, ferro manganese, ferro silicon, iron and steel products including rails, wheels, tyres and axles, high alumina fire bricks; wood timber including railway sleepers; mustard oil, hard cotton waste, potato seeds; herbs, crude drugs and seeds; lime and lime stone; tallow; khara salt; filter cloth; textile machinery and spare parts; weighing machines and weigh bridges; belting for machinery; cast iron pipes, excluding pressure pipes; road rollers.

Instead, India would import from Pakistan raw buffalo hides, raw cow hides, raw goat skins, bamboo, fish, poultry, eggs, herbs, printed books, magazines, and journals; spices including dhania, methi, etc.; and firewood.

For very insignificant commodities, India is selling away her strategically important raw materials to a country which is not at all friendly to us. That means, India at her cost is strengthening her own enemy with strategic materials. Just after partition India was dependent on Pakistan for the supply of raw jute. Now India's jute production has soared up to nearly 48 lakh bales annually and she is now almost self-supporting in that commodity. In the new agreement, jute has not been included in view of Pakistan's charging an extra export duty of Rs. 2/8/- per maund for jute exported from Pakistan. This duty is imposed only in case of jute being exported to India and for export to other countries it is not applicable. This discriminatory duty against India is designed to put a handicap on India's export of jute products as this duty will raise the cost of India's jute exports in world markets. If jute is not available from Pakistan, then there is no vital necessity of continuing trade with Pakistan. India is importing raw cotton from Egypt, America and other countries and Pakistan is not indispensable to us for the supply of cotton. As regards raw hides and skins, these are

not vital commodities for India. India has at present about one-third of the world's total cattle population.

The imposition of economic sanctions against Pakistan will not spell disaster for India. On the other hand, it will be a crippling measure for Pakistan. But there are other factors to be considered besides mere vengeance. Would the economic sanctions be effective in the matter of protection of the minorities still in East Pakistan? There the question becomes exceedingly involved. We are compelled to believe that the results would be the reverse of what is considered desirable.

Just as there is no economic reason against the imposition of economic sanctions, there is no political justification for the imposition either, unless we are planning for an outright declaration of war. On this point the protagonists of economic sanctions have to be more specific and present their arguments and justifications—if any—on a clearly stated basis.

The R.P.A.F.

The Commonwealth Survey for 10th October, 1952, contains the following particulars about the R.P.A.F.:

The Royal Pakistan Air Force, which came into being on 14th August 1947, shares a common origin and tradition with the Indian Air Force. When Pakistan and India became independent Members of the Commonwealth, Pakistan's share of the existing Indian Air Force was two fighter squadrons, one transport squadron, one air observation flight, and a communications flight.

The RPAF tackled the task of providing training facilities to such good purpose that today it possesses the bulk of its own training institutions run on modern scientific lines.

An Apprentices and Trade Conversion Training School has been established at Korangi Creek (Karachi) and a Radar School—for the three Services—at Malir. Other schools include the Wireless Observer Wing School to train ground observers, and the Multi-engine Conversion School to train the regular RPAF Volunteer Reserve and Civil airline pilots, navigators, and radio operators up to international civil aviation standards. The instructional and servicing staff for the Multi-engine Conversion School have been provided, for a period of two years, by the UK firm of Air Services Training Limited which has also provided teaching staff for the Apprentices and Conversion Training School. The latter school trains boys between 15 and 17 years of age to perform the advanced ground technical duties necessary for the maintenance of aero-engines, aircraft and their equipment. Another Air Services Training Limited project is the proposed Sargodha College.

Officer cadets are trained at the RPAF College, Risalpur, with a small number filling vacancies at the RAF College, Cranwell. Some senior Pakistani

officers are trained in staff and higher administrative duties at the RAF Staff College, Andover.

The RPAF is steadily being equipped with jet-propelled fighters and has replaced the *Dakotas* of its transport command with Bristol *Freighters*, which can carry twice the load of the *Dakota* for the same speed and engine power, and are specially designed for military operations with a view to easy loading and unloading, the transporting of troops and vehicles, and the dropping of paratroops and supplies. The fighter squadrons are equipped with Hawker *Furies*.

It is evident that Pakistan is developing its armed forces in a linked fashion with Britain as a dominion.

Anglo-American Resolution on Kashmir

On November 6, Sir Gladwin Jebb on behalf of the U.S.A. and Britain introduced a resolution in the Security Council for the settlement of the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. The text of the resolution reads as follows:

"The Security Council recalling its resolutions of March 30, 1951, April 30, 1951 and November 10, 1951:

"Further recalling the provisions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan Resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, which were accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan and which provided that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations;

"Having received the third report dated April 22, 1952, and the fourth report dated September 16, 1952, of the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan;

"Endorses the general principles on which the United Nations representative has sought to bring about agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan;

"Notes with gratification that the United Nations representative has reported that the Governments of India and Pakistan have accepted all but two of the paragraphs of his 12-point proposals;

"Notes that agreement on a plan of demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not been reached because the Governments of India and Pakistan have not agreed on the whole of Para 7 of the 12-point proposals:

"Urges the Governments of India and Pakistan to enter into immediate negotiations at the headquarters of the United Nations in order to reach an agreement on the specific number of forces to remain on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarization, this number to be between 3,000 and 6,000 armed forces remaining on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line and between 12,000 and 18,000 armed forces remaining on the Indian side of the cease-fire line, as suggested by the United Nations representative in

his proposals of July 16, 1952, such specific numbers to be arrived at bearing in mind the principles of criteria contained in Paragraph 7 of the United Nations representative's proposal of September 4, 1952:

"Requests the Governments of India and Pakistan to report to the Security Council not later than 30 days from the date of the adoption of this resolution; and further requests the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan to keep the Security Council informed of any progress."

The Government of India have rejected the resolution.

One of the distinctive features of the resolution is that India is required to recognize the right of Pakistan to station troops on her side of the frontier. India's original complaint to the Security Council was that Pakistan should withdraw her troops from the soil of Kashmir; because after the accession by Maharaja Sir Hari Singh Kashmir became an integral part of India. Even Sir Owen Dixon had already implicitly admitted that Pakistan was the aggressor. Still India did not press the issue on account of her eagerness to reach a settlement with Pakistan. But Pakistan has consistently taken an adamant attitude and with the direct and indirect insinuation of the Anglo-American Indophobes has blocked all attempts at a compromise.

Commenting on the resolution *The People of New Delhi* writes in its issue of the 15th November:

"We would warn Mr. Churchill's Government in good time against the mischief and machination of its Kashmir policy at the UNO. Frankly it is anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan. There is no doubt that his Government would be glad to undo the omission made in regard to Kashmir at the time Britain abdicated, by now giving Kashmir to Pakistan. On this basis alone can we understand the latest British proposal at the Security Council. According to this proposal, the patent fact is to be completely forgotten that Pakistan was the aggressor and is therefore not entitled to equality of status with India in regard to this dispute. Dr. Graham, in his latest report, is fair enough to allow Pakistan to keep only civil armed forces on her side of the cease-fire line, but the British proposal would allow Pakistan to keep regular armed forces. According to Dr. Graham, again, Pakistan should be concerned with the final disposition of troops only in so far as it has a bearing on the freedom of the plebiscite, while on her side India is not only to ensure freedom of the plebiscite, but also the security of the state. This consideration goes by the board in the British proposal, whose effect can only be to encourage Pakistan to be more and more intransigent and to attempt further and further to approximate her position to that of India."

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference

The Commonwealth Premiers' Conference is due to open in London on November 27. India is being re-

presented by a team of five headed by the Union Finance Minister, Sri C. D. Deshmukh. The U.K. delegation will be led by Mr. Winston Churchill while Khwaja Nazimuddin will lead Pakistan.

The agenda of the conference, according to the statement of Pandit Nehru before the House of the People on November 19, is as follows:

- "1. Review of economic development in recent years and future prospects;
- "2. Objectives in external economic policy;
- "3. Aspects of these objectives and of the means for achieving: (a) financial policy; (b) economic development; (c) trade policy; (d) commodity policy, and (e) international institutions;
- "4. Co-operation with other countries;
- "5. Short-term balance of payments prospects of the sterling area and policy for 1953."

Among other things, Pakistan is expected to bring up the Kashmir issue before the conference and Britain may discuss Queen's title.

Giving the background of the proposed conference Pandit Nehru said:

"The House will recall that the Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth countries met in conference early this year to discuss emergency measures that were necessary to avoid a serious threat to the trade and payments of the sterling area caused by a rapid decline in its central gold and dollar reserves since July, 1951. As a result of the measure taken by the Governments of the sterling area countries, on the recommendation of this conference, the drain on the central gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area has been halted since March, 1952.

"Apart from recommending short-term and emergency action to overcome this threat, the Finance Ministers' Conference had also given consideration to the long-term policies which the sterling area countries should adopt in order to avoid a recurrence of a similar crisis. It was considered that the productive power of the sterling area countries should be rapidly developed and that measures should be devised to avoid violent fluctuations in commodity prices.

"Further, it had come to the conclusion that the objectives of the economic policies of the sterling area countries should be to achieve convertibility of sterling and to work towards that goal, by progressive steps, for creating conditions in which sterling could be made convertible and its convertibility could be maintained. Sterling being an international medium of payments for a substantial part of the world trade, its convertibility was an essential step towards achieving a high level of international trade on the basis of multilateral payments.

"The purpose of the Commonwealth Economic Conference now to be held is to have further consultations on these long-term problems and to examine whether it is possible for the sterling area countries to take any step in these directions."

The present Commonwealth economic conference is

particularly significant in that unlike the conference in January, it is a Prime Ministers' Conference and has been preceded by a long preparatory conference of high officials. But from the trend of developments it can safely be said that the objective of achieving the "convertibility of sterling" to dollars will not be realised in this conference. Though the position in regard to the dollar and gold reserves of the sterling area has improved—the reserves now stand at \$1767m to be precise—it is still quite inadequate to meet the requirements of trade.

Australia will press for full convertibility of sterling into dollar while Canada is expected to "urge that the sterling area drop restrictions with Canada and other dollar countries. Canadian producers are alarmed lest a Republican administration impose fresh barriers against foreign goods.

The dispatch quoted above further states that "Canada has already hinted that she would consider making new loans to Britain to help her return to normal trade. A condition of this offer would be that Britain remove restrictions on trade and curb domestic inflation."

The industrially underdeveloped countries presumably will not be inclined to support this view inasmuch as their improved position has mainly been due to cuts in imports from dollar area.

A summary of Indo-British Trade is given below:
U. K. Exports to India
In £ 000

	9 months (Jan.-Sept.)	
	1951	1952
Total all Exports	84,679	86,215
Of which—		
Machinery	25,013	27,135
Vehicles (including ships and locomotives)	17,117	13,324
Iron & steel & manufactures	4,009	5,675
Pottery, glass, abrasives, etc.	1,400	1,489
Non-ferrous metals & manufactures	1,928	1,719
Cutlery, hardware, implements and instruments	2,988	2,837
Electrical goods & apparatus	5,689	8,295
Cotton yarns & manufactures	2,015	2,493
Woollen and worsted yarns and manufactures	3,816	3,840
Silk and artificial silk yarns and manufactures	966	532
Chemicals, drugs, dyes & colours	8,050	8,568
Paper, cardboard, etc.	1,597	1,704

	9 months (Jan.-Sept.)	
	1951	1952
Total all imports	112,464	87,180
Of which—		
Tea	28,209	33,767
Tobacco	5,477	5,805
Non-metalliferous mining & quarry products other than coal	1,956	2,280
Non-ferrous metalliferous ores and scrap*	1,538	2,327
Raw cotton and cotton waste	4,081	1,512
Wool, raw & waste and woollen rags	4,369	2,272
Seeds & nuts for oils, oils, fats, resins and gums	5,835	5,325
Hides & skins, undressed	1,775	364

Woollen & worsted yarns and manufacture †	4,176	906
Coir mats and matting	1,791	737
Jute manufactures	16,351	13,041
Oils, fats & resins, manufactured	1,443	1,023
Leather and manufactures	15,782	6,064
* Mainly manganese ore.		
† Mainly carpets, floor rugs, etc.		

Source: Trade and Navigation Accounts of the U. K. (H.M.S.O.)

Food Policy of the Government of India

All speculations regarding the food policy of the Government of India were set at rest by the announcement in the House of the People of November 17 by the Food Minister, Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai that controls over rice and wheat would not be lifted. The following is the full text of Mr. Kidwai's policy statement as published in the *Statesman* of November 18:

"As the House is aware, the policy of the Government is to minimize the irksome features of food controls, so far as practicable, without incurring the risk of having to increase imports of food or encountering an undue rise in prices.

"With this objective in view, the Government have approved relaxation in food controls in a number of States. The present indications are that this experiment should succeed, but its results have to be closely and carefully watched.

"It is now proposed to relax, to a certain extent, the control on millets and other coarse grains. I would like to take this opportunity to announce the policy about millets and other coarse grains for 1952-53.

"It is proposed to continue the present inter State cordon, but State Governments will be free to buy millets and other coarse grains in any other State approved by the Centre and move them into their own States either on a State-to-State basis or by direct purchase through their own agencies.

"There will be no movement restrictions within each State except with the approval of the Central Government. Even in the case of inter State cordons, movement of headloads will be permitted for producers wishing to sell their produce in neighbouring markets, though outside the border of the State.

"Suitable measures should be taken to ensure that prices do not go up unduly as a result of competition by the buying States. For such purchases, a price will be kept in view which will be related to the present procurement prices.

"To ensure equitable distribution of the surplus, a proportion would be maintained in the purchases of different State Government. A State Government for its own requirements, may procure necessary quantities from within the State.

"A watch will be kept on the price level to see that too much is not removed from surplus States, causing an undue rise in the price level. The effect of this relaxation will be watched by the Government before any further relaxation of food controls is considered.

Meanwhile, the existing controls, on price and controls on rice and wheat will continue as at present."

In making the debate Mr. Kidwai told the House that the objective of the Government's food policy was to increase production so that the needs for imports of food-grains might be obviated. The other objective was to organize a fair distribution at a reasonable price. Government had been following that policy since 1945 when it had been introduced along with the Grow More Food Campaign. The nature and extent of controls differed in different States. While the States in Northern India were mostly surplus or self-sufficient, the South Indian States were deficit in food. The procurement policy in the South was very rigid but in the North it was leaky. The result was that though production of food-grains was actually on the increase in Northern India, production in the South was decreasing.

The Food Minister admitted that "there must be something wrong in the procurement system," and in his opinion "some change in the policy is required." Accordingly, the Government of India attempted at decontrol and the relaxation of restrictions on the free movement of food-grains from one part of the State to another in some States, at the same time keeping a close watch on the rise of prices. Mr. Kidwai said that relaxations had brought some relief to the consumers. In Bihar, after relaxation the prices had come down considerably. In the eastern districts of U. P. prices went down, but in the western districts they remained high. After the warning of the U.P. Prime Minister that Government would take over the stocks from the grain dealers unless the prices of wheat were brought down to a reasonable level, prices came down considerably. The U. P. Government had relaxed controls on all food-grains except wheat from November 15 of the current year.

The experience of Madras was otherwise. The State was facing the threat of a famine because of the failure of both monsoons. Something, therefore, had to be done for Madras. Failure of rains had not been caused by decontrol. Really there was no decontrol in the State. There was a food-grain order which the Madras Government had not thought it necessary to enforce so long. The State Government would now use that order and together with the help that might be rendered by the Centre would be able to bring the food situation under control.

Intervening in the debate, the Finance Minister, Sri C. D. Deshmukh said that the king-pin of the Five-year Plan was some kind of implied control. In regard to the question, whether controls affected production, he said that he did not think "it was proved controls affected production one way or other."

He disagreed with Mr. Kidwai and said that he was not convinced that "laxity or rigidity in methods of procurement had any great effect on production. Punjab, which was running a system of procurement

very efficiently, though it was not a system of levy, was a pointer to this. Therefore, he would not himself be prepared to dogmatise. But these were personal opinions."

Referring to the question whether increased prices led to higher production he did not find any fixed relation between prices and production over the whole field of agriculture.

The position now cannot be considered as satisfactory in any way, but the official attitude is clear.

West Bengal's New Food Policy

Mr. P. C. Sen, the Food Minister of West Bengal, announced on November 19 that statutory rationing would be abolished from December 15 throughout the State except in the Calcutta industrial area, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong.

The *Statesman* of November 19 reports that "the levy system of procurement would be introduced in the State on January 1, 1953. From the same date, all restrictions on inter-district or intra-district movement of food-grains would be withdrawn. No movement of rice or paddy would, however, be allowed to the rationed areas within West Bengal or to any place outside the State.

The target of procurement under the new levy system was 400,000 tons of which 150,000 tons would be given to the Central pool and the remainder kept in reserve. Under this system, procurement would be made only from people holding or cultivating 30 bighas or more of paddy land. After making provision for the requirements of their families at the rate of 10 maunds per head per annum and keeping 10 seers of paddy per bigha for use as seeds and providing for the repayment in kind of their loans incurred during the previous year or for payment of rent in paddy, such persons would be required to sell their surplus to the Government alone. Of the 2.7 m agricultural families in the State only 134,000 would be affected by the new scheme.

There would be no restriction on the sale of food-grains in non-rationed areas by persons who owned or cultivated less than 30 bighas. Government would not allow big employers who received supplies from Government to purchase from the open market.

"Rice mills in non-rationed areas would be entitled to purchase freely. The Government would realize from them one-third of their products at the procurement price; they would be free to sell the balance in the open market, at market prices."

The Government would not tolerate any hoarding and would seize such stocks when discovered. Cordon-ing would be intensified to check smuggling.

On November 24, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai told the House of the People that in West Bengal "The rice ration from the regular ration shops will be raised from the present scale of 4½ oz. to 6 oz.," a day with effect from the 1st January, 1953. He said that the

West Bengal Government had undertaken to supply the quantity necessary to raise the rice ration from 4½ oz. to 6 oz. and the increased scale would be maintained as long as the West Bengal Government were able to provide that extra quantity. In addition, supply of rice at a higher price from the economic rice shops would continue.

Recent Tariff Developments

Recently, Indian Parliament adopted an amendment to the Indian Tariff Act seeking to continue protection for 29 industries. The Tariff Commission is now a statutory body set up by an Act of Parliament. Its establishment gives effect to the recommendations made by the two Fiscal Commission of 1921-22 and 1949-50 and also meets the desire expressed from time to time by industrial and commercial interests for a permanent body to examine and review cases of protection. By virtue of its constitution and its statutory character, the Commission is a quasi-judicial body, free from any political influence and from any possible interference from the executive. The Tariff Commission, unlike the previous Tariff Boards, has been given wide discretion both in regard to the general principles relating to determination of tariffs and the principles relating to the obligations of protected industries. Among the general principles to be taken into account is the effect of protection granted to an industry on other industries, including cottage and other small-scale industries. The obligations laid on the protected industries, into which the Commission must carry out investigation at suitable intervals relate to such matters as the scale of output, the quality of the product and the price charged for it, technological improvements and scientific research, training of personnel, the use of indigenous resources and, in the case of embryonic industries, the time within which they should start production. The functions of the Commission are much wider than those of the Tariff Boards in the past. The functions now include: (1) enquiry and report on the grant of protection for the encouragement of an industry, (2) variations in the customs or other duties for the purpose of protecting an industry, (3) action to deal with dumping and with abuses of protection by a protected industry, (4) enquiry and report on the effects of protection on the general price level and cost of living, (5) the effect of tariff concessions given under trade or commercial agreements on the development of a specified industry and (6) certain other matters such as tariff anomalies. The Commission has the power to consider claims to protection, not only from established industries as hitherto, but also from industries which have not yet started production but are likely to do so if suitable protection is granted. Further, the Commission can start enquiries on its own initiative, except those relating to the initial grant of protection and the prices of particular commodities whether protected or not. In these two

latter cases, it can act only on reference from the Government. The Commission has the duty laid upon it to investigate into and report on the working of protection periodically and into the special conditions that might have been imposed on a protected industry.

Sugar Policy for 1952-53

The Government of India have fixed the minimum price payable for sugarcane by vacuum pan factories in the ensuing season at Rs. 1-5 per maund for gate deliveries and Rs. 1-3 per maund for deliveries at Railway centres. This decision has been taken after reviewing the trend in sugar production during the last three years and the anticipated production in 1952-53.

With regard to the current year's carry-over of nearly 500,000 tons of controlled sugar, the Government shall ensure delivery of it from factories at the present controlled prices. The new season's sugar produced at lower cost will be released for internal consumption only after this season's carry-over is nearly exhausted. No control will be imposed on the distribution of sugar released from factories, but if the market prices rise to unreasonably high levels, the Government will release sugar from the reserve stocks at prices which may be fixed then statutorily. The Government have also decided not to fix any ceiling price for *gur* or *khandasari* in the coming season nor to exercise any control on the movement of these two commodities. The Government have decided to allow 200,000 tons of sugar to be exported outside India from the next season's production or from the current year's carry-over on a replacement basis. Of this quantity the Government may permit export up to 50,000 tons in the form of raw sugar.

From December 1, 1952, the price of sugar will be reduced by about Rs. 4 per maund. The new sugar that would be produced should cost Rs. 6 or Rs. 7 less than the 1951-52 sugar on the basis of the price of cane. Government have decided not to release the new sugar for sale till the old sugar had been sold.

The total production of sugar directly from cane by vacuum pan factories in India during the 1951-52 season was 14.83 lakh tons, as against 11.01 lakh tons in the previous year, according to a note issued by the Indian Institute of Sugar Technology, Kanpur. This figure is a record in the history of sugar industry in India.

Crisis in Tea Industry

Indian tea industry is passing through a crisis. Latest reports indicate that the situation has reached a critical stage in which the industry has no alternative but to close down many gardens. It is reported that a large number of gardens have already been closed and a still larger number may follow suit before the end of the

year. The Government of India is, of course, aware of the gravity and seriousness of the situation and in May last they appointed an Enquiry Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. E. Rajaram Rao. Although it was well over a month since the Enquiry Committee's report was submitted to Government, it was a pity that the Government did not announce their decisions earlier. At a Press Conference held in New Delhi on 12th September, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry admitted that there were signs of fundamental *malaise* and that long-term measures had to be devised. An immediate visible improvement in the situation could not, of course, be expected, he added. The industry itself admits that the solution of some of the difficulties depends upon certain long-term measures. What the industry needs is some immediate action to alleviate its existing crisis. It is to the need of such action that a Memorandum submitted to the Government by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce on the crisis in the Indian tea industry draws pointed attention. The memorandum expresses its concern over the Government's delay in arriving at a decision on the various suggestions made by the tea planters.

The fundamental problem of the tea planters is their inability to bridge the gulf between the high cost of production and the low price which the tea fetches in world markets. The minimum difference between the cost and export price in all the districts, except Darjeeling and Assam, is more than As. 4 per lb., the difference in the case of internal price being nowhere less than As. 11 per lb.

While the prices of Indian tea have suffered a heavy decline, it is pointed out that the industry's cost structure has remained rigid, about 90 per cent of the cost being accounted for by factors over which it has little or no control. Thus, the industry has to bear a very high cost of labour and welfare. The wages, which are already high, have been considerably increased by the fixation of minimum wages. It is stated that consequent on the enforcement of the Minimum Wages Act, the increase in the cost has, in many cases, been as much as as. 2 per lb. The incidence of the supply of foodstuffs to labourers at concessional rates is estimated at as. 2½ to as. 5½ per lb. The responsibility thus imposed on the gardens to feed their labour entails, it is submitted, the blocking of a large amount of capital in foodgrains stocked for the purpose. This concession, which was introduced as a war-time measure, is continued against the wishes of the industry, even after the emergency has passed. No other industry is being asked to bear such a burden, and it is rather unjustifiable to ask the tea industry alone to bear such a burden. Another factor which has contributed to the rigidity of the cost structure is the more or less inelastic nature of the cost of tea garden stores. Further, the cost of coal, which the tea gardens have to bear, is high. The controlled price of Bengal-Bihar coal is Rs. 17/12/- per

ton, but some of the gardens have actually to pay as much as Rs. 90 to Rs. 95 per ton, owing to high transport charges. In view of such a rigid cost structure, there is little scope for the industry to reduce its cost.

Among the important recommendations of the Rararam Committee for the amelioration of the tea industry are: deferred payment of excise duty; relaxation of the rule requiring advance payment of income-tax; improved rail facilities for the transport of coal and other essential stores to tea gardens; provision of financial relief to tea estates; postponement of the Plantations Labour Act; and continued supply of foodgrains to tea labour at concession rates, and also to their dependents.

As immediate short-term relief, the Government of India have announced that the tea waste shall be exempted from excise duty. This measure is intended to extend immediate relief to the producer of poorer quality of tea. As regards the payment of excise duty, it may now be paid within a week of the end of the month to which the clearances relate. Hitherto, the practice was to pay the excise duty at the time tea leaves the factory. Action has already been taken to relax the provision of Section 18(A) of the Indian Income-tax Act in favour of tea gardens and instructions to this effect have been issued to the income-tax authorities. The Government have also decided to provide as many wagons as possible for the carriage of coal to tea gardens by the all-rail route.

The industry observes that the extent of relief just announced does not seem likely to bridge the gap between cost of production and selling price. The deferred payment of excise duty and relaxation of Section 13A of the Indian Income Tax Act, would afford temporary relief. It did not however imply any ultimate saving in cost of production. What is required is production credit and unless money is available for financing next year's production, even good gardens are likely to go out of business. The tea industry expresses great disappointment that there was apparently to be no reduction in the export and excise duties on tea. The falling export is mainly due to the high prices in comparison to the export from other countries. While jute export duty has been considerably reduced to bring the Indian export prices of jute in line with world prices, it is puzzling why the same advantage should not be accorded to the tea industry to enable it to compete in the world market.

The grant of exemption from the payment of excise duty on tea waste is not viewed well by the industry. Such action, it is said, would dangerously affect the future of Indian tea. It has been one of the greatest endeavours of the industry to improve the quality of its products and the ready appearance of "sluff," "twappings" and stalky tea on the market will tend to affect adversely the quality of Indian tea and may harm its international reputation. The exemption of tea waste

from excise duty may result in low quality of the product and it will be an indulgence to uneconomic enterprises with inefficient management. If exemption of excise duty is to be allowed, all qualities should enjoy the same facility without any discrimination.

We agree on this question of improvement of quality. So long the tea market was a sellers market, the greed of the producer for profit made him sacrifice quality to such an extent that to-day even the costliest brands are poor in flavour and liquor. Labour took note of the enormous profits and made demands accordingly and the government, through the medium of the mediocrities in charge of Labour assented, without even thinking of the future.

Now the inevitable has happened. Abroad it is a buyer's market where price cum quality is the only consideration. At home the poor consumer is the main sufferer, and is likely to remain so unless it makes up its mind to rebel, when internal consumption will also drop despite all the bumbling of the Tea Marketing Board and bungling by the government. We append the latest tea report from Britain to show the competition Indian tea will face in future.

Rationing and price control of tea, which had been in force since July 1940, ended on 5th October. Tea can now be bought freely without a ration book.

In a statement announcing this step the Ministry of Food pointed out that it resulted from a steady improvement in tea production, especially in the Commonwealth countries of India, Pakistan and Ceylon from which the United Kingdom obtained most of its tea. The distributive trade had now built up sufficient supplies of packeted tea in anticipation of derationing. The shops were fully stocked and there was ample tea in the country to meet demand. (Tea consumption in the United Kingdom before the second World War was about 508 million lb. a year).

In recent weeks, the statement continued, the retail prices of many blends of tea had fallen below their controlled prices. It was now possible, therefore, to remove price control without risk of a shortage of supplies which would lead to a rise in prices, and this would enable the trade to provide the consumer with the greatest possible choice of blends.

All other restrictions on the sale of tea by wholesale and by retail have also been lifted.

Consequential relaxations in import and export licensing arrangements were announced by the Board of Trade. With effect from 5th October tea from the sterling area can be imported without restriction, and from several other countries under open general licence. From 6th October tea can be exported without an export licence to any destination except Far Eastern territories where general restrictions are in force.

The following table shows the quantities and value of imports of tea into the United Kingdom in 1950 and 1951 respectively:

	Quantities (thousand lb.)		Values (£ thous.)	
	1950	1951	1950	1951
Kenya	2,330	3,565	304	563
Nyasaland	7910	12,705	986	1841
India	239,112	276,225	34,705	44,423
Pakistan	18,039	34,735	3,301	5,175
Ceylon	93,756	110,271	13,838	20,011
Other Commonwealth countries	1,733	3,963	291	615
China	389	157	79	23
Other foreign countries	5,276	23,069	883	3,654
Totals	333,572	461,630	57,387	76,315

Re-exports of tea from the United Kingdom totalled 12.8 thousand lb., valued at £3.1 million in 1950 and 13.2 thousand lb., valued at £3.2 million in 1951.

Industrial Finance Corporation

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, replying to the demand made by several members of the House of People for disclosure of the names of the concerns to which loans have been granted by the Industrial Finance Corporation, asked the House today to wait for the Government's decision till the Finance Minister returned from London.

Mr. Nehru recalled that, yesterday, his colleague in charge of the Bill had found some difficulty in giving the names of the concerns because of the policy so far pursued in this matter. Indeed, only a few days ago the Finance Minister, answering a question, had said that the borrowing concerns were entitled to the secrecy which was customary between a banker and the customer with regard to their financial transactions, and it would not be in the public interest to furnish this information.

"I am no expert in regard to the conduct of banks either from the borrowing or the other point of view. So I tried to bring my fresh layman's mind to bear upon this question. The first thing obviously which struck me was that we have followed a policy and proceeded on the basis of that and given certain assurances to parties, and it would not be fair regardless of other considerations for us to go behind those assurances, in so far as they have been given without the consent of the parties concerned.

"Secondly, my colleague, the Finance Minister, who is most intimately concerned with this matter, has been following this policy, and I should not like, without consulting him, to say anything definite about this matter. Nevertheless, I realize completely that there is force in what some members stated in this House, and that this matter should be considered fully at a little later stage when the Finance Minister is here."

It should be remembered, Mr. Nehru said, that the Industrial Finance Corporation was an autonomous corporation. No doubt it was responsible to the Government. But, normally speaking, in regard to autonomous organi-

zations Parliament did not interfere in their normal day-to-day activities. Of course, it could wind them up, if necessary, or inquire into any serious misfeasance. That was a different matter. But the very idea of putting up autonomous organizations was that they should have freedom to carry on their business subject to certain overall policy or control by the Government or Parliament.

The firms to which money was lent, he understood, were public limited companies. The relationship between the Government and the Industrial Finance Corporation was somewhat different on the one hand, between, say, the Damodar Valley Corporation and the Government. The DVC was a completely Government organization. On the other hand, the relationship of the Finance Corporation lending money to these people could not be entirely equated, so far as he could see, with that of a private banker doing it. So this corporation stood in a third intermediate category, and considerations on either side could be advanced.

For the moment, Mr. Nehru said, he would not like to say anything definite as to what the future policy in regard to this matter should be. If any undertakings or assurances had been given or any policies stated, he would not like to go behind them so far as the past was concerned without consulting the parties concerned, and more especially the Finance Minister when he came back. The future policy could also be considered then and laid before the House. Representatives of the House would also be consulted.

In regard to this, there was the question of not merely stating the names of those to whom money had been lent but also of those to whom money had not been given or whose applications had been rejected. If the fact was published that the Corporation had not given money to a particular firm, it might hurt its credit. Then again, if the House discussed the affairs of a public company to which money had been given and such details, that would not be in keeping with the normal practice of the House and various difficulties would arise.

Concluding, Mr. Nehru said that if in any particular case any member of the House had in his possession information which led him to suspect that something wrong had occurred, the Government would very gladly inquire into the matter if he would place that information before them.

This move by some members had its origin in the dissatisfaction at the method of granting loans. It is rumoured that loans have been given on the basis of the personal interests of certain powerful financiers and not on the merit of the applicant firms. The sooner this matter is threshed out the better.

Steel-merger

The President of India in an ordinance has ordered for the amalgamation of the Indian Iron and Steel

Company and the Steel Corporation of Bengal. The merger is to take effect from January 1, 1953. The Tariff Board and the Tariff Commissions had repeatedly recommended the merger. A technical mission of the International Bank for Development and Reconstruction, which visited India, assured that the Bank could make available a loan of Rs. 15 crores if the two companies were merged. The India Government also have promised to grant a further loan of Rs. 10 crores interest-free for the first four years and bearing no fixed maturing date. Sir Biren Mukherji is now in America for finalizing the loan agreement with the International Bank.

According to Mr. T. Leslie Martin, Chairman of HISCO and SCOB, the effect of the amalgamation would be a considerable expansion in the production of steel by the two companies. The annual production of saleable steel and pig iron would increase from about 300,000 tons and 140,000 tons at present to 700,000 tons and 400,000 tons respectively in 1957. Together with the steel produced by the Tatas (700,000 tons) and the manufacturers with small electric furnaces (200,000 tons)

India's total steel production was expected to reach the level of 1.6 m tons per annum in 1957. It would fall short of the country's requirements, which were estimated to be between 2 m tons and 2½ m tons, by 400,000 tons to 900,000 tons.

The Law is Sacrosanct ?

Moving the Bill for consideration, Dr. Katiu, Home Minister, said the object of the Bill was that the appellate authority for the State of Coorg, which was at present vested in the Madras High Court should now be changed and vested in the Mysore High Court. "I should like to make one point quite clear," the Home Minister said "that this Bill just means what it says. It touches no other question which is intended to have an impact on any other question relating to Coorg. This is the gist of the matter while other sections in the Bill are purely consequential to this."

In Mysore there was a very efficient judiciary and a competent High Court. It was very near to Coorg. Litigants from Coorg had to go to Madras now through Mysore. The language of Coorg and Mysore was also common. It was for these reasons that it had been decided to vest the appellate authority for the State of Coorg with the Mysore High Court.

Mr. C. G. K. Reddy (Praja Socialist—Mysore), opposing the Bill said the Mysore High Court had never administered speedy justice to the people of Mysore. "I do not think the people of Coorg have deserved the infliction of the High Court of Mysore on them."

Speaking amidst constant interruptions from the Congress benches, Mr. Reddy said the Mysore High Court had failed to give not only "speedy justice but justice as well." It gave him considerable pain that he

should say something which the people of Mysore so far dare not say about their High Court.

The Home Minister, intervening, said that all this was quite irrelevant to the Bill and improper as the conduct of the judiciary could not be criticized in the House.

The Chairman asked Mr. Reddy to confine himself to the Bill under discussion.

During the last two years, Mr. Reddy said, not one writ of mandamus, habeas corpus, or any other writ had been decided by the Mysore High Court. There had been cases when habeas corpus applications had been kept pending and heard by the High Court only when the prisoner had been released.

"It is a matter," Mr. Reddy said, "on which it is not possible ordinarily to complain and, therefore, I have taken the opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Home Minister what is happening in the High Court of Mysore."

Mr. M. Govinda Reddy (Cong.—Mysore) said he did not hold any brief for the Mysore High Court but he would observe "the decency not to make allegations against it." He claimed that the Mysore High Court had all along been recognized as being on a par with other High Courts in the country.

Replying to the debate, the Home Minister, Dr. Katiu, said the question of High Court judges in Part B States being put on an equal footing with judges in Part A States was engaging the attention of the Government. Coorg had a permanent population of only 180,000 and a fleeting population of 50,000. A High Court for such a State would be a costly luxury and an impracticable proposition.

He was distressed to hear comments about the working of High Courts. The judiciary in this country had functioned with the greatest amount of impartiality and regardless of creed or caste. One could not say in the same breath that the working of democratic institutions depended upon an independent judiciary and also give expression to opinions which were calculated to bring that judiciary into contempt. If there were evils in the functioning of courts, representations could be made to bar associations and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

During the third reading of the Bill, Mr. C. G. K. Reddy said he had not cast aspersions on the Mysore High Court. He had only pointed out that the High Court was deficient in certain respects. If discussions on such a subject were shut out from Parliament, members would have to bring substantive motions against judges even on trivial matters. He was seriously considering whether he would not have to do it soon.

There is a tendency amongst the legal luminaries of the House of People to stop all criticism of the High Courts as being akin to blasphemy. This attitude we are unable to appreciate. We certainly agree that it would be disastrous if the highest tribunals of

justice were brought into contempt. But we would be relieved if we could be convinced that the gentlemen who adorn those august bodies are aware of their own obligations in that matter. Today the people are getting highly involved interpretations of Law—but not Justice that is apparent, immediate and within the reach of all. This is not a satisfactory position and Dr. Katiu is very much mistaken if he considers it to be so.

Adulteration of Ghee

Dr. Desmukh, Minister for Agriculture, said in the House of the People that the Ghee Adulteration Committee had made three principal recommendations in regard to vanaspati, and the Government had accepted two of the recommendations. Necessary steps to implement them were being taken under the Vegetable Oil Products Control Order.

The recommendations were that the Government should ensure by law that every lot of vanaspati produced in a factory should be accompanied by a certificate that the Baudouin test had been carried out to detect the presence of sesame oil. Efforts should be made to make extensive use of this test.

Secondly, vanaspati should be fortified with synthetic Vitamin A so that its nutritive value could be increased.

Lastly, all vanaspati produced in the country should be coloured orange by using carotene oil concentrate as a colouring medium in addition to the incorporation of sesame oil.

Dr. Desmukh said the Government did not accept the last recommendation because colour by carotene oil was of an unstable nature.

What we would like to know is whether the Government wants to stop adulteration of Ghee and Butter. Stable dyes and pigments that were non-poisonous are available. But they are not considered. We would like to know why.

Corruption in Officialdom

The House of the People on Nov. 28 focussed its attention on the issue of corruption in the administration.

The House was discussing a non-official resolution moved by the Akali leader, Sardar Hukum Singh, suggesting the setting-up of an Investigation Commission to enquire into the wealth and fortune of Government officials throughout India.

While Sri N. V. Gadgil suggested forfeiture of property, deprival of citizenship rights and even whipping or hanging in extreme cases, Sri R. Velayudhan recommended building up of the national character as the only remedy.

Most of the members spoke in general terms but the Deputy Leader of the Socialist Party, Sri Sarangadhar Das, referred to two specific instances and alleged that Government spokesmen had "shielded" the officers

concerned in both Houses of Parliament when questions were put about them in the current session.

The Deputy Speaker, Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, ruled out a point of order raised by a Congress member that the resolution was 'ultra vires' of the Constitution.

Sardar Hukum Singh then moved his resolution which called upon the Government to take steps to investigate into "the wealth, fortune or property, whether held in his own name or of any member or members of family, jointly or severally, of any person holding office under the Constitution and of Government officials throughout the country."

Sardar Hukum Singh said that in moving the resolution he had no other motive but to get the services purified. Corruption was rampant and insidious and, therefore, an all-out offensive was necessary.

Urging the Government to accept the spirit behind his resolution, Sardar Hukum Singh said: "We cannot progress unless some step similar to the one I have suggested in my resolution is taken at once to convince the masses that Government does mean business, that it is wedded to the eradication of the evil that is sapping the vitality of our community."

Sri Shankar Rao Telkikar (Congress—Bombay) opposing the resolution said that it was not "in keeping with the dignity of the country." It sought to reverse the dictum that every person was innocent unless he was proved guilty.

Sri Sarangadhar Das, Deputy Leader of the Praja Socialist Party, supporting the resolution, charged that Ministers were "shielding" people. "If we go on in this way," he said, "we are encouraging corruption. Corruption will go down to the lowest strata of our society. In this way we are ruining our country and I accuse that the Government of the day is the cause of the ruin of our country, the loss of our morals, the loss of every thing that we and our forefathers cherished. Government should be up and doing. They should not shilly-shally with the problem."

Before the war, one never heard of I.C.S. officers doing anything to bring a blemish on the service, though there was corruption in the lower rungs of the ladder here and there. "Now, the highest officers and the people who rule the country above those officers are so much involved in this corruption that it becomes very necessary to have a resolution of this kind," Sri Das said.

Sri Bhagwant Jha Azal (Congress—Bihar) wanted Government to strike at the top in order to end corruption.

Sri K. Raghuramaiah (Congress—Madras) urged that the issue of corruption should not be used for political ends. It should be treated as a national issue.

He said even Ministers should not be immune from prosecutions in cases of corruption. He wanted Government to set up a tribunal, envisaged in the Tek Chand

Committee, to ensure expeditious disposal of cases against officials.

Sri K. Anandan Nambiar (Communist—Madras) said persons should be encouraged to come forward and give evidence without any fear of danger to their personal safety. Government should provide this measure of safety, otherwise out of fear of victimisation, people would not come forward and give evidence.

Sri N. V. Gadgil (Congress—Bombay), former Minister, said it was not true that only petty officials had been prosecuted. Between 1947 and the end of June, 1952, 118 Gazetted officers were prosecuted, 21 cases were pending and 37 convictions had been secured.

These were regarding Central services. The States had also taken action.

Corruption, Sri Gadgil said, was not a problem which was special to this country. It arose in every Democracy, fortunately for this country, administrators were recruited under a system of merit and not a system of patronage. What had to be done today was to effect such changes in the system of administration that it would be possible to combine Democracy with good Government.

While welcoming the idea contained in the resolution, Sri Gadgil felt there must be restriction on a Government servant leaving his service before his time of retirement and joining a commercial firm.

In the new set-up, when the country was changing over from a 'laissez faire' economy to an economy of planned production and distribution, he said, a higher type of administrator was absolutely necessary. The Planning Commission was laying down certain standards in this connection.

Sri Gadgil proposed the complete forfeiture of property in certain cases and the deprivation of the rights of citizenship in extreme cases.

Sri Gadgil also suggested that if specific cases of corruption were brought forward by responsible persons like members of Parliament there must be some agency not necessarily judicial to begin with, to which they could be referred. Anonymous letters must also be taken notice of in suitable cases, although some might be true and some not true.

Malanism

The 60-nation special Political Committee of the U. N. on November 29, rejected by 45 votes to six with eight abstentions, the South African claim that the UN was not competent to consider the Union's apartheid policies. The Committee then adopted by 35 votes to eight with 16 abstentions a proposal that a fact-finding commission be appointed to study the racial situation in South Africa in the light of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. By 33 votes to seven with 15 abstentions the Committee invited the Government of South Africa to extend its full co-operation to the Commission and requested the UN Secretary-General to provide the Commission with necessary staff and facilities. Britain, Canada, and

New Zealand voted against the Resolution. Mr. Llewellyn (Britain) said his Government held the view that the UN would be treading on the wrong road if it started "to invade on matters essentially in the domestic jurisdiction of member States." This course, according to Britain, might in the end make the world organisation known not as the UN but as the "disunited nations." The British delegation regarded the entire debate on this matter as "out of order."

Subsequent to the passing of the above UN Resolution against South Africa, Dr. Douglas, South Africa's Minister for Interior, said on November 21, that the Union Government would ignore the UN Resolution for the appointment of a three-man fact-finding commission to inquire into the Union's apartheid policy. South Africa, he said, would not be a party to "such a transparent breach of the U.N. Charter." If adopted by the General Assembly, it would be just another UN Resolution that would be disregarded by the people to whom it was addressed. "This resolution would be just another nail in the coffin of the U.N.," said he.

The origins of the present tension lie in the constitutional crisis precipitated by the Malan Government's determination to put the Cape coloured people on a separate electoral role from Europeans. It is true that Mr. Strauss and the United Party are, in general, in favour of a policy of segregation for Africans. But when the Nationalists proceeded to hack their way through the tangle of race relations, at almost any cost in terms of public opinion and constitutional procedure, it has had an effect of delayed shock on the opposition, white and non-white alike. When the Separate Representation of Voters Bill was declared unconstitutional by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, Dr. Malan pushed through a High Court of Parliament Act; as a result of this, the Government's parliamentary supporters sitting as a High Court—opposition members and senators boycotted the session—overrode the Supreme Court's ruling. Lately the High Court of Parliament Act itself has been declared null and void by the Cape Division of Supreme Court, and the appeal by the Government against this ruling has been turned down in Bloemfontein by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court itself. It is not surprising therefore that what started as a constitutional crisis, caused by a deliberate political decision affecting the everyday life of a large section of the community, should now be reflected in a nation-wide sense of uncertainty, frustration and fear. Dr. Malan has only himself to blame for the way his opponents are reacting to the provocation he has given them.

The situation in South Africa is progressively worsening. Following the race riots in Port Elizabeth last month in which eleven people were killed, there have now been outbursts at Kimberley and East London. At Kimberley at least thirteen people,

all Africans, were killed and at East London ten, including two Europeans. Instead of trying to bridge the gap between his administration and the Africans by creating new machinery for consultation—there has been practically none since the Natives' Representative Council was allowed to lapse by the present Government—Dr. Malan has only aggravated the deadlock in race relations by more and more use of force. Instead of recognising the truth, he is now blaming the Indians as the people primarily responsible for what is happening in South Africa. Dr. Malan recently accused the British of letting down the white races in Africa by their policies in the Gold Coast.

Indians in South Africa

The *Indian Opinion*, edited by Shree Manilal Gandhi, quoted, in an article entitled "The Creation of a Historic Myth" by C. W. M. Gell, the following paragraph from the pamphlet on the "Group Areas Act" by Mr. Kenneth Kirkwood. Mr. Kirkwood took it from the Joint Report of the Land Tenure Act Amendment Committee upon which the Malan Government relied for evidence to support their 'apartheid' (segregation) legislation.

"A perusal of the evidence summarised in chapters 1 to 3 hereof shows that the Indian came to South Africa as an indentured labourer against the wishes of the European inhabitants of Natal. They did not want the Indian and they feared the curses which they believed the would come upon the country with the advent of the Indian."

After quoting the above, Mr. Gell goes on to say: "In the first place we are placed at a disadvantage because Chapters 1 to 3 of the Report were not published and we cannot, therefore, examine the evidence upon which the authors of this Report came to a conclusion exactly contrary to that of Volume VIII of *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*. But the recent publication of Bishop Ferguson Davie's pamphlet *The Early History of the Indians in Natal* which is based upon much the same documentary evidence as the Joint Committee professes to have studied, largely repairs the omission. The Bishop's conclusions wholly support the Cambridge History and altogether refute the Joint Committee. It may be argued that this is yet another instance of honest disagreement between minds dispassionately studying the same evidence; and this contention might be sustained if we were able to see—as we can in the Bishop's pamphlet—exactly what sources the Committee consulted and how it handled the evidence. But no reputable historian or impartial layman will feel disposed to accept an unsupported conclusion which runs so contrary to the known facts.

In my copy of Bishop Ferguson Davie's pamphlet, which covers the year 1850-87, I have marked twenty

passages in which contemporary opinion for or against the introduction of Indian indentured ("coolie") labour is quoted. In only four of these passages is opposition to or reservation about the proposal expressed. Two of these four relate to the evidence before and conclusions of the Wragg Commission of 1885-88 and only two—the voices of the Rev. W. Holden and Dr. Charles Johnston—to the period before the initial decision was made in 1860.

No doubt there were other individual dissentients whose opinions have not come down to us. If the Joint Report had said that the Indians came "against the wishes of some of the European inhabitants," the statement would have been true but not very significant. Because it is quite clear that, since reliable and regular African labour was not available to work the plantations of the Natal coast, the consensus of opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Natal European population was in favour of the introduction of indentured labour, which only India could be found able to supply in sufficient numbers and on acceptable terms. The preponderance of those in favour is shown by the passing of the second reading of Law 14 of 1859 (permitting the importation of coolies under specified conditions) through the Natal parliament without a division—and that the demand of Indian labour was not confined to the planters is proved by the very high proportion among the early applications for Indians for domestic and other general occupational up country.

Now I think it is also clear from Bishop Ferguson Davie's pamphlet that Natal did not get Indians on terms which the Europeans altogether approved. But in fact, if they wanted Indian labour, they had no choice in the manner of terms, for those were imposed by the Government of India as the condition on which alone it was prepared to sanction indentured emigration. The evidence for this is the correspondence between the Governments of Natal and India which preceded the opening of coolie immigration, the text of Law 14 of 1859 and the further assurance for the proper performance of the terms which the Natal Government had to give the Government of India before the latter permitted the resumption of emigration in 1874. There were some in those days in Natal—and more particularly at the time of the Wragg Commission ten years later—who believed, as others like to believe to-day that Natal got its Indians on the understanding that they must re-enter indenture on the expiry of their contracts or immediately return to India. Many Europeans then, as to-day, feared Indian economic competition, though a few saw that it might be in the interests of the community as a whole. But the Government of India confronted Natal either with the cessation of Indian immigration or with allowing the Indian to choose at the end of his five years' indenture to remain in South Africa or a free passage. Throughout this early period the benefits occurring from Indian labour were so obvious and immense that Indian immigration was welcomed almost unanimously despite its (from a European

racial point of view) attendant disadvantages. Between the economic recession of the mid '80's, out of which the Wragg Commission arose, and 1911, when the Government of India (not the Governments of Natal or the Union which strenuously opposed the decision) finally stopped indentured emigration to this country, there was a period of gradually increasing friction. A poll tax of £25 (reduced to £3 by the intervention of the Government of India) was imposed on unindentured Indians in 1893 to induce them to return to India. In 1896 Indians lost the parliamentary franchise in Natal and that colony prohibited free Indian immigration in 1897. The Transvaal in 1885 passed the first of a series of discriminatory measures against Indians, the Free State expelled all Asiatics in 1891 and the Cape restricted Indian immigration in 1906. But despite all this evidence of growing European concern with the economic activities of free or freed Indians, the importation of coolies steadily continued. In 1880 there were 21,000 Indians in Natal; in 1891, 41,000; in 1904, 101,000; and in 1911, 133,000. From 1860-1911 142,000 Indian indentured labourers were imported into Natal under laws passed by the government of that colony. Indentured immigration accounts for 81 per cent of the total immigration into the Union.

In view of these facts which verdict can we choose, that of the Joint Committee or Hofmeyr's? He wrote: 'If our history proves anything, it is this—that however we may regard our Asiatic problem, the fact that it came into existence is due to the European and to the European alone....The self-interest of the European brought the Indian to South.' And this verdict is no whit invalidated by the fact that Indians were willing to emigrate under contract from poverty-stricken parts of India in the hope (later fulfilled) of improving their economic condition. Neither they nor their Government sought to force their entry here. On the contrary, the Europeans of Natal besought them to come.

Wherever it has been practised, racialism has necessitated the deliberate creation of historical myth. Three recent instances spring to mind. There was the thesis, promulgated after the death of General Smuts in preparation for the Coloured Franchise Bill, that the Cape delegates to the National Convention wished to abolish the Coloured and Native vote but were overruled by the British Government. Then there was this *canard* about how the Indians first came to this country, in an attempt to justify the residential and economic discrimination of the Group Areas Act. Now Dr. Malan discovers that the British Government originally gave the vote to the Cape Coloureds and Natives to prevent the Cape Afrikaners establishing a republic. Are we shortly to expect a measure to abolish the Native Representatives?"

Pioneers of Labour Movement in India

The late Sasipada Banerji was, perhaps, the first to organise industrial labour in India—the labour that was mining money in the jute mills at Baranagore

on the Hoogly in the neighbourhood of Calcutta; he started in 1874 the first "working class journal" in India—the *Bharat Samajbee*, containing "wood-cuts from English blocks" imported all the way from Britain; for the safe custody of working class savings he helped the organization of a "District Savings Bank," popularly known as the "Anna Bank," for even an anna deposit was accepted. The fellow-workers of pioneers like these in the other provinces were Kundukuri Veerasalingam who started "Ragged schools" in Madras; in Bombay, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Sapurji Sorabji Bangali and Dayaldas Ratausi; in Ahmedabad, Bhola Nath Sarabhai, Ranchorlal Chotelal, Mahiputram Rupram, Nilkanta and Syamji Krishna Varma.

Dwarkanath Gangopadhyaya was another pioneer in the most necessary preliminary of all labour uplift—enquiry and study of labour conditions that suppress the human element in labour. For this he risked his life. Pandit Ram Kumar Vidyaratna, a missionary of the Brahmo Samaj, in course of his missionary tour in Assam where tea gardens had been opened and working under European auspices, came to know of facts in tea garden "coolie" life, a new form of wage-slavery. He recounted his experience to his Calcutta co-religionists, of whom Dwarka Nath volunteered to gather first-hand information of these facts; he disguised himself as a "coolie," worked in tea gardens, saw and felt what life in them were. On return to Calcutta he gave publicity to his personal experiences in the columns of the *Sanjibance* and the *Bengalee*, the English weekly, edited by Surendranath Banerjee. These articles entitled—"Slave Trade in Assam"—created a sensation, and great was the wrath of "Planter Raj" in Assam—a limb of imperial exploitation.

Since then we have had any number of organizations to voice the feelings of labour, organized and disorganized, employed in industrial plants or as tillers of the soil.

Indian Proposal on Korea

The Indian proposal for ending the Korean deadlock has met with opposition because of irreconcilable Russo-American antagonism.

According to the *PTI-Reuters* dispatch of November 17 from the U. N. Headquarters:

"The resolution firstly establishes a repatriation commission, consisting of representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland—neutral commission mentioned in the draft armistice agreement—or constituted alternatively of representatives of four States not participating in hostilities, two nominated by each side, but excluding representatives of the Big Five."

"2.—It asserts that repatriation of prisoners shall be effected in accordance with the Geneva Convention, international law and relevant provisions of the draft agreement (reference here is to Art. 51 of the agreement which says that all prisoners must be repatriated)."

"3.—Force shall not be used against prisoners to prevent or effect their return to their homelands."

"4.—All prisoners shall be released to the above indicated repatriation commission 'from military control and from custody of the detaining side in agreed numbers and at agreed exchange points in agreed demilitarized zones.'

"5.—Classification of prisoners according to nationality domicile 'as proposed in the letter of Oct. 16 from Gen. Kim Il Sung, North Korean Supreme Commander, to Gen. Clark, shall then be carried out immediately.'

"6.—After classification the prisoners shall be free to return to their homelands and their free return shall be facilitated by all the parties concerned."

"7.—According to arrangements prescribed by the repatriation commission, each side shall have the freedom and facilities 'to explain to the prisoners their rights' regarding the immediate future."

"8.—Red Cross teams of both sides shall assist the commission in its work."

"9.—The prisoners have the freedom to approach the commission."

"10.—Article 3 above notwithstanding, the repatriation commission will be authorized to 'exercise legitimate functions' for prisoner control."

"11, 12 and 13.—After agreement on repatriation proposals as adumbrated in the Indian resolution the interpretation thereof shall rest with the repatriation commission. In the event of disagreement in the commission, the majority decision will prevail. In the absence of a majority decision, it is agreed that the umpire shall have the deciding vote."

"14.—Prior to the armistice and at its first meeting, the repatriation commission shall agree upon and appoint an umpire. If the commission is unable to agree on an umpire within three weeks of its first meeting, the matter shall be referred to the General Assembly."

"15 and 16.—Arrangements for repatriation will begin when an armistice agreement is concluded."

"17.—At the end of 90 days the position of any prisoners whose return to their homelands has not been effected in accordance with the above 16 proposals shall be referred by the repatriation commission to the political conference envisaged in Art. 60 of the draft armistice agreement."

"A preamble to the resolution lays down the principle that force shall not be used 'to prevent or effect' the return of prisoners to their homelands."

The resolution requested the President of the U.N. General Assembly, Mr. Pearson to transmit the proposals to Communist China and North Korea and to make a report to the Assembly on the results of that communication."

The Indian resolution was not accepted by the U.S.A. on the ground that she could not "accept any machinery which would deliver prisoners, possibly by

force, into the 'indefinite custody' of some repatriation machinery."

Britain supported the Indian proposals and there was an apparent conflict between the British and American points of view. Mr. Eden had an interview with the U.S. President-elect, Mr. Eisenhower, in order to ascertain his views. Press reports indicated that Mr. Eden was quite content with his conversations with the President-elect. He offered renewed support for the Indian proposal and proposed certain amendments to the points which related to the Umpire in the repatriation commission and to the manner in which any prisoners who did not return home should be dealt with.

After much persuasion by the British the U. S. delegation announced that it could accept the Indian plan provided it was amended to include the following three principles:

- "(1) There shall be no forcible repatriation of prisoners;
- "(2) Any repatriation commission set up shall be workable; and
- "(3) There shall be no 'forcible detention' of prisoners."

On November 24, the *PTI-Reuters* reported that India had amended her proposals. The revised draft made changes in respect of two of the 17 proposals in the original draft that Mr. Eden, British Foreign Secretary, had wanted altered when he had supported the draft resolution in principle, in the political committee on November 20.

They were in respect of function of the Umpire and disposition of non-repatriable prisoners through a political conference if the Repatriation Commission was unable to send back all prisoners. The revised proposals read:

Proposal 14: "The Repatriation Commission shall at its first meeting and prior to armistice proceed to agree upon and appoint an Umpire who shall at all times be available to the Commission and shall act as its chairman unless otherwise agreed."

(The change is the additional provision that the Umpire shall at all times be available to the Commission and shall act as chairman unless otherwise agreed. No change in the rest of Proposal 14).

Proposal 17: "At the end of 90 days after the armistice agreement has been signed the disposition of any prisoners of war whose return to their homelands may not have been effected in accordance with the procedure set out in these proposals or as otherwise agreed shall be referred with recommendations for their disposition, including a target date for the termination of their detention, to the Political Conference to be called as provided under Article 60 of the Draft Armistice Agreement. If at the end of a further 60 days there are any prisoners of war whose return to their homelands has not been effected or provided for by the Political Conference, the responsibility for their care and maintenance until the end of their detention shall be transferred to the U.N."

The same day the Indian's plan to settle the deadlock in Korea was rejected by the Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Vyshinsky on the ground that a paragraph of the Indian draft resolution subscribing to the principle of non-forcible repatriation of prisoners was not compatible with Articles 118 and 119 of the General Convention of 1949.

He rejected the suggestion contained in paragraph 14 of the resolution that the Umpire should be appointed by the U. N. General Assembly because the U. N. was itself a warring party and that would be tantamount to allowing one of the parties in a law case to be appointed as 'judge in his own trial.'

In his opinion the Indian proposal was "not designed to end the Korean war but to perpetuate it. It is therefore unsatisfactory and unacceptable."

Speaking after M. Vyshinsky, Mr. Dean Acheson on behalf of the U.S.A. deplored the stand taken by the Soviet Foreign Minister. He described the Indian resolution as "a most important and statesmanlike effort." He said that the Government of the U.S.A. was prepared to support the resolution if certain objections were met. According to the *PTI-Reuter* dispatch, "Mr. Acheson's main objection to the Indian resolution was the provision that the fate of any prisoner should be referred to a political conference on Asian matters, which, he said, might last for years. He said his Government had 'grave doubts' about the desirability of referring the POW question to such a conference."

Regarding the question of choosing an "Umpire" for the Repatriation Commission, Mr. Acheson thought that the suggestion of Mr. Eden, British Foreign Secretary that this Umpire should play an integral part in the commission was an 'improvement' on the original Indian plan.

"He said that the most discouraging impression from M. Vyshinsky's speech was that such an Umpire might never be selected and that, in fact, M. Vyshinsky did not appear to like the idea of an Umpire at all."

Mr. Acheson's speech closed the Political Committee's general debate.

We now await the results of further pourparlers between the Indian delegates and the representatives of the Soviet Bloc.

Tovarish Bahadur ?

The following letter has appeared in the *Indian Worker* for November 13, regarding the speech of Mr. Gopalan, M.P., the leader of the Communist group in Parliament, at Moscow :

"The burden of the speech was to paint India with a big black brush and to praise and adore and sing to Moscow and her satellites. Mr. Gopalan said :

'On behalf of the freedom-loving democratic people of India who demonstrated their will in no unmistakable terms in the last elections and more recently with the foodgifts of the Soviet Trade Unions, I greet great Soviet people.

'Your people's magnificent achievements in the Soviet Union and also the achievements of People's China and the countries of People's Democracy stand out sharply against the conditions in our own country—famine, unemployment, ever-rising cost of living, mounting taxation and other increasing military and police expenditure and restrictions on civil liberties. . . . There is food famine in India, as you know, in Rayalaseema, Travancore-Cochin, Malabar, Sunderbans and other parts of Bengal. It was the Soviet Union and People's China who offered help to the famine-stricken people of India at a time when the American imperialist profiteers were dumping rotten wheat and spoiled cotton in our country.'

Continuing his speech he pledged on behalf of the Indian communists of their loyalty to Soviet Russia and promised her dictators that they would work for the 'liberation' of India for the benefit of Moscow. He said : 'We communists in India not only have great regard and affection for the great party of Lenin and Stalin but are deeply indebted to it and especially to Comrade Stalin. He has been and is our great teacher. We shall strive further towards mastering Marxism-Leninism and follow the path so brilliantly illumined by Comrade Stalin so as to serve still better our own people, to bring them rapidly into the democratic camp, led by the Soviet Union.'

Mr. Gopalan's speech should be taken up by the Indian Parliament and he should be turned out from its deliberations and denationalised."

In the old days of the British regime there used to be a class of titled lick-spittles whose abject flattery of the dominant Britisher was a source of ribald mirth, along the ruling class. We thought that the tradition had gone for ever, but it seems we are wrong. The breed of Omichands seems to be a lasting curse for us.

"India is Not Going Communist"

Sometime ago three articles appeared in *The New Leader* of New York on the Communist movement in India. Writing under the pseudonym *Cato*, an Indian political expert analysed the various aspects of Indian Communism, the Government of India's attitude towards the problem and the relationship between the Government of the U.S.A. and the people and Government of India in facing the situation. The writer concluded that Communists were gaining in India and the Government of India was not quite aware of the inherent danger and that the policy of the Government of the U.S.A. was also hesitating in fighting the danger.

The main points made by *Cato* were as follows: The Communist party saw that it was being isolated by following the 'ultra-leftist path' followed in 1948-49. The Cominform gave a new directive in January 1951 and the Party changed its tactics to a 'United front' policy therefore. The first fruits were the election gains in certain areas of Madras,

Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad, and a few in the North-East.

The second point was that the C.P.I. and the Congress both were supporting the theory that the nationals of India had only these two paths before them, Congress or Communism.

The third point was that the intelligentsia was split in its opinion and thereby its will to resist Communism was lowered. This was partially the result of the flood of Communist literature that came before the young men and women of the country who were hungry for serious reading material. The Communist press was expanding as they had a sufficiency of funds and materials.

It was further pointed out that good use was made of New China as an example, specially before those who were disillusioned about the Soviets.

Lastly, he said, the Kashmir National Conference was heavily infiltrated and even the New Indian Cabinet was not free from blemish.

Refuting the assertions of *Cato*, Sardar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, writes in *The New Leader* of October 6, 1952, under the above caption, that Communists were "not gaining in India, or, for that matter, in South-east Asia generally." He further contradicts *Cato* and affirms that "Nehru is fighting Communism."

Exposing the fallacy of *Cato's* contention that the general elections indicated the growing strength of the Communists in India Sardar Singh says that technically speaking that is correct. "But when you look at the figures, their relevance and importance disappear." Of the 489 seats in the House of the People whereas Congress secured 362 seats, Independents 41, the Communists got only 23 seats. Moreover, if the number of votes polled by a party is an indication of its growing of strength and popularity, then the position of Communists become even less significant. Though the Socialist Party could gain only 12 seats in the House of the People, it polled more than double the votes of the Communist Party. The Communists polled 4.9 per cent of the votes while the Socialists polled 11 per cent.

Moreover, the behaviour of the Communists in the first session of the Parliament and "their use of the Big Lie technique" deprived them of any "glamour" they might have possessed and made them "objects of ridicule in the eyes of many."

Mr. Singh proceeds on to disprove *Cato's* disputation that the Communists were gaining in strength since the General elections, as was borne out by Municipal elections in Hyderabad. He writes, "*Cato* must be chagrined to find that, since he wrote his articles, in the same state of Hyderabad on September 12, the Congress party won two seats formerly held by Communists, and not in a 'Municipal' election but by Communists, and not in a 'Municipal' election but in State Legislature elections. In addition, two Communists deserted to the Congress party and two 'independents' joined the Congress party government.

This certainly does not show that the Communists are gaining."

Next he dispels *Cato's* fear that all discontent against the Government was likely to be canalized into Communist channels on the instance of the merger of two of India's largest non-Communist opposition parties. The Socialist Party and the K.M.P.P. between them polled 17 per cent of the total vote in the last election. Their merger and the emergence of a Socialist-Praja party would, in the words of Jayaprakash Narayan, "create a new political force of considerable strength in the country," which would act as an effective counterbalance to the Communist party.

It was true that a mass of Communist literature was to be found in India and they were "avidly read by youngmen and women hungry for serious reading material, which is not otherwise available to them." As an antidote to this Mr. Singh recommends "the publication of books on Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Franklin D. Roosevelt and others, and their sale at a nominal price all over South and South-east Asia." He emphasizes that the books must be sold and not given away. In his opinion "one reason why U. S. propaganda in Asia has not succeeded is that everything is given away."

To *Cato's* accusation that the International Industries Fair was a Communist show to which all facilities were made available by the Government of India, Mr. Singh says that the facilities were not restricted to the Communist countries only. The Fair "was open to governments and industrial and commercial firms all over the world. The blame for serving this Fair on a silver platter to the Communists lies with the American Government and American industrialists—not with the Indian Government."

Mr. Singh admits that Indians were not "aware of the danger and heinous character of international communism." He ascribes this to the fact that until recently Indians were so much occupied with the idea of getting rid of the British that they had neither the time nor the inclination to be "internationally-minded." "For scores of years we fought for our freedom, for scores of years we suffered at the hands of imperialism; psychologically, it is just too hard for us to realize that a much worse and more dangerous form of imperialism lurks around the corner."

The Latest Czech Purge

The following news-item appeared in the daily press on the 29th November :

"Vladimir Clementis, former Czech Foreign Minister, Rudolf Slansky, former chief of the Czech Communist Party, and nine other former top officials were sentenced to death in Prague on Nov. 27 last. Three others were given life sentences. They are Arthur London and Vavro Hajdu, both former Deputy Foreign Ministers, and Evzen Loebel, former Deputy Foreign Trade Minister.

The sentences—those sentenced to death will be hanged—came after six days of testimony in which the defendants confessed to worst crimes in the Communist book and implicated dozens of other top Government and party officials and foreigners in their "Jewish Bourgeois Nationalist" plot to take Czechoslovakia out of the Soviet camp.

Loebel was said by Radio Prague to have escaped death sentence because he was first arrested in November, 1949, and that he immediately confessed exposing others.

London and Hajdu were shown mercy, the announcer said, because they merely were appointees of Slansky. Slansky and General Garel Svab former Deputy Minister of Security, were said to be "most guilty" because they refused to "co-operate and confess" and thus prolonged investigation leading to the trial.

In addition to death or prison sentences all defendants were deprived of their citizenship and property.

The climax of the biggest Communist trial since the Russian purges of 1930 was given exactly three minutes on the broadcast."

Thus closes another chapter in the absorption of the Czechs into the totalitarian Bloc. The pattern is familiar. Slansky and Clementis were the main tools in the overthrowing of the former Czechoslovakian Government and in the changing over to Communism. The job being finished the human tools must be destroyed, else they might upset this government also. And the Soviets never take that risk. Therefore this purge.

The General's Victory

The American people have surprised themselves and the world. The victory of the General is a measure of his personal magnetism. On 5th November, Mr. Eisenhower was elected President of the U.S.A.—the first Republican to succeed in 20 years.

In the Senate contests, the voters were often very selective as well as closely divided; of the 12 Democrats returned, 10 were from States that gave their presidential vote to the Republicans. Five of these were southern or were border States, but one Republican won in a border State that went to Mr. Stevenson. The close division of the last Senate—49 Democrats and 47 Republicans—is repeated in reverse in the new Senate, with 47 Democrats, 48 Republicans and one independent, the self-exiled Mr. Morse from Republican Oregon. Had it not been for the death of Senator McMahon, a Democrat whose term was due to expire in 1956, and whose seat was lost to a Republican, Mr. Morse's position would have been decisive. As it is, the deciding vote in a tie will be cast by Mr. Nixon, the new Vice-President. The party position in the House of Representatives is almost a reversal of the last House. From present indications, with several results undecided, the Republicans will have a majority of about ten in the new House, a far

less imposing one than that of the 1946 Congress when 246 Republicans were returned. Mr. Eisenhower carried 38 States with 429 votes in the electoral college which formally chooses the President. Mr. Stevenson took nine States with 89 electoral votes. In the House of Representatives with a total seat of 435, the Republicans have so far secured 222 seats, the Democrats securing 212—one seat is still undecided.

Mr. Stevenson, the most conservative candidate the Democrats have chosen since 1924, is the victim, by a grim historical accident, of the accumulated resentment against the New Deal, the Fair Deal and Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman. Mr. Eisenhower had however three advantages over Mr. Stevenson. One was his own reputation and personality; the second, was the "mess in Washington." The war in Korea is the third and the most important. The stalemate in the Korean war has been peculiarly irritating to the United States, a country used to going all out and getting things finished in a hurry.

It is however being said that in choosing the man the American voters have not chosen the party. The voters did not want any drastic change of policy but what they want is more efficient management at home and more imaginative management abroad. The new President cannot bring sharp changes in either economic or foreign policies. If he tried to do so, the facts of today would defeat him. As long as the Republican Party was in opposition it could reject, or at least attempt to reject, everything Rooseveltian, but the only way for it to build a positive policy is to admit that two major elements in the Roosevelt revolution are irreversible—close co-operation with other free nations and the American version of the Welfare State, which is called the New Deal. The basic meaning of the Eisenhower landslide is that the American people have voted decisively for a turn to the right, the voters however want to conserve the progress made under Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman in the last twenty years. Undoing the past with a reactionary zeal as is being done by Mr. Churchill in Britain would bring the downfall of the Republicans in the next election. The wind of popular enthusiasm that has blown the General into the White House has swept with the hope and inspiration that Eisenhower will be the saviour in the Korean stalemate. The Americans now want peace with honour and the General's main task will be to lead the way out of the Korean impasse.

Inflation in the U.S.A.

The following was published in the *Newsweek* of November 3:

"With consumer prices soaring, the American wage-earner is like Alice in Wonderland. Dr. Sydney Steele, director of planning for the Atlas Powder Company (explosives and industrial chemicals), observed last week. It takes a lot of hard running to stay where you are.

"The buying power of the dollar slumped from 100 cents in 1939 to 56 cents last year, Dr. Steele told the New York section of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers. And if the trend continues unchecked, he commented, the dollar will be worth only 10 cents in 1990....."

The American and the Indian Elections

Mr. K. Rama Rao, in an article in the *People* of November 15, compares and contrasts the recently concluded election in the U.S.A. with that in India held earlier this year. Though the USA is two and a half times larger than India, both are big countries and India has the larger electorate.

"In the United States," writes Mr. Rao, "elections to the State Legislatures were not held this time. The voting was only for Congress and the President. In India our elections were for the State Legislatures as well as for Parliament, besides for the President subsequently. There is universal franchise in India while in the United States, unless I am mistaken, a few million of Negroes have no vote in some States..."

"The main thing to note, however," continues he, "is to the verdict of the two nations. The Republicans have won throughout in the United States in the recent elections, but their majority in the Congress is much less than the majority of the Indian National Congress Party in India's Parliament. There is thus a possibility of friction developing in the U.S. Congress, and between the U.S. Congress and the U.S. President, while in India such a chance is not only remote, but is absolutely forbidden by the conditions of today. . . ."

The victory of the Indian National Congress reflected the desire of the people for "stability and continuity and progress through the return of the Congress to office," while "the reason for the success of the Republicans is predominantly a desire for change after twenty years of Democratic rule"

Both Congress and the Republican victories were due to the popularity of the two leaders—Nehru and Eisenhower. And in both the elections women had a deciding vote.

While Nehru has shown that he can be great both in peace and war "it remains to be seen whether Eisenhower will be as great in peace as in war." It is apprehended that Eisenhower "may even extend the war (in Korea) by manipulating it into one between Asian and Asian, the process to be adopted being encouragement of Chiang Kai-shek to invade the (Chinese) mainland."

The victory of the Indian National Congress was hailed as a victory for democracy throughout the world. But the Republican victory was generally received as "the triumph of a reactionary alliance which is better symbolised by such men as McCarthy, Jenner, Taft and Nixon, Byrnes, Byrd and Dixiecrates."

The *People* is an official organ of the Congress. So the comparison is neither free nor unbiased. But we present it for all it is worth.

Asian Trade Union College

The opening of the Asian Trade Union College on November 5 in New Alipore near Calcutta is an event of immense significance in the history of Asian Trade Unionism. The college is the first of its kind in the East and trade unionists from all over Asia would be taught the basic "principles and methods of modern democratic trade unionism, and to equip them to carry on organizational work in their own countries.

"The College offers three courses of 12 weeks per year and starts with 23 students on the rolls. Of them 13 are from India, 5 from Thailand, including a woman, 2 from Malaya, 2 from Hong Kong and 1 from Japan. Four more students from Pakistan are expected to arrive shortly. The training is entirely free."

"The entire cost of the project would be meted out of the sum of about £250,000 which had been contributed by the trade union organisations of the world, affiliated to the ICFTU for this purpose," reports the *Indian Worker*.

Livestock Wealth in India

According to a recent statistics, it is estimated that India has nearly 18.15 crores of cattle which is about one-third of the total oxen and buffalo population of the world. India produces over 3.7 crores of goat and sheep skins annually or roughly one-fifth of the world's total. As the largest producer and exporter of skins, she enjoys a unique position in the world market. India occupies third position in the world as a producer of carpet wool. Its annual production is 6.58 lakh maunds or 54.53 million lbs. India is also one of the world's largest exporters of bristles, the total production of which is worth Rs. 1 crore.

During 1951-52, India exported animal products worth Rs. 55.12 crores.

The annual production of raw hides in India was estimated in 1948 at 189 lakh pieces, of which 25 lakhs were obtained from slaughtered animals and 164 lakhs from dead animals. Of the total, 142 lakhs were kids and the rest buffalo hides.

Golden Jubilee of Nivedita Girls' School



Sister Nivedita of revered memory founded the Girls' School over half-a-century ago. She established this school along the ideals she had imbibed

from Swami Vivekananda and today a devoted band of workers are carrying on, despite great financial stress, under the guidance of the Ramakrishna Mission.

Brajendranath Banerji

It is only the other day that we congratulated Brajendranath in our Notes for his being awarded the West Bengal Government Rabindra Memorial Prize in literature for the year 1951-52. A few short months have elapsed: now he is no more. Brajendranath Banerji passed away on 3rd October, 1952, at the age of 61. By his death the scholarly world has lost an indefatigable worker in the field of historical research. Born in 1891 of a Brahmin family at Hugli, he lost his parents early in life and had to struggle to earn his livelihood when still in his teens. He began his life as a typist in a mercantile firm and rose to be the head-stenographer of his department. Though he left school at sixteen he never gave up studies. History was his favourite subject. After his office-hours he was always to be found in one literary circle or another. As a disciple of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Brajendranath, a student of history, very naturally took up the Mughal period for his special study. In his spare hours he applied himself heart and soul to research-work. He acquired from his Guru, and applied it with rare skill, the scientific method in the field of research and reconstruction of history. Even his early works, *Mogul Bidushi* and *Begum Samru* show what meticulous care he took to verify facts and sift details. Hard work in office and harder labour out of it in pursuit of his study and research began to tell upon his health. He resigned his post in the mercantile firm and was immediately taken in and appointed by the late Ramananda Chatterjee as an Assistant Editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi*. Henceforth he devoted himself solely to literary pursuits. His *Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha*, a comprehensive compilation of all the important news and writings from the *Samachar-darpan* and other newspapers and periodicals of the early nineteenth century, arranged systematically and methodically, and edited with an insight, thoroughness and painstaking diligence which show the scholar, is a monumental work. He was intimately connected with the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*. His connection with the *Parishad* in various capacities, specially as its Secretary, has brought this great institution to its present state of solvency and prosperity. It is mainly due to his indomitable energy and wholehearted devotion that the *Sahitya-sadhak Charitamala* were published from the *Parishad*. In order to devote more time to historical research he sought and obtained permission from the late Ramananda Chatterjee to confine his editorial work to the *Prabasi* alone from 1935. Banerji's works are written principally in Bengali. But he contributed many articles of historical interest to *The Modern Review*. He was our friend and valued colleague.

Arab States' Unreasonable Attitude

A small item sent from Cairo on November last throws light on a species of unreason which is dangerous to world peace. Here is the news:

"The Arab League Political Committee to Germany in a note that the German-Israeli reparations agreement was a 'menace to all Arab States'."

"The note said: 'In view of the serious situations created by the intention of the West German Government to ratify the German-Israeli compensation agreement, the Arab States may feel obliged to break economic relations with Germany. They also reserve to themselves the right to take appropriate measures to safeguard their interests in case of ratifications.'"

This payment is blood-money, so to say, paid in lieu of blood spilt, to stop a feud. This surely is in accordance with Semitic law, though the adequacy may be challenged by the recipient.

Hitlerite Germany murdered millions of Jews—men and women. The peace treaty made provision for compensation for this barbarism. The State of Israel, as representative of Jews, has come to an understanding with West Germany for payment. And we think that the Arab States had no reason to take umbrage. We wonder whether East Germany (Communist) has come to any such understanding and paid anything to Israel?

Dr. Weizman

With the death of Dr. Chaim Weizman, the first President of the newly formed State of Israel, the World Zionist movement has lost one of its greatest champions. Till the time of his death he was the President of the World Zionist Organization.

He was equally successful as a scientist and politician. It was principally through his efforts that during the first World War, the British Government succeeded in the production of acetone for the want of which the British munitions supply was endangered.

It was mainly due to his efforts that the World Zionist movement could secure the recognition of the British Government. The Jewish community in Britain and America were divided on that issue. But he succeeded in overcoming all opposition.

Dr. Weizman's efforts culminated in the foundation of Israel. The famous Balfour declaration, on behalf of the British War Cabinet, on November 2, 1917, this declaration affirmed, in language as unambiguous as possible for the Conservative Government of Albion, that the British Government will aid in the efforts to establish a homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

The world knows what has followed. But in all the strife, double-dealing and misery, that were the fruits of the intrigues of the permanent officials of the British Foreign Office and the Conservative Military group, Dr. Weizman's ideals stood firm and his reputation has remained unsullied.

FRONTIERS OF INDIA

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.

WHEN one studies the evolution of modern States realistically, it becomes clear that a growing State expands and absorbs weak ones as its integral parts. The technical process of expansion—either conquest, fomenting revolutions or supposed willing or forced accession—is immaterial. Ancient Hindus called the process the "Matsya" theory, which means that "a big fish eats up the little fish." This is the eternal process by which a Rajya—a small Kingdom—develops into a Samrajya, or a great Empire, and then it might develop into a World Empire.

This process of expansion does not remain limited to one direction, but goes on in all directions according to the strength and ability of the expanding power, and until it reaches defensible frontiers or comes to the close contact of the frontiers of a formidable Power which might resist any move for expansion with great effectiveness. Then the expanding Power, to safeguard its own interests, tries to avoid a collision or a costly war and becomes content with establishing defensible strategic frontiers, including Buffer States.

These Buffer States—weak ones—often not only become victims or pawns in the game of world politics, but they lose their independence either through expansion of a great Power or through agreements among great Powers. The best example of the latter process is the Japanese annexation of Korea, which was brought about through international agreements.

A school of modern thinkers assert that this process of expansion is a special characteristic of modern capitalism or capitalistic imperialist States. However, long before the rise of modern capitalism, the Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Chinese and Indian Empires followed the path of expansion. The Arab and Ottoman Empires of the middle ages, and the expanding European Powers since the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century, have pursued the same course. The history of expansion of the British Empire in India, centring from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in all directions, is one of the classic examples of absorption of frontier States and establishment of new strategic bases for further expansion. We may here also mention that Russian expansion since the days of Peter the Great, and the American expansion, has followed the same course. The present conflict between Soviet Russia and America is due to the fact that the United States is determined to check any further Russian expansion which might make it difficult to have defensible frontiers.

II

The frontiers of a State are not necessarily contiguous to its own territories; but they change with necessities of defense of a State, or its imperial possessions, or its sphere of influence. To elucidate this point I shall mention a few instances in relation to modern history and world politics:

During the eighteenth century, when Anglo-French rivalry was the chief feature—especially during the

Seven Years War (1756-1763), Bengal and Carnatic, virtually all India, Canada and a large part of Europe, became frontiers between these world Powers. During the Napoleonic War, Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, Persia, India (especially Tipoo Sultan's Mysore), the North American Continent, and virtually the whole of Europe became frontiers of States involved in a World War. After the Napoleonic War, with the elimination of France as a rival, and British control of sea routes to India, Malta in the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, Ceylon and Singapore became India's defensive frontiers.

In the nineteenth century, Great Britain, a dominant power in India, for the consolidation of its position began to expand and establish new frontiers in all directions. In fact, the elimination of all possible rivals from Indian borders became the cardinal policy of the growing Imperial India. The Nepalese War (the Octelony monument in Calcutta stands as a reminder of its significance and British victory) was fought to check any possible Nepalese expansion to the south, and to reduce this strategic State to a vassal and ally to serve British imperialist interest in India. (It may not be out of place to mention that the Nepalese aid of 40,000 soldiers was one of the most important factors in suppressing the Sepoy Mutiny or Indian War of Independence of 1857). The First Burmese War was fought to check any possible expansion of a restive Burma in the direction of Assam, Arakan, Chittagong and East Bengal, and won by the British to ensure frontier defense of North-East India—Bengal being then the heart of British dominion in India. It may be emphasized that when, in 1885, Burma and France were engaged in forming a secret alliance which might have endangered the security of India's eastern frontiers, Britain declared war on Burma and brought the country under its control, and made it an integral part of India. Burma in an unfriendly hand is a menace to India.

As early as the time of Warren Hastings, Tibet received special attention of the British authorities, and Trade Missions were sent to promote British Indian interests there, and to determine the prospects of Anglo-Tibetan co-operation against any future expansion of China towards the northern frontiers of India. Students of Chinese imperial history are well aware of the fact that the Chinese, in certain periods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, claimed suzerainty (after successful military expeditions) and collected tribute from Burma, Nepal and Tibet. The British rulers of India took precautions regarding the safety of the North-Eastern frontiers by establishing their hold on Sikkim and Bhutan and the adjoining regions, and maintaining a watchful eye over the Tibetan border.

Thus, during the early nineteenth century, a sound and fundamental policy for the defense of the North-Eastern frontier was laid down, and it still holds good. Pursuing the policy that no strong rival power be allowed to control Tibet, in 1904 a British Indian expedition, under Colonel Younghusband, was sent to check any possi-

ble Russian penetration in Tibet. For the defense of Indian frontiers, Tibet should remain a Buffer State. However, recently this policy has been abandoned to the detriment of Indian national security. When all the facts are appraised, it will be found that Indian frontiers bordering Tibet are not secure.

Lack of time will not permit me to go into the details of the evolution of shifting frontiers of India in the west, in relation to Anglo-Russian rivalry, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, it should not be forgotten that when Russia was checked at Constantinople and the Treaty of Unkair Skellasi was superseded by the Straits Convention of 1843, she moved towards Central Asia and worked hard to form a Russo-Persian-Afghan alliance. This march of Russia towards Indian frontiers led to positive action on the part of the British Indian authorities to safeguard the Indian frontiers. To forestall any possibility of a Russo-Afghan co-operation, the Afghan War was fought; and later Russia was isolated and defeated at the Crimean War, and the Indian frontiers were at least made safe temporarily.

After the defeat of Turkey in the Russo-Turkish War and the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, to protect Indian frontiers, Britain moved to undo the Treaty through international action and insisted on calling the Congress of Berlin in 1878. At first Russia refused to accede to Britain's demands, but when Britain sent Indian forces to Malta and made it clear that she would not allow Russian penetration towards Asiatic Turkey menacing India, and would even go to war to prevent such a development, then Russia agreed to participate in the famous Congress of Berlin. One of the results of this Congress was that Britain, by a secret treaty with Turkey, got control over Cyprus as a means toward defense of the Eastern Mediterranean and Asia Minor, and thus one of the routes to Indian western frontiers.

Britain's acquisition and control of the Suez Canal and virtual control of the Persian Gulf as enunciated by Lord Curzon, the formation of the Triple Entente—Anglo-French-Russian Alliance—by which Persia was partitioned between Britain and Russia, by which Britain kept the vital Persian Gulf region as her sphere of influence while Russia was given Northern Persia as her sphere of penetration and expansion, by which Russia agreed to acknowledge Afghanistan and Tibet as British spheres of influence while Britain readily acknowledged Mongolia to be within the Russian sphere—were the results of the positive policy of checking any possible encroachment by any Power in the regions of the Middle East and Northern part of India, thus safeguarding Indian frontiers.

It is needless to emphasize that one of the principal causes of World War I was to check German penetration in the Middle East through the Berlin-Baghdad railway, which would have given Germany a foothold in the Persian Gulf and thus threatened Indian security

in the West. In one sense, it was to protect Indian frontiers that Indian soldiers fought not only in the Middle East and Egypt, but also in France. For the same reason, to maintain British control over India unimpaired, Indian forces fought in Europe, Africa and Asia during World War II.

It may be suggested by some that what happened in the past on the frontier problems of India under the British regime, may not be applicable to the India of today, i.e., Free India. On this issue, I wish to assert with all the emphasis I can command that I am in full agreement with the teachings of the late General Haushofer, the greatest of the modern geo-politicians, as he expounded in his studies on "die Grenze", or Frontiers. *Fundamental problems and issues of foreign policies as centred on "frontiers" do not change with a change of government. India today has the same fundamental frontier problems and something worse and more difficult than those which existed before, i.e., under British rule.*

III

By the Independence of India Act of 1947, a United India was partitioned, and the Union of India and Pakistan were created as two separate States, with the present un-natural frontiers. By this partition, United India lost one-fourth of her territories and about 80 millions of her population. The partition of India has dislocated the economic unity of the continental region of India as a whole, and has thus brought about a general weakening of the country. Above all, this partition has brought into existence such frontiers as may not be easily defended if attacked by hostile forces either from the north-east or the north-west.

It is often assumed by many that India and Pakistan can co-operate in the defense of their frontiers and remain in peace, as Canada and the United States are doing today. But there are vital differences between Indo-Pakistan relations and those existing between Canada and the United States. Canada and the United States are pursuing common defence policies to such an extent that in the arctic regions of Canada joint United States-Canadian forces are operating for the defense of the continent. Canadian factories as well as American, are producing similar armaments. On the other hand, Indo-Pakistan relations are anything but cordial.

It may be pointed out without fear of contradiction that if Soviet Russia decides to move southward, Pakistan, with her present hostility towards India, cannot defend herself. Neither is it possible for India to defend herself from such an onslaught single-handed. I may be permitted to remind Indian statesmen that a far less powerful Persia, under Nadir Shah, during the early eighteenth century, invaded and sacked Delhi and took away Mughal India's peacock throne.

If Sino-Russian forces move towards Northern India—especially North-Eastern India—India with her present relations with Pakistan, especially Eastern Pakistan, where millions of Hindus are denied human rights, can-

not defend herself. It is no secret (and the Government of India must have more adequate information than I have) that from Lhasa, as well as Peking and Moscow, movements for cessation of certain parts of North-Eastern India—particularly Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and adjoining regions—and Chinese expansion in North Burma and Malaya, are in full progress.

IV

I venture to assert that the idea that India has nothing to fear from a Soviet Russian—Communist Chinese alliance is mere wishful thinking. Before the outbreak of World War II, Soviet Russia to protect her back from a Japanese attack, sought a non-aggression pact with Japan. The terms of this non-aggression pact were kept by Japan, and this served as one of the principal causes of Russian success in defending Leningrad and Stalingrad. Japanese neutrality in the Russo-German conflict saved Russia from being conquered by Germany. This point is generally overlooked by students of world politics. But this pact was deliberately violated by Soviet Russia to serve her expansionist policies in East Asia which were consistent with the policies of Tsarist Russia of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It must be very fresh in the memories of Indian leaders that Communist China, through Sardar Panikkar—Indian Ambassador at Peking who closely collaborated with the Communist Chinese regime—assured the Government of India that the status of Tibet would not be interfered with by Communist China. But this solemn promise was not kept. When Mr. Panikkar, at the request of the Government of India, was asked to draw the attention of the Government of China to this point, India was told that she should mind her own business and China would get into Tibet. It is somewhat amusing and alarming that when China took over Tibet, one of the spokesmen of the Government of India justified India's diplomatic defeat and asserted that Tibet did not concern India. Today there is a very sizeable Chinese army—not less than 20,000 men—in Tibet, and a new Tibetan army is being formed in the same fashion as Russia organized the North Korean army. This may some day be used against India's north-eastern frontier.

With the partition of India, not only India, but Pakistan has frontier defense problems of very great magnitude. It is my belief that future historians will be forced to record that from national and international points of view, partition of India was one of the most indefensible and outrageous acts. Both from moral and political points of view, this act of opportunism and short-sighted statesmanship cannot be defended.

I have been told that "the partition of India is a settled fact". This may be so for those who were directly responsible for the most unwise decision of 1947, planned by British statesmen and aided by anti-Indian Pan-Islamists, and accepted by honest but short-sighted Indian leaders who hoped that by partition of India they would be able to bring about better understanding with

the secessionist Pan-Islamist and anti-Indian States created at two strategic frontiers of India. To an historian it is self-evident that the partition of a country does not solve vital problems of a nation. It is also a fact that there is nothing like an absolutely settled fact in the history of a dynamic State.

For a student of history it is absolutely clear that for national and international reasons there should be a United India as it existed in 1947. The first and the immediate requisite for it is to see that both Pakistan and India should have common defense and economic and foreign policies.

Those who are engaged in defending the frontiers of the Union of India and those parts of former United India known as Pakistan, must realise that today they have virtually defenseless frontiers due to their mutual hostility, internal weakness and policy of isolation in world politics.

To be sure, the Indian Army is one of the finest in the world. But what about its equipment? Today the Chinese army is a formidable one because it is getting arms and ammunition from Soviet Russia, and Soviet technicians and Generals are helping them in many ways. If Soviet Russian aid is cut off, then the Communist Chinese army will be reduced to a third-rate one. Unless India can develop industries which may aid the cause of national defense, her frontiers will remain undefendable from any attack by a superior force. Can India carry out this task without outside aid? History teaches us that no nation, in complete isolation, can become great or maintain its independence. Even Soviet Russia in all stages of her development and expansion had to depend upon foreign support in various forms.

India has an immense sea frontier, and India must develop a sizeable Navy. This cannot be done overnight. Thus India must co-operate with such sea powers as may have common interests.

Lastly, I may mention that in the north-west, India cannot allow the existence of any hostile State between her borders and Afghanistan. In fact, Afghanistan must be an ally to defend her north-western frontiers. Similarly, Northern India cannot be defended if Nepal, Bhutan or Sikkim fall into enemy hands; and a strong enemy from Sinkiang and Tibet can effectively menace these regions.

Due to the partition of India, the frontiers of India are more or less defenseless, and such is the case with the frontiers of Pakistan. In defense of frontiers, political actions are no less, if not more, important than mere military measures. Thus it is desirable that for the defense of the frontiers of India, Indian statesmanship should solve Indo-Pakistani relations which would lead to the re-establishment of a United India. The task is not easy, but far-sighted statesmen will have to tackle this issue for serving the cause of peace between India and Pakistan and international peace.*

* A speech delivered before the Rotary Club of Delhi on October 16, 1952.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR*

By D. N. BANERJEE

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

THE object of this paper is to deal with the influence of political ideologies on political behaviour, with special reference to the methods of their propagation and the conditions of their acceptance. As desired by the organizers of this Congress,† I shall deal with the subject, partly, from the Indian point of view. The subject, I need hardly say, is not merely one of a purely academic interest to students of Political Science, but also of some practical importance to humanity to-day, in view of the sharp, ideological differences dividing its different sections into practically hostile camps. It may, however, be noted here that it is not possible for me to deal with the subject exhaustively within the limits of a paper. I shall, therefore, only indicate salient points in connection with it.

II

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

I shall first say a few words in regard to the question of relationship between political ideology and political behaviour.

That political ideologies exercise a profound influence on, and often shape the course of, human affairs, is almost a commonplace of Political Science. Without going into the ancient or mediaeval history of mankind, I may cite one or two events of our modern world to illustrate my point. Let us take, for instance, the influence of the ideology underlying the Social Contract Theory as expounded by Locke and Rousseau. According to Locke, the supreme power or sovereignty in a State belongs to the community as a whole. Further, as William Carpenter has briefly put it:

"Political power exists and is exercised only for the public good"; and "the basis of government is consent, and the powers which are wielded by princes and rulers inhere in them, not by any absolute right founded on grant, covenant or otherwise, but on conditions in the nature of a trust, and under liability to forfeiture if the conditions are not fulfilled."¹

The influence of this Lockian doctrine is particularly noticeable in the Declaration of Independence by the United States of America on 4th July, 1776.

* A paper read at the Second Congress of the International Political Science Association held at The Hague from 8th to 12th September, 1952.

† See the foot-note above.

1. See Carpenter's *Introduction to Two Treatises of Civil Government* by John Locke (Everyman's Library); also Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, paras. 149 and 221-223.

There are ideas and expressions in the Declaration which appear to have been taken directly from Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*.² And Rousseau who proclaimed as with a trumpet-blast the doctrines of "the equality of man" and "the inalienable sovereignty of the people," has been rightly called both "the chief prophet" and "the spiritual father" of the French Revolution—that "great awe-inspiring outburst of popular" indignation in 1789 which declared in no uncertain voice that "the many should no longer be the bondslaves of the few."³ His *Contract Social* which "became the formula of the Revolutionary Creed" in France, ranks, rightly says Lecky, with Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* "as one of the two great political works of the eighteenth century which have had the greatest practical influence upon public affairs." Sidgwick, therefore, hardly exaggerates when he says⁴ that

"If any one idea, any one principle, can be said to be in itself the intellectual source of the great Revolution of 1789, it is this principle of the perpetual and inalienable sovereignty of the people" preached by Rousseau.

And referring to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens issued by the National Assembly of France on 26th August, 1789, Sidgwick has also rightly observed⁵:

"Indeed, if you want to have expressed in the form of summary resolutions the fundamental doctrines of Rousseau's *Contract Social* you have only to read one after another the earlier clauses of this declaration."

And we also find in Lecky⁶:

"That which distinguishes the French Revolution from other political movements is, that it was directed by men who had adopted certain speculative, *a priori* concepts of political right, with the fanaticism and pro-clytising fervour of a religious belief, and the Bible of their creed was the *Contract Social* of Rousseau."

2. This does not mean that Rousseau's writings had no influence on the American Declaration of Independence, but that the political theory of Locke had a greater influence on it than anything else.

3. See Tozer's Edition of *The Social Contract*, Introduction, p. L.

4. See Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. VI, 1902, p. 243.

5. See Sidgwick, *The Development of European Polity*, 1920, p. 392.

6a. According to Lodge (*Modern Europe*), the date was 27th August, 1789.

6. See Sidgwick, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

7. See Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

445

And what did Rousseau actually say? Among other things, he stated:

(a) "If force constitutes rights, the effect changes with the cause, and any force which overcomes the first succeeds to its rights."⁷

(b) "All power comes from God, I admit; but every disease comes from him too; does it follow that we are precluded from calling in a physician?"⁸

(c) "Sovereignty, being nothing but the exercise of the general will, can never be alienated, and . . . the sovereign power, which is only a collective being, can be represented by itself alone; power indeed can be transmitted, but not will."⁹

(d) "The sovereign, having no other force than the legislative power, acts only through the laws; and the laws being nothing but authentic acts of the general will, the sovereign can act only when the people are assembled."¹⁰

(e) "Every law which the people in person have not ratified is invalid; it is not a law."¹¹

I have given above only a few extracts from Rousseau's writings, just to indicate the explosive nature of his views. By themselves, they would be quite sufficient to justify a revolution in almost every state of Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. I am not, therefore, surprised by the reported remark¹² of Napoleon that "if Rousseau had never lived, there would have been no French Revolution." But in that case, it must also be stated, the progress of democracy in the world would have been materially hampered, and there might not be any Referendum in Switzerland and elsewhere, ever any plebiscite and universal suffrage in any country, and any virtual abandonment of the hereditary principle in government. We really owe all these and many other democratic principles and practices largely to the influence of the political ideology of Rousseau.¹³

It may also be noted here that the influence of the political ideology of Locke and Rousseau is, more or less, evident¹⁴ not only upon the Constitution of the United States of America, but also upon the constitutions of its constituent states, such as Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Virginia, Wisconsin, etc. Further, we largely

owe to the influence of Locke and Rousseau the provisions for what are called the fundamental rights in the Constitutions of many other countries including India.

Another political doctrine which has materially influenced the political behaviour of men, particularly in the matter of constitution-making in different countries, is the doctrine of the Separation of Powers as an indispensable safeguard for the maintenance of individual liberty, as expounded by Montesquieu in his *Spirit of the Laws*, originally published in 1748. Unlike Locke and Rousseau, however, Montesquieu "was neither inspirer nor prophet of an Age."¹⁵

I shall now say a few words about another political ideology, namely, the ideology of nationalism, and its allied doctrine of self-determination as expounded by President Woodrow Wilson in the course of an address¹⁶ delivered on 11th February, 1918, before a joint session of the two Houses of (the American) Congress. Ever since the first partition of Poland in 1772, and in spite of the decisions of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) which treated Europe "as if it were a blank map which might be divided simply into arbitrary districts of so many square miles and so many inhabitants"¹⁷ the principle of nationalism has proved to be a tremendous political force—a "kind of political dynamite", as Laski has put it—, and materially shaped the course of human history. The inspiring Addresses¹⁸ of Fichte to the German Nation, and the soul-stirring writings of Joseph Mazzini, "the eloquent and fiery prophet of nationalism," together with the "Young Italy" Movement with "Independence, Unity, and Liberty" as its watchword,¹⁹ greatly contributed to the development of the principle of nationalism and also to its effect upon human affairs. As is well-known, to this principle of nationalism we primarily owe the break-up of several empires and the emergence of many sovereign States during the last one hundred and fifty years.

Addressing the Italian working-men, Mazzini had said,²⁰ among many other things:

"Without Country you have neither name, token, voice, nor rights, no admission as brothers into the fellowship of the Peoples. You are the bastards of Humanity. Soldiers without a banner, Israelites among the nations, you will find neither faith nor protection; none will be sureties for you."

Again:

8. See Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (Tozer's Edition), Book I, Chapter III.

9. See *ibid.*, Book I, Chap. IV.

10. See Rousseau, *op. cit.* Book II, Ch. I.

11. See *ibid.*, Book III, Ch. XII.

12. See *ibid.*, Book III, Ch. XV.

13. See Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

14. See *ibid.*, pp. 240-67; also Lowell, *Government and Parties in Continental Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 238-246.

15. See *Year Book on Human Rights for 1944*, United Nations, Lake Success, New York, 1947, pp. 322-323.

16. See Joseph Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays*, Everyman's Library, p. 272.

17. In reply to the addresses of the Imperial German Chancellor and the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs at that time.

18. See Lodge, *A History of Modern Europe*, 1914, p. 629.

19. See Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, English Translation by Jones & Turnbull, 1922.

20. See Delia Burns, *Political Ideals*, 1929, pp. 174-96.

21. See Joseph Mazzini, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-57.

"Before associating ourselves with the Nations which compose Humanity we must exist as a Nation. There can be no association except among equals; and you have no recognised collective existence."

Further:

"Your Country is one and indivisible....Your Country is the token of the mission which God has given you to fulfil in Humanity. The faculties, the strength of all its sons should be united for the accomplishment of this mission....Your Country should be your Temple. God at the summit, a People of equals at the base. Do not accept any other formula, any other moral law, if you do not want to dishonour your Country and yourselves."

These words stirred the souls of many other subject peoples and provoked them to actions for their national freedom. It may be interesting to note here that in its early days the Nationalist Movement in India was, as will appear from what follows, largely inspired by the writings of Mazzini, and that, later on, the doctrine of self-determination as expounded by President Wilson, materially strengthened this movement for national independence. Thus we find Surendranath Banerjee who is rightly regarded to-day as the Father of Indian Nationalism and whose political activities had begun long before Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the political stage of India, writing in his Reminiscences:

"Upon my mind the writings of Mazzini had created a profound impression. The purity of his patriotism, the loftiness of his ideals, and his all-embracing love for humanity, expressed with the true eloquence of the heart, moved me as I had never before been moved. I discarded his revolutionary teachings as unsuited to the circumstances of India and as fatal to its normal development, along the lines of peaceful and orderly progress; but I inculcated, with all the emphasis that I could command, the enduring lessons of his noble life, lived for the sake of others, his lofty patriotism, his self-abnegation, and his heroic devotion to the interests of humanity. It was Mazzini, the incarnation of the highest moral forces in the political arena—Mazzini, the apostle of Italian Unity, the friend of the human race, that I presented to the youth of Bengal. Mazzini had taught Italian unity. We wanted Indian unity. Mazzini had worked through the young. I wanted the young men of Bengal to realize their potentialities and to qualify themselves to work for the salvation of their country, but upon lines in-tinct with the spirit of constitutionalism. I lectured upon Mazzini, but took care to tell the young men to abjure his revolutionary ideals, and to adopt his spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion in the paths of constitutional development. I persuaded Babu Jogendranath Vidyabhusan and Babu Rajani Kanto Gupta, both distinguished Bengalee writers, to translate into our language the life and work of Mazzini in the spirit of my addresses, so as to place them within the reach of those who did not understand English. I soon popularized Mazzini among the young men of Bengal."

22. See Surendranath Banerjee, *A Nation in Making, Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life*, 1925, p. 43.

After a long struggle for freedom, India has acquired to-day the status of a "sovereign democratic republic." And one of the factors that have contributed to this, is certainly the inspiring writings of thinkers like Joseph Mazzini.

I have briefly dealt above with the ideology of nationalism and its influence on political behaviour. But this ideology of nationalism has not proved to be an unmixed good for humanity. It is true that "a sane nationalism, when it understands itself," points, as Stawell has rightly said, "the way to internationalism as its completion." And there is really no inherent incompatibility between nationalism as such and internationalism. Unfortunately, however, as things now stand, and perhaps owing to some inherent perversity in human nature, once nationalism succeeds in achieving its object of national independence, it often tends to degenerate, and to foster both economic and political imperialism, "intolerance, militarism, and war." Thus it becomes a menace to civilization. Humanity has to guard itself against this kind of false, diseased, and perverted nationalism which Professor Hayes²³ has rightly characterized as "a form of mania, a kind of extended and exaggerated egotism." Some of the best thinkers of the world such as William Penn, Abbe Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, Bentham, Kant, Laski, and Tagore have deeply felt this and have each shown a way to international peace and security. The result has been the emergence of a new ideology, namely, that of internationalism. This ideology has so far found institutional expression, first, in the form of the League of Nations, and afterwards, in the shape of the United Nations, and has thus influenced the political behaviour of nations. Let us pray and hope that this ideology of internationalism, rather than "the swollen armaments" of nations, will prove an effective guarantee of international peace and security, and that time will soon come when nations "shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks," and when they "shall not lift up sword" against one another, "neither shall they learn war any more." Indeed, we must, as Laski²⁴ has warned, learn to think (and I would add, also to act) internationally, or we shall perish sooner or later.

Mention may also be made in this connexion of the ideology of utilitarianism or "the greatest happiness principle as a basis of social reconstruction", and of the ideology of liberalism²⁵. These two ideologies—they are often complementary to each other, although they may sometimes be contradictory—, have profoundly influenced the political behaviour of men

23. See Stawell, *The Growth of International Thought*, Home University Library, p. 7.

24. See his "Essays on Nationalism", Chap. VIII.

25. See Laski, *Nationalism and the Future of Civilization*, 1932, p. 27.

during the last one hundred and fifty years. Their influence has been particularly pronounced in the field of legislation.²⁶ For instance, Bentham who was the commanding figure of the Utilitarian Movement in England, was primarily "a great legal philosopher and a reformer of the law," and "the object of his lifelong labours," says Dicey,²⁷ "was to remodel the law of England in accordance with utilitarian principles." And what was the result? We have the testimony of Sir Henry Maine²⁸ who says: "I do not know a single law reform effected since Bentham's day which cannot be traced to his influence." Among others, his disciples James Mill and John Stuart Mill also have exercised a great influence upon English thought and political action by their writings.

Nor can we ignore here the influence upon the political behaviour of men, of the ideology of what is commonly known as the Idealist or Absolutist Theory of the State, particularly as it is associated with the name of Hegel. Among other things, the ideological inspiration of the First World War (1914-18) and of the Fascist Theory of the State with all its implications, may be traced to the Hegelian conception of the State.²⁹ Hobhouse, therefore, hardly exaggerates when he says³⁰ that it was a mistake to have passed by "the Hegelian exaltation of the state as the rhapsodical utterances of a metaphysical dreamer."

"The whole conception", he continues, "is deeply interwoven with the most sinister developments in the history of Europe" since it "has from first to last provided by far the most serious opposition to the democratic and humanitarian conceptions emanating from eighteenth-century France, sixteenth-century Holland and seventeenth-century England".

And in the bombing of London during the first World War he "witnessed the visible and tangible outcome" of the "Hegelian Theory of the god-state."³¹

Finally, I should like to say a few words about the ideology of communism. Whether we like it or not, it is one of the most powerful forces in modern politics. It is, directly or indirectly, responsible for the creation to-day of a state of fear, suspicion, and tension amongst nations, and for their race for armaments. It has, with its doctrine of abolition of private property, its Economic Interpretation of His-

tory, its Theory of Class Struggle, its assurance of ultimate victory therein for the "dispossessed" or the "proletariat," and with its promise of the cessation of all exploitation and of a consequent era of plenty, prosperity, peace, and happiness for the masses, not only created sharp differences of opinion within nations, but also practically divided the civilized world into two hostile camps which may at any moment come into a terrible clash and thus start a Third World War to the destruction of our civilization. It is not possible to examine the case for and against communism, or its economic basis, within the scope of this paper. There is much in it that is commendable; but there is also much in it that is really loathsome and reprehensible. This much, however, I should like to state here that communism believes in, and advocates, violence for the achievement of its object. Thus we find in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*³² that

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims," and that "they openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

Thus communism implies, as Laski has shown,³³ both an ideal and a method.

"As an ideal," he says, "it aims at a society in which classes have been abolished as a result of the common ownership of the means of production and distribution. As a method, it believes that its ideal can be attained only by means of a social revolution in which the dictatorship of the proletariat is the effective instrument of change."

And this social revolution is to be effected with the help of violence, if necessary.

I have briefly discussed above the influence of some political ideologies on political behaviour. But I should also refer here, incidentally, to the effect of political facts on political theories and ideologies. Indeed, as Professor Sidgwick has shown, there is an intimate relationship between political facts and political ideas.

"Nothing," says Professor Laski, "is more useless, because nothing is less revealing, than to separate the political philosophy of any thinker from the circumstances in which it was born. Rousseau is only intelligible, to take a supreme example, in the context of eighteenth-century France. . . . Every great thinker is in part the autobiography of his age."³⁴

However, I leave this point here as it is not the subject-matter of this paper.

III

PROPAGATION OF IDEOLOGIES AND CONDITIONS OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE

I shall now deal with the question of methods adopted for the propagation of ideologies, and also of the conditions that help their acceptance. In the past

26. See Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England*, 1930, Chap. IX.

27. See, for instance, Dicey, *op. cit.*

28. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

29. See Graham, *English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine*, 1926, p. 180.

30. See Willoughby, *Prussian Political Philosophy*; also Hobhouse, *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, Lectures, I and II; also Maxey, *Political Philosophies*, Chs. XXX-XXXIII.

31. See Hobhouse, *op. cit.*, Lecture I.

32. See *ibid.*, Dedication.

33. By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

34. See Laski, *Communism*, 1930, p. 11.

34a. See Laski, *On the Study of Politics, An Inaugural Lecture* on 22nd October, 1926, Oxford, p. 12.

coercion and intimidation often played a very important part in the dissemination, and also in the matter of acceptance, of religious, moral, and political ideas. And some thinkers have justified this application of force for such purposes on the ground that "the wise minority are the rightful masters of the foolish majority."³⁵ For example, while examining John Stuart Mill's *Essay on Liberty* Sir James Fitzjames Stephen has observed³⁶ that

"If Mr. Mill's view of liberty had always been adopted and acted upon to its full extent—if it had been the view of the first Christians or of the first Mahomedans—everyone can see that there would have been no such thing as organised Christianity or Mahomedanism in the world."

Further,

"Mr. Mill and his disciples would be the last persons in the world to say that the political and social changes which have taken place in the world since the sixteenth century have not on the whole been eminently beneficial to mankind; but nothing can be clearer than that they were brought about by force, and in many instances by the force of a minority numerically small, applied to the conduct of an ignorant or very partially informed and for the most part indifferent majority. It would surely be as absurd to say that the Reformation or the French Revolution was brought about freely and not by coercion as to say that Charles I walked freely to the block."³⁷

But whatever might have been the case in the past, any application of force to-day for the propagation of any particular ideology, either by any official or by any non-official agency, would be universally condemned. As MacIver has rightly observed,³⁸ while dealing with the question of "force in the control of opinion":

"Force comes as a brutal alien into a sphere that is not its own, where it cannot regulate or convince, where it cannot stimulate or direct the healthy processes of thought, where its presence is destructive of good as well as of evil.... Opinion can be fought only by opinion. Only thus is it possible for truth to be revealed. Force would snatch from truth its only means of victory. Force can suppress opinion, but only by suppressing the mind which is the judge of truth."

Force being out of question, propaganda appears to be the only rational method for the dissemination of an ideology. And that is the reason why recourse is had to-day, for the diffusion of ideologies, to such instrumentalities of propaganda as the radio, the film, the daily and periodical press, the platform, educational institutions, fairs and exhibitions, religious and cultural associations, musical entertainments, symbolism, street parades, demonstrations, slogans, cheap publications, pamphleteering, painting, wall-posters, posters on running vehicles, etc. We

have really entered upon an Age of Propaganda! In a very illuminating chapter in his *Prussian Political Philosophy*, Professor Willoughby has shown³⁹ to what extent, before and during the First World War, the Governments of the German States controlled education from the primary school to the University stage, with a view to inculcating in their subjects the political views which their rulers desired them to hold. And in his *One World* Wendell Willkie has shown to what extent opinion was controlled in Russia when he visited this country during the Second World War.

"One of the most interesting and important parts of this (Soviet) machine", writes Wendell Willkie,⁴⁰ "seemed to me to be the newspapers, like every other part, under government control." "The press in Russia", he writes further, "I came to believe, is the strongest single agency in the hands of the government for short-term purposes, just as I believe the schools are their strongest agency in the long run. The present government of Russia has had both the schools and the press in its control now for twenty-five years."

It is also worthy of note here what Graham Wallas has aptly called "the facts of human nature."⁴¹ That is to say, we must, in any discussion of socio-political questions, take into account how human nature actually works in politics, how our actions are often determined by our impulses and instincts rather than by our reason, and also the manner in which the crowd behaves or can be made to behave. He has warned us against exaggerating what he calls "the intellectuality of mankind."

"Politics", it has been rightly said "is only in a slight degree, the product of conscious reason: it is largely a matter of subconscious process of habit and instinct, suggestion and imitation."

Nor can we ignore in this connexion the importance of propaganda, often euphemistically described as a "campaign of education," "the work of enlightenment," "political education", etc., as a great instrument of policy to-day both in internal and in international politics. After all, we must not forget that, more or less, the masses in every country are, to quote the words of Rousseau, "a blind multitude, which often knows not what it wishes because it rarely knows what is good for it."⁴² Moreover, as Hitler, himself a great master of propaganda, has observed:⁴³

"The receptive ability of the masses is very limited, their understanding small; on the other hand, they have a great power of forgetting." Further, "an immense majority of the people are so feminine in nature and point of view, that

their thoughts and actions are governed more by feeling and sentiment than by reasoned consideration."⁴⁴

He has also been quoted as having said:

"By clever persistent propaganda even heaven can be represented to a people as hell, and the most wretched life as paradise."⁴⁵

Political parties fully know all these, and deliberately use the instrument of propaganda for the manipulation of popular impulse and thought, with a view to manufacturing the so-called public opinion in support of the objects they have in view. In India, too, as in other democratic countries, different political parties carry on their propaganda on behalf of their respective ideologies. But the way in which the communistic propaganda is being carried on here is really surprising. Apart from the Press, the platform, slogans, street parades and demonstrations, and even some subversive activities in some isolated parts of India, now effectively held in check, cheap communistic literature, published by the "Foreign Languages Publishing House" in Moscow, has simply been flooding the country. Moreover, there are some weekly local publications, both in English and in Indian vernaculars, dealing with different aspects of life in the Soviet Union. Being a Democracy India allows the sale of such publications although such a thing—I mean the sale of any anti-communistic literature—is inconceivable to-day in the Soviet State.

"In our state, naturally", says Andrei Vyshinsky,⁴⁶ "there is and can be no place for freedom of speech, press, and so on for the foes of socialism. Every sort of attempt on their part to utilize to the detriment of the state—that is to say, to the detriment of all the toilers—these freedoms granted to the toilers must be classified as a counter-revolutionary crime.... Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of meetings, of street parades, and of demonstrations are the property of all the citizens in the U.S.S.R., fully guaranteed by the state upon the single condition that they be utilized in accord with the interests of the toilers and to the end of strengthening the socialist social order."

I have dealt above with the importance of propaganda for the diffusion of ideologies. But, as Professor Carr⁴⁷ has said, the power of propaganda to manufacture opinion is not unlimited. Even Hitler admitted this. A propaganda, for instance, in favour of a particular ideology cannot be permanently successful unless, first, it is in some conformity with facts, and, secondly, unless it appeals "to some universally or generally recognised values." "False statements of fact are bad propaganda", and, after all,

there is an "inherent strain of idealism in human nature."⁴⁸ For example, a propaganda for the acceptance of the communist ideology by a people cannot except during a short period of distress, misery suffering and frustration, succeed unless there is a grave, deep-seated social injustice which cannot be removed otherwise. This points to the necessity of a critical and impartial examination of our social system. "The existence of a nation divided permanently into rich and poor is," Professor Laski has rightly said, "incompatible with the attainment of social justice." Besides, we must bear in mind the warning of James Madison⁴⁹ that "the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property", and that "those who hold, and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society." Precisely one hundred years ago, even John Stuart Mill author of the *Essay on Liberty*, went so far as to say in his *Principles of Political Economy*:⁵⁰

"If... the choice were to be made between Communism with all its chances, and the present (1852) state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence, that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour can not count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life; if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance."

Further:

"The laws of property have never yet conformed to the principles on which the justification of private property rests. They have made property of things which never ought to be property and absolute property where only a qualified property ought to exist. They have not held the balance fairly between human beings, but have heaped impediments upon some, to give advantage to others; they have purposely fostered inequalities, and prevented all from starting fair in the race."

In view of these weighty views, the ideology of communism which, as I have already said, has some good features as well as some very ugly features, is a challenge to show that "its ideals can be realised by alternative means." Professor Laski is not, therefore, wrong when he says⁵¹ that "nothing is gained, in any discussion of communism, by treating it as a wicked doctrine;" that, "like any other system of

35. See James Fitzjames Stephen, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, 1874, p. XVII.

36. See *ibid.*, p. 18.

37. See J. F. Stephen, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

38. See MacIver, *The Modern State*, 1928, p. 138.

39. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, Ch. VIII.

40. See his *One World*, 1943, pp. 54-55.

41. See Graham Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics*, 3rd Edition.

42. See Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Toser's edition, Book II, Chap. VI.

43. See Hitler, *My Struggle*, The Paternoster Library, Chap. VI.

44. See Hitler, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

45. See Carr, *Propaganda in International Politics*, Oxford, 1939, p. 27.

46. See his *The Law of the Soviet State*, 1948, p. 617. This work is really a joint product of Vyshinsky and a team of collaborators.

47. See Carr, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-32.

48. See *ibid.*

49a. See *The Federalist* (Hamilton, Madison and Jay), No. X.

49. See Book II, Chap. I, Sec. 3 (Ashley's Edition, 1929, pp. 208-209).

50. See Laski, *Communism*, 1930, pp. 238-39.

belief, its rise is the outcome of its environment, and its acceptance by large bodies of men is no more unnatural than their acceptance of other creeds;" and that even those who reject communistic principles must admit the large degree of truth in the indictment that is brought against the present social order with its glaring inequalities on every side. Democracy in the political sphere has really no meaning in a country if there are poverty, misery and squalor, hunger, thirst and starvation, and disease, ignorance and intemperance in it, on a large scale. There should, it has been rightly said, be "a civic minimum" of food, clothing, shelter, and education for every citizen in a country. (Of course, this will perforce lead to a social control of the growth of population and to a compulsory family planning.) We should not forget here that a spoken word or a written word cannot produce a permanent effect upon a people unless they are suffering from some serious, legitimate grievances and unless they are psychologically prepared for it. The true remedy, therefore, for the danger of the acceptance of a subversive creed by any considerable number of men,

lies in the removal of all their legitimate grievances and in the establishment of an equitable social order. At the same time, I should like to observe that it is not at all necessary to have recourse to any violence for bringing about a social change in these days of adult suffrage. "Hate and fear and violence" will, we must bear in mind, only create an "environment of which the children are, equally, hate and fear and violence". "We must not forget:

"They that take the sword shall perish with the sword".
Finally, we must not indulge, as Mill has warned,⁵¹ in "the folly of premature attempts" at "social transformation". There is nothing inherently wrong "in the essential constitution of human nature". "Education, habit, and the cultivation of the sentiments, will make a common man dig or weave for his country, as readily as fight for his country." These are very wise words of a great rationalist thinker and social reformer and we should do well to pay heed to them.

51. See Laski, *Communism*, p. 244.

52. See John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*, Chap. VII.

—:O:—

LINES TO AN UNBORN CHILD

By F. R. STANLEY

Angel unborn, a thousand years hence,
When birdsong and starlight still weave their music in your heart,
Remember us. Remember there were some
To whom the earth and its cities, its glory and gold,
Were like the moth's borrowed incandescence,
Or the shrivelled bud that has felt winter's claw.
We who loved with a beautiful madness,
Where amaranth and holly, heather and primrose?
The dream-world of spent passions and lost faces?
For once we lived among beautiful thorns,
Hoarding our treasures for the morrow; for the morrow—
Here an evening scene, a holding of hands,
A pledging of faith and of love that binds:
Or the transient beauty of a falling star;
A name that sent us wand'ring back
Through lotus-lands of memories;
A wish, a prayer breathed 'twixt closed lips,
When God's light footstep sounded on the lawn.



PARRINGTON AND THE JEFFERSONIAN TRADITION

By MERRILL D. PETERSON,

Assistant Professor of American Civilization, Brandeis University

ONE of the monumental studies of the American mind, which should be read by every student of American culture, is Vernon L. Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927-1930). A Kansas Populist, a Harvard graduate, a contemporary of three other great historians of this century F. J. Turner, Charles Beard and Carl Becker, Parrington spent most of his life a virtually unknown Professor of English at the University of Washington. After fifteen years' solitary labour, he earned his reward; for *Main Currents* was an inspiring text to a whole younger generation of intellectuals engaged in an exciting rediscovery of the American past. The book is vulnerable at several points—its inconsistencies and confusions, its mistaken judgments of major artists, its Jeffersonian ideology—and recently Parrington has been severely criticized from different quarters. I am not primarily concerned with the book's failings, but rather with its major theme, which is American liberalism, with an adventure in the liberal tradition by a passenger identified with the voyage, critical of the course and wary of the destination.

Various classified as literary, intellectual or political history, *Main Currents* defies conventional labeling. While it is all of these, its great symphonic theme is the rise and decline of Jeffersonian liberalism in the United States. Parrington's interest, he said in introducing Volume I, was not *belles lettres* but the genesis and development in American thought of ideas reckoned traditionally American, not the dainty fare of genteel poetasters but the old-fashioned beef and puddings of masculine intellects and material struggles. Great figures in American thought had been ignored or misunderstood because belletristic historians, who were notoriously impatient of any incursion into matters of fact, had narrowly catalogued them as poets or polite essayists. Following the broad path of political, economic, and intellectual development, rather than the formally belletristic, Parrington dealt with forces and ideas anterior to literary schools and movements, and with materials that ramified into theology, politics, and philosophy. Never shirking the responsibility of evaluation, he openly avowed a "liberal rather than conservative, Jeffersonian rather than Federalistic" point of view. (I, i). In the middle of Volume III, which he did not live to complete, Parrington reaffirmed his major thesis.

"It is," he said, "perhaps, not extreme to interpret the political history of America since 1790 as largely a struggle between the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of the Constitution, the one primarily concerned with the rights of man, the other more practically concerned with the rights of property." (III, 285)

These were the rival traditions as Parrington understood them, and his work was a liberal's study of these two traditions in the broad currents of American thought.

Not in 1790 but deep in the colonial past the opposing traditions took form. The line of liberalism ran through Roger Williams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson. Against their democratic visions, Parrington placed the contrasting figures of John Cotton, Jonathan Edwards, and Alexander Hamilton.

"The Carolinian Secker and the Jacobean theocrat the colonial democrat and the colonial Calvinist, the Physiocratic republican and the capitalistic financier embody in concrete form the diverse tendencies of primitive America." (I, vi)

The difference between the Puritanism of Cotton in Boston and the Puritanism of Williams in Providence was more than theological; each had its own specific notions of the Utopia to be erected on Atlantic shores. Whether the New World was to be patterned on the reactionary Calvinism of the Old, with its deterministic theory of history, its pessimistic view of man, its coercive and elitist politics, or on the generous ideals contained in Luther's conception of Christian liberty, the congregational polity of the Separatists, the natural rights doctrines of the Whig revolution—this was the great issue, first fought out in the seventeenth century's thorny paths of theological disputation but thereafter to divide the secular American mind.

Roger Williams was the first hero of liberal America. Combining the Christian gospel of love and brotherhood and the democratic theory of individual rights and popular rule, this exile from Massachusetts Bay incarnated the two major strains of the liberal tradition. He was, in Parrington's view, essentially a political philosopher, not a theologian, devoting his life to a great democratic experiment. It mattered not to Parrington that Williams's real passion, like Cotton's and Hooker's was the purity of religion, which he hoped further to secure by separating church from state, the corporation of saints from the corporation of the unregenerate mass guided by "Satan himself." Williams's theology was Calvinistic, and whatever political liberalism—freedom of religious conscience, separation of church and state—crept into his thinking was designed to serve religion. Rhode Island, although more democratic than Massachusetts, was a fairly typical Puritan commonwealth, the suffrage limited to freeholders, the leadership aristocratic, the state coercive. That there were seeds of democracy in Williams's Rhode Island cannot be denied, but so there were in the Massachusetts theocracy. Puritanism and Roger Williams could be correctly understood only in religious terms, which Parrington's Jeffersonian-Hamiltonian dialectic and his eighteenth century vocabulary could not comprehend. Placing Williams in the colonial background of the Jeffersonian tradition, however, gave new ranges of meaning to the later struggles for democracy in America.

Not the challenge of liberal theory, Parrington

declared, but "the silent pressure of environment" was the decisive factor in the ultimate defeat of the Puritan oligarchy. American democracy was a native growth of favourable material conditions—the abundance of free land, the broad diffusion of property, the individualist psychology of the frontier. Native experience created an instinctive, unconscious liberalism, making Jonathan Edwards an anachronism and Benjamin Franklin the new American. With the approach of the revolution, "the liberalism that before had been vaguely instinctive quickly became eager and militant," and Jefferson drew on the old world philosophy of Locke "to express and justify certain tendencies then seeking adequate statement." (I, 191, 190)

Late in the eighteenth century, Parrington continued, "French romantic philosophy," domesticated by Franklin, Jefferson, Paine, and their followers, provided the primary intellectual sanctions of the native liberalism toward which colonial experience had driven. From Rousseau, the Physiocrats, the Philosophers, the English radicals of the French Revolution came the humanitarian theories which sustained and clarified emerging American ideals: human perfectibility, equalitarianism, inevitable progress, agrarianism, decentralized government, popular sovereignty. While this philosophy was congenial to the great body of yeomanry, who won the revolution and followed Jefferson to victory in 1800, the rising middle class of the eastern towns, hoping to create a civilization after its own ideal, patterned a different philosophy after English Whiggery.

"Realistic and material rather than romantic and Utopian, it was implicitly hostile to all the major premises and ideals of the French school. It conceived of human nature... as acquisitive; and it proposed to erect a new social and political philosophy in accordance with the needs of a capitalistic order. Its aspirations were expressed in the principle of *laissez faire*, and in elaborating this cardinal doctrine it reduced the citizen to the narrow dimensions of the economic man, concerned only with buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest." (I, v)

Parrington saw this ideology of the expanding business community as counter-revolutionary. On the ruins of the old clerical and Tory aristocracy arose the Puritanized commercial class, the Whig aristocracy of property, which signified "the most revolutionary change in three hundred years of American experience." (I, 192) Although the Whig merchants, lawyers, and gentlemen—men like John Dickinson—joined the rank and file of Americans to secure independence, they were out of sympathy with the spirit of popular liberalism. They stood where the English Whigs had stood in 1688, fearful of Tory taxation because of its threat to "property and the rule of property in America." (I, 222). Reluctant rebels, they countered the revolutionary movement by subverting republican government to the acquisitive interests of property in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the Hamiltonian Federalist party.

The anatomy of these rival philosophies, as they

found expression in the Plutarchian figures of Jefferson and Hamilton, requires further examination. Of fundamental importance is Parrington's distinction between the "realism" (or "materialism") of the Hamiltonians and the "romanticism" (or "idealism") of the Jeffersonians. When Parrington wrote that "the Hamiltonian principles lie at the core of the problem which has proved so difficult of solution by modern liberalism" (I, 293), he referred to the Hamiltonians' realistic understanding of economic forces underlying politics and testified to the continuing challenge of the conservative tradition in the United States. That self-interest is the mainspring of human ambition, that power follows property and government exists for its protection, that the state should use its powers to extend the field of profitable operations and safeguard exploitation, that it should therefore be so constituted as to check popular rule and assure the ascendancy of the propertied class—these were axioms of the seventeenth century Whig politics upon which the Founding Fathers erected a centralizing constitution "favorable to capitalistic development and hostile to social democracy." (I, 273). In the hand of the Federalist leaders every ounce of the original liberalism contained in Whig doctrine was removed and the Leviathan state was in the making. Answering Federalist apologists from John Marshall to Albert J. Beveridge, Parrington asserted that Hamilton's true historical role was not the "savior of 'nationality'" but the "creative organizer of a political state answering the needs of a capitalistic order." (I, 294, 306). He was eminently a practical man, building on the solid bedrock of past experience and current fact, devoid of sentiment, contemptuous of theorists, unmoved by Utopian dreams or humanitarian promises.

"If the material power and splendor of the state be the great end of statesmanship—as Hamilton believed—no just complaint can be lodged against... (his) policy; but if the well-being of the individual citizen be the chief end—as Jefferson maintained—a very different judgment must be returned." (I, 306)

Until the French Revolution, Parrington said, the democratic philosophy was little understood, with the result that the Whiggish middle class of the East won the field. The disparity of intellectual equipment between agrarian and capitalist groups was always to plague American liberalism, and this was one of the handicaps Jeffersonian Democracy had to overcome. So great was the impact of the French Revolution, according to Parrington, that it provided a body of democratic theory, which gained great currency under the stimulus of revolutionary enthusiasm, and reversed the Federalist movement toward Leviathan. Jefferson became the skilful organizer of the inchoate popular discontent, leading the agrarian masses to victory in 1800. Thereafter, the ideals of democracy derived from France and sifted by American experience were the goals of liberalism. Parrington recognized in his confusion that English liberalism and French "radicalism," as he sometimes distinguished it,

were but two phases of a single historical phenomenon. But the passionate social idealism of the French thinkers, sweeping away all hoary traditions and envisioning a wholesome social order founded in reason, nature and goodwill, was in marked contrast to the cautious liberalism of the English trading class.

"A pronounced individualism characterized both movements, French and English; but in the one case it was humanitarian, appealing to reason and seeking social justice, in the other it was self-seeking, founded in the right of exploitation, and looking toward capitalism." (I, 272-3)

Jefferson's thought was "an amalgam of English and French liberalism, shaped by the conscious influence of the American frontier." (I, 344). The French humanitarian influence, Parrington believed, was revealed as early as 1776, when in the Declaration of Independence Jefferson substituted the idea of "the pursuit of happiness" for the Lockean "protection of property," thus breaking decisively from the Whig theory of natural rights. Jefferson was an idealist, inspired by the Enlightenment, leavening the "materialistic realism" of the times. One suspects that Parrington's glowing tribute to the Virginia democrat—"a perennial inspiration," "by far the most vital and suggestive" of the great thinkers of his generation, "one to whom later generations may return most hopefully" (I, 355-6)—sprang from the belief that Jefferson alone harnessed a romantic vision to social and political realities. He was, to be sure, a theorist and visionary; but, contrary to his critics, his theories and dreams were rooted in American experience. Old World theory was always judged in the light of existing American conditions. Speculative whims were subordinated to practical considerations. Physiocratic theory with its agrarian economics, for example, appealed to Jefferson as "little other than a deduction from the open facts of American life." (I, 346). All history taught that the movement from simplicity to complexity, from dispersion to concentration, from economic independence to economic dependence created a psychology and an institutionalism leading to an authoritarian state, controlled by a ruling class for exploitative purposes, heedless of common well-being.

"This great lesson in social drifts he (Jefferson) brought home to America. There had been created here the psychology and institutions of a decentralized society, with a corresponding exaltation of the individual and the breakdown of caste. In the broad spaces of America the old-world coercive state had dwindled to a mere police arrangement for parochial duties; the free citizen refused to be regimented; the several communities insisted on managing their affairs by their own agents. Such was the natural consequence of free economics; but with the turning of the tide would not the drift toward centralization nullify the results of earlier American experience and repeat here the unhappy experience of European peoples?" (I, 345)

Because of the Hamiltonian system, this was no idle fear. Jefferson was realist enough to know that from economic freedom came political freedom; and in America,

where that freedom belonged to a simple agrarian society, he was necessarily hostile to all the agencies of privilege, consolidation and coercion Hamilton was erecting.

"To preserve government in America from such degradation, to keep the natural resources open to all, were the prime desire and object of his life." (I, 356)

Concluding his first volume with the triumph of Jeffersonian Democracy, Parrington pondered the results of two hundred years of American history. Jefferson could look back with satisfaction on the disintegration of old world tyrannies and superstitions in the solvent of a free, expansive society, for "the drift was all in the direction he was facing." (I, 397). But Parrington was skeptical. Although religion and politics had been liberalized, the aristocracy was still in secure possession of all the forms and agencies of cultural expression, which were peculiarly remote from the full-bodied democratic life of the people. More important were the driving forces of capitalism and industrialism, which even Jefferson and the agrarian host could not halt. From Parrington's twentieth century perspective, it seemed clear that Hamilton, not Jefferson, owned the future: "he blazed the path that America has since followed." (I, 306). Jefferson's noble effort to save the democratic ideal from degradation to capitalist economics was, Parrington sadly reflected, "foredoomed to failure." (I, 356). While capitalism rolled onward, a fog of romanticism enveloped the Jeffersonian tradition. Jefferson and such Virginia disciples as John Taylor had been poised on agrarian economics. But Jeffersonian philosophy was soon blown into a somewhat nebulous idealism. Of course, as Parrington pointed out the influence of the French liberals, who held aloof from all vulgar materialism and who aimed at universal rather than class goals, were partly responsible for this separation of value and fact, ideal and reality.

"In seeking much they overreached accomplishment, for they had behind them no disciplined, class-conscious group pursuing definite ends." (I, 271)

Although "the Jeffersonian movement was a long and effective training school in the economic basis of politics" (II, 13), an overreaching Utopianism entered the liberal tradition, making it heedless of the power of property, causing it to forget that the Constitution was English rather than French, immersing it in an abstract equalitarianism, which left it ill-equipped to wage successful war on plutocracy.

Inspiring, hopeful and humane, liberalism was foredoomed because of its innocence of the realities of power. In his third volume, writing of the new adventure of liberalism in his own time, Parrington sharpened his point. The conception of the political state as determined by economic forces, he wrote, underlay the thinking of the English school and was accepted as axiomatic by the Founding Fathers.

"It was the main-traveled road of political thought until a new highway was laid out by French engineers, who, disliking the bog of economics, surveyed another route by way of romantic equalitarianism. The logic

of the engineers was excellent, but the drift of politics is little influenced by logic, and abstract equalitarianism proved to be poor material for highway construction. In divorcing political theory from contact with sobering reality it gave it over to a treacherous romanticism. In seeking to avoid the bog of economics it ran into an arid desert." (III, 408-9)

Parrington insisted always that "Jefferson was not so foolish as many of his disciples have been" (III, xxix); but, alas, there was an inherent tendency in the liberal tradition toward "profitless romanticisms," which constituted the dilemma of the latter-day Jeffersonian.

Volumes II and III of *Main Currents* are studies in the disintegration of Jeffersonian liberalism. In the Middle Period (1815-1861), liberalism fell under the custodianship of several different sectional and economic groups, receiving from each a distinctive ideology in which original Jeffersonian principles were gradually lost out of the reckoning.

The Jeffersonian heritage, especially its agrarian theory, was best represented in the Old Dominion, whose leaders made the last vigorous stand against the centralizing industrialism of Northern Whiggery. Here in Virginia, during the twilight of the liberal eighteenth century, when French romantic ideals ran parallel with native experience and the classic standards of taste inherited from Augustan England harmonized with a generous plantation tradition, lived as fine a race of republican gentlemen as America ever produced. But around 1830 Virginia was thrown on the defensive by the coonskin Jacksonian Democracy, by radical abolitionism, and by the imperious advances of capitalism. The French influence faded. The nostalgic and picturesque romanticism of Scott replaced the revolutionary romanticism of Rousseau. Isolated from fresh humanitarian currents of thought, the once creative Virginia mind stagnated. All that remained of Jeffersonian thought, shorn of its democratic ethic, was a rigorous constitutionalism employed in defense of planter and sectional interests. Southern leadership passed from Virginia to South Carolina. John C. Calhoun undid the work of Jefferson, setting class economics above abstract humanitarianism, attacking the foundations upon which the democratic movement had rested, substituting for its libertarian and equalitarian doctrines conceptions wholly alien to it. Another great southern statesman, Alexander H. Stephens, reduced the Jeffersonian philosophy to the compact theory of government, and supposed that in defending it, with corollaries of state rights and decentralization, against consolidating nationalism, he was defending liberal democracy. It was indeed one of the tragedies of American history, Parrington said, that "the principle of local self-government should have been committed to the cause of slavery, that it was loaded with an incubus certain to alienate the liberalism of the North." (II, 92). But to convert what for Jefferson was a legal contrivance for the pursuit of democratic ends into the all-embracing end itself was surely an error.

Experience on the western frontier taught the worth of certain Jeffersonian principles—individual liberty, social equality, popular rule—long after they had ceased to be fashionable in the South. Jacksonian Democracy embodied this pioneer individualism, crude and vulgar, careless of humanitarian values, bedeviled by a misty equalitarianism which shrouded the ugly reality of materialistic exploitation. A naive Jeffersonianism, it was challenged by the Whiggery of Henry Clay, prophet of the new West.

Jackson's democracy was "a spontaneous expression of the frontier spirit," Clay's Whiggery "a calculating expression of the maturing settlement.... The one was agrarian *laissez faire*, the other was exploitative and paternalistic. The followers of Jackson wanted the state kept simple and frugal, the followers of Clay wanted it to engage in ambitious programs of internal improvement; and from these antagonistic principles emerged a bitter feud between Democracy and Whiggery that in Western townships revived the old alignment of agrarian and Federalist of earlier times." (II, 138-9)

The economics and psychology of western settlements assured the triumph of Whiggery, and the West became "the special repository of the new middle class spirit." (II, 140). Civilization in the Ohio Valley was built upon speculative land values. To capitalize on the wild lands became the great object, which required a boom psychology, all the evil machinery of credit, dependence on the cash market, abundant aid from the federal and state governments to lay out roads, build court-houses, charter banks and corporations. This of course "played havoc with the older Jeffersonian ethic." Agrarian cupidity replaced Jefferson's agrarian ethic. The idea of progress, which Condorcet and Jefferson had interpreted in humanistic terms, became a rationale for materialistic aggrandizement.

"Jefferson thought always in terms of the agrarian producer in a stable economic world: speculation was not in the philosophy; unearned increment was a crop he never calculated on; and in sympathy with an older liberalism he would reduce the state to the narrow role of policeman." (II, 142)

But just as the spirit of Calhoun was victorious in the South, so the spirit of Clay—a kind of democratized Hamiltonianism—triumphed in the West. The weaknesses of Jacksonian Democracy (and unlike so many liberals, Parrington was acutely aware of these) were in part responsible for the transition.

"Both political parties contented themselves with an egoistic individualism that took no account of social ends, forgetful of the humanitarian spirit that underlay the earlier democratic program." (III, xxiii).

The third strategic area of ante-bellum liberalism, in Parrington's analysis, was New England. The Middle Atlantic states, ruled by the urban capitals of trade and only casually brushed by the inspiring idealisms that stimulated intellectual activity in other sections, were inhospitable to liberalism. There were of course the Coopers, Bryants and Greeleys, who were vigorous advocates

of different articles in the Jeffersonian creed. But the typical product of the Middle East was Washington Irving, detached, sentimental, void of social conscience or of loyalty to American aspirations, finally drifting back to Federalism. New England, on the other hand, was enjoying an intellectual renaissance, resulting from the impact of the romantic revolution upon the native Puritan mind. Although Parrington thought it the best expression of the liberal faith in its time, he emphasized its parochial character and its predominantly ethical passion, which together mitigated its influence and its practical potential. Isolated and retarded for over a generation from the mainstream of American experience by the twin authorities of the minister and the merchant, who stubbornly enforced the decadent loyalties of Calvinism and Federalism, New England, when it finally awoke, spoke in a language most of America could not understand. What was significant about the Unitarian and Transcendentalist revolts was their substitution of a social conscience for the old Puritan private conscience. Their ceaseless, sensitive probing of this social conscience issued in philosophic protests against the evils of industrial society, radical reform movements, and ventures in Utopia. In their social idealism, these rebels shared the Jeffersonian spirit; but they gave it a rarified metaphysical form and were, in the main, indifferent to political and economic determinants—to all but the soul of man. The Unitarianism of William Ellery Channing, the Transcendentalism of Emerson, the philosophical anarchism of Thoreau, the militant reformism of Theodore Parker, the Utopianism of Brook Farm—these were "the last flowerings of a tree that was dying at its roots," (II, 271) the tree of eighteenth century romanticism. Their moral passion fathered searching social criticism and dreams of a more loving commonwealth. But the roots were in decay, there was no sustaining realism—only soaring intellect and refined conscience. Like George Bancroft, who applied transcendentalism to the writing of American history, they had lost their economic bearings and they drove forward too confidently into the seas of idealism trusting to the self-reliant individual. So the realists did not understand, and the great figures of the New England renaissance were "isolated and lonely in the midst of men, seeking always a larger fellowship, awaiting those fleeting moments of illumination that should light up the meaning of life." (II, 384).

Parrington found it not too surprising that after the subsidence of the transcendentalist ferment, New England life and letters fell under the "reign of the England life and letters fell under the 'reign of the genteel.'" Literary culture, moral earnestness, introspection, absorption with the problem of evil, the separation of ideals from realities—these traits had always characterized the New England mind, and even the renaissance strengthened them. In the hands of lesser men—Oliver Wendell Holmes, Hawthorne, Longfellow, James Russell Lowell—the Emersonian gospel eventuated in a "refined ethic," uncritical, dedicated to the creation of a lite-

rature of innocence and purity, which would be a bulwark of good manners, good morals, and good government. What after all was Hawthorne, who committed the heresy of spinning romance out of the problem of evil, but "the extreme and finest expression of the refined alienation from reality that in the end palsied the creative mind of New England?" (II, 450). And what after all was James Russell Lowell, who epitomized the genteel tradition in politics with its cult of purity in office, but the representative of dignified and moralistic Victorian liberalism, inaccessible to solid American realities? (II, 472).

Thus, Parrington seemed to say, liberalism suffered a triple defeat in the Middle Period. Although the principle of democracy was established in the popular mind, although Jeffersonian ideals survived in certain quarters, and although social conditions sustained a free, equalitarian society, subtle forces were at work impairing the future of liberalism. In the South, Jeffersonian agrarianism was prostituted to the slavocracy. In the West, Jacksonian Democracy lost ground to middle class Whiggery, which spread its gospel through the East as well. In New England, a promising idealism lacked roots and faded out in the genteel tradition. After the Civil War, which marked the end of Jeffersonian America, liberalism was thoroughly routed by the triumph of exploitative capitalism and the advance of mechanistic science. This, and the search for a new liberalism suitable to the twentieth century, was the theme of Parrington's incomplete third volume.

Parrington began with a brilliantly graphic portrayal of the Gilded Age. He interpreted it as "the ripe fruit of Jacksonian leveling"—robust, vulgar, naive, acquisitive—in a society that had suddenly discovered its tremendous opportunities for wealth and exploitation.

"Freedom had become individualism, and individualism had become the inalienable right to preempt, to exploit, to squander. Gone were the old ideals along with the old restraints. The idealism of the forties, the romanticism of the fifties—all the heritage of Jeffersonianism and the French Enlightenment—were put thoughtlessly away, and with no social conscience, no concern for civilization, no heed for the future of the democracy it talked so much about, the Gilded Age threw itself into the business of money-getting." (III, 17)

Whiggery, "the expression in politics of the acquisitive instinct," captured the democratic ideology, and the people were betrayed into believing that industrial freedom and progress were the essence of the democratic faith. This was the supreme irony, which made Hamilton and Clay, rather than Jefferson and Emerson, the actual prophets.

In such a setting, Walt Whitman appeared to Parrington as the "Afterglow of the Enlightenment." But chapter titles are misleading. Parrington's Whitman was more than that, for "the Enlightenment as it had come to him through the Jeffersonian heritage was supplemented and spiritualized by the Enlightenment as it had

taken form in passing through the transcendental mind." (III, 77). The Jeffersonian and Jacksonian movements, but especially the latter, had forgotten the great ideal of fellowship in their quest for equal rights. "In the struggle for liberty and equality the conception of fraternity had been denied and the golden trinity of the Enlightenment dismembered." (III, 76). For all its emphasis on Christian love and brotherhood, even the transcendental democracy had produced the hermit Thoreau, "no symbol of a generous democratic future." (III, 76). Amidst the disintegration of individualistic liberalism, Whitman envisioned a new integration of the ego and the mass, of freedom and solidarity.

"Not in distinction but in oneness with the whole is found the good life, for in fellowship is love and in the whole is freedom; and love and freedom are the law and the prophets." (III, 77)

It was a noble conception, Parrington thought, washing away all the meanness that befouled pioneer individualism; and Whitman was "a great figure, the greatest assuredly in our literature." (III, 86). Striking an elegiac note, Parrington observed how grotesque Whitman's expansive visions must seem to the modern men of petty faiths.

The Whitmanesque strain in liberalism was poetic, but closely related to it were the more prosaic prophets of a democratic economics, Jeffersonian in aspirations but keyed to the challenge of urban-industrial society. Henry George, author of *Progress and Poverty*, was such a prophet. Parrington described him as "a Jeffersonian idealist" and the ultimate expression of the native tradition of Physiocratic agrarianism. The deeper purpose of his great book was "to humanize and democratize political economy," a science which had become narrow and pessimistic. But like so many earlier idealistic liberals who thought in the eighteenth century terms of abstract justice, George did not see "the wider range of economic determinism—that changes came only when the existing order has become intolerable to great classes, and the grip of use and wont is loosened by the rebellions born of exigent need.... An arch-idealist, Henry George would hasten the change by appeal to reason . . . forgetting that reason waits upon interest, and the day of its freedom is long delayed." (III, 136). Committed to "an old-fashioned agrarian democracy," George was ill-equipped to cope with an ambitious industrialism. The same judgment was passed, but with considerable severity, upon the more numerous genteel liberals. Their ardor for civil service reform epitomized a moralistic approach to politics, and their basic assumption that political evils were traceable to bad men or faulty machinery showed how far they had strayed from the sober realism of an earlier day. "The old liberal was fighting the battles of capitalism with weapons as antiquated as the old cap-and-ball musket." (III, 164)

Although the second half of Parrington's final volume, entitled *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America*, is very fragmentary, it seems clear that he found the main sources of modern criticism, from which evolved

new liberal strategies and goals, in the agrarian revolt of the late nineteenth century and in the rise of naturalistic science. The intellectual revolution effected by scientific habits of thought had its counterpart in the altered pattern of life brought about by the advance of industrial technology. Both forces created tremendous dislocations in American society, which, however, were most pronounced on the agricultural Middle Border.

"For six generations the pattern of life had been woven by the impulse of dispersion that in scattering men along a wide frontier had disintegrated the philosophies and rejected the social order from the old world, transforming America into such a society of free men as the Enlightenment had dreamed of—decentralized, individualistic, democratic." (III, 189) But the drift was increasingly toward centralization, with its reactionary compulsions toward conformity, standardization and monopoly.

In the works of Henry and Brooks Adams, Parrington found strong support for his Jeffersonian belief that a centralized society calls forth a coercive state controlled by the business class. This had been the American experience, and Brooks Adams's theory that civilization exhausts itself in accelerated movement toward concentration of population and power confirmed it. Decentralization and multiplicity produced the imaginative and contemplative mind—the mind Henry Adams studied in *Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres*.

"Whereas centralization, with the rubbing away of singularity by daily contact and the greater rewards that lie open to activity, breeds automatically the economic mind—a mind that is necessarily unimaginative, practical, competitive, acquisitive, skeptical, preferring administration to creation and setting exploitation as the single object of activity. And since centralization offers increasing rewards to greed, the economic mind subdues the imaginative, and the money lender with his control of wealth rises to mastery. As he expropriates the resources of society he inevitably dominates the political state." (III, 228)

Such was the theory the Adams brothers derived from their ventures into ancient, medieval and early American history. Parrington could not accept the full measure of their skepticism, but his chapters on the "House of Adams" are among the most deeply moving in the entire work.

The last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed agrarian America's final struggle against the law of concentration. It went into battle as ill-equipped intellectually as it had been in the struggles against the Constitution and the Whig party. "It was reaping the harvest of the long Jacksonian slackness," content with the abstract principle of democracy, mindless of capitalism's encroachments under the covering myths of progress and a democratic Constitution, providing indeed the rope for its own hanging by its mad lust to devour the continent. (III, 257-62). The Middle border's literary image of itself was fogged by sentiment. The prosperous, folksy, equalitarian heart of America—the "valley of democracy" as one novelist named it—this was the standard self-image. But as Hamlin Garland and other writers began to portray the bitterness and disillusionment of the farmers, so



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru being welcomed by the Girl Volunteers on the occasion of his arrival at Imphal



The passive resistance movement against unjust racial laws of the South African Government is being carried on with vigour but with complete non-violence in Natal



The eleventh batch of passive resisters is led by Mr. Cassim Amoy, a member of the Executive of the Natal Indian Congress.



The eleventh batch of passive resisters of Durban, consisting of Africans and Indians, is about to break the Apartheid regulations in the Bantu Section, Durban.

more critical and realistic attitude also took hold in politics. Through a succession of third parties originating in the Middle West, the common people endeavored to wrest the government from the plutocracy and turn it once again to the realization of democratic ideals. These party movements—Greenbackism, Populism, Progressivism—Parrington thought were in the Jeffersonian tradition; for they had as their common mission the assertion of the rights of the common man against a class that had ignored or distorted the idealism of the Declaration of Independence and repudiated in practice the principles of democracy. Their influence spread into the South and into the East, spinning the thread of liberalism that ran through the years between the Gilded Age and the first World War. At first the ideology was native agrarian, and therefore unequal to its task; but at the end of the century it was strengthened by the collectivistic theories of urban labor and reform groups and by the new criticism of progressive intellectuals.

"Through it all runs increasingly a note of sobering realism. After a hundred years political romanticism was slowly dying in America." (III, 258)

The agrarian revolt was doomed to failure—the farmers were swallowed up in the middle class and concentration was accelerated. Only in the recovery of the realistic spirit of the eighteenth century, which the Progressive Movement (1903-1917) signalized did Parrington see a ray of hope for liberalism.

This "critical realism" sprang from the naturalistic science which began with Darwin.

"Provincial America had been theological and political minded; but with the staying of the dispersing and the creation of an urban psychology, the ground was prepared for the reception of new philosophies that came from the contemplation of the laws of the material universe." (III, 190)

Between 1870 and 1900 the broad movement of science-conditioned thought passed through "two sharply differentiating and contradictory phases." (III, 190). In the seventies, biological evolution was reckoned a scientific sanction for the ideals of the Enlightenment. The authority of science dignified anew the abstract eighteenth century ideas of progress, individual rights, and providential guidance. Herbert Spencer was the apostle of this genial Victorian optimism, and his great vogue in America, Parrington believed, was accountable to the stubborn American attachment to traditional ideals. "The final effect of the synthetic philosophy was not to upset but to confirm the major postulates of the Enlightenment." (III, 199). Restating in scientific terms the speculative ideas upon which liberal democracy was erected, Spencer completed the work begun by Locke and brought to conclusion "the greatest intellectual Movement of modern times." (III, 201). In spite of Spencer's bourgeois social Darwinism, Parrington declared that Spencer's "final deductions tally so closely with earlier theory as to warrant a disciple of Jefferson in becoming a disciple of Spencer." (III, 199)

The Victorian compromise with the new universe disclosed by science collapsed around 1890, and a fresh generation saw through the romantic glow that had enveloped it. Spencer had seen a benevolent determinism at work, continuous and purposive progress, a slowly encompassing harmony of all things. Spencerians had facetiously overlooked the consequences of their naturalistic and deterministic vision of the universe; for in such a universe men could not be the free children of God but only pawns on nature's chessboard, and the humanistic ideals of the Enlightenment were hopelessly antiquated. The young generation, taking the postulates of science at face value, reshaped its social philosophy in harmony with a deterministic pessimism that denied purpose or plan in the changing universe of matter. "Purpose had disappeared from the grim face of the material universe, and they found themselves in the coils of a determinism that was more likely to prove malignant than benevolent. The idea of progress slipped quietly from their minds, and in its stead was only a meaningless and purposeless flux of things." (III, 203). Parrington saw here a return to the dark spirit of the Puritans and the materialistic pessimism of the Hamiltonian tradition. A conception so coercive, he said, denied "all the aspirations of traditional social philosophy, surrendering society to a new regimentation and reducing the individual to an impotent victim of things as they are." (III, 193). The disillusionment it brought to the American mind could be studied in *The Education of Henry Adams* and in the naturalistic fiction of Theodore Dreiser, who, as the spokesman of, an America falling once more under the shadow of pessimism, loomed large in "the darkening skies of letters."

Paradoxically, Parrington saw renewed hope for liberalism in the intellectual revolution effected by science and industrialization. Over and over again he had emphasized the crucial dilemma of American liberalism: because it was a *faith*, derived from abstract premises assumed to be self-evident and dedicated to ideal humanitarian ends, it shied away from disagreeable realities and declined to yield *its truths* to pessimistic authorities, whether of philosophy, science or political economy. There was a kind of genteel tradition within liberalism, a great separation of the realm of value from the realm of fact, of higher aims from lower processes. With the foundations of the old liberal faith crumbling under their feet, liberals took their bearings afresh, substituted investigation for speculation, and in the scientific spirit of sober realism set about the serious business of laying new roads to traditional liberal goals.

Parrington died before he could write any of the detailed sections he had planned on the movement of liberalism in the fruitful Progressive years. However, his outlook on this "great stock-taking venture" is suggested in his projected outline, scattered notes, and the brilliant *Chapter in American Liberalism*. A vast and varied intellectual and political ferment, drawing to its center journalists, artists, scholars, and politicians, Progressivism stirred the mind and conscience of America

to their "lowest sluggish stratum." There were of course genuine political and social gains, but "the substantial result of the movement was the instruction it afforded in the close kinship between business and politics—a lesson greatly needed by a people long fed on romantic unrealities." (III, 407) Liberalism's rediscovery of the economic basis of politics yielded the knowledge that there could be no true democracy until the industrial economy was subordinated to the common interest.

"Democratic aspirations had been thwarted hitherto by the uncontrolled play of the acquisitive instinct; the immediate problem of democracy was the control of that instinct in the common interest. Economics had controlled the political state to its narrow and selfish advantage; it was for the political state to resume its sovereignty and extend its control over economics." (III, 403)

Charles A. Beard's *The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913) was the outstanding achievement of this movement of thought. Revealing property as the master force in every society, Beard scraped away the layer of patriotic myth that covered the Constitution, proved that it had been conceived in a spirit designedly hostile to democracy and, therefore, that the drift toward plutocracy was but an inevitable unrolling from its premises which no idealistic tilting at windmills could counteract. With the clarification of its philosophy and the adoption of a more realistic economic orientation twentieth century realism reached flood-tide.

"Then," Parrington recalled, "the war intervened and the green fields shriveled in an afternoon. With the cynicism that came with post-war days the democratic liberalism of 1917 was thrown away like an empty whiskey flask." (III, 412)

From the war came the pessimistic science of psychology—"the moron emerged as a singular commentary on our American democracy"—and then the theories of Freyd. "If the mass—the raw materials of democracy—never rises much above sex appeals and belly needs, surely it is poor stuff to try to work up into an excellent civilization." Realistic science had thus delivered another blow to the Jeffersonian dream of democracy. Sinclair Lewis's *Babbalanja* was the representative man of the twenties, "the symbol of our common emptiness," the final product of pecuniary middle class values. Parrington, the elder liberal, who had early been warmed by the rich afterglow of the Enlightenment and had later seen the promise of new and greater dawns, at last found himself with his liberal contemporaries in "the unhappy predicament of being treated as mourners at their own funerals." (III, 401). He concluded his *Chapter on American Liberalism* on a melancholy note: "It is a discouraging essay." (III, 413)

The sources of Parrington's despair lay in his inability

to reconcile traditional liberal values with social and intellectual demands for a "critical realism" that seemed to deny them. Liberal values and hopes were held on faith. They could not be committed to the arbitrations of science. But—and this is the central tension that runs through the pages of *Main Currents*—societies of men functioned according to material processes which only the discipline of fact characteristic of scientific knowledge comprehended. Impaled on the horns of this dilemma, Parrington searched anxiously in the realm of fact for knowledge tending to confirm the liberal faith. Never, however, was he satisfied with what he found. While counting the recovery of the realistic spirit of earlier times the most encouraging development in twentieth century liberalism, Parrington recoiled from its implications. A more realistic political economy, converting the centuries-old theory of economic determinism into an instrument for the realization of democratic objectives, promised the marriage of Jeffersonian ends to effectual Hamiltonian means. But the critical principles underlying the entire book belied this possibility. How was a materialistic, class-conscious social philosophy, which looked toward a strong centralized industrial state, suddenly to become a strategy for liberalism? Neither the confidence of Beard and Veblen that industrial technology held the key to a more wholesome social order nor the assurance of socialists that the urban proletariat was the democratic "fairy godmother" persuaded Parrington. He looked not to the industrial engineers, not to the proletariat, but rather to "the intellectuals, the dreamers, the critics, the historians, the men of letters" for true revelations of American life. The new science of psychology had a sobering effect on liberalism, providing more realistic estimates of the human materials with which liberalism had to work. But Parrington was contemptuous of the beardless young men who, like H. L. Menckens, had discovered Nietzsche and Freud and proceeded to poke fun at democratic values. He begged that we not too hastily abandon our traditional Jeffersonian faith in the common man—a faith derived from the eighteenth century conception of environment and education, not heredity and sex, as the creative force in determining character and shaping civilization.

We can only speculate on how Parrington would have felt about the prospects of liberalism in our own time. It seems probable, however, that he would have found little new hope in the liberal adventure known as the New Deal or in the ever-expanding network of international obligations exposing America to alien forces and ideologies or in a literature gravitating between a too pessimistic naturalism and a too unrealistic exoticism.

Brandies University, U.S.A., July 27, 1952

LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THIS has been a week of excitements. It began with a new session of Parliament. Next came the results of the American Presidential Election. And close on its heels came our Parliamentary by-election at Wycombe—an election in a small enough place but one of large political significance.

From my office windows on Tuesday we saw the very colourful procession at the Opening of her first Parliament by our young Queen. An American lady who was present was thrilled by the beauty of the pageantry—the kind of thing that is still done better in England than anywhere else in the world. The Queen and her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh, rode in the Irish state coach accompanied by a Sovereign's Escort of the Household Cavalry. As so often happens on these occasions, the sun came out just in time. Sunshine glittered on gilded coach and polished breastplates, the Abbey bells rang out, and the guns boomed a slow, measured, salute. When the Queen drew near to the House of Lords the Guards lowered their colours and the band played the National Anthem. Over and over again we saw the Queen raise and drop her hand in acknowledgment to the cheering crowds. It was the Queen Mother who originated this most attractive gesture. Former Queens have been content with bowing merely, but this play with the hand, as someone has said, "looks as if the Queen were scattering invisible flowers."

The election of General Eisenhower as President of the United States has brought great satisfaction to his many friends in this country. When he was Supreme Commander in the late war he showed, to a marked degree, a wonderful gift for welding different peoples together so that there was no feeling of the "foreign-ness" of anybody. Indeed so characteristic was this of him that the heads of many European States, with whom he came in contact during his war service, recall this circumstance to-day as they send him their messages of congratulation. And it is not only the high-ups who hold General Eisenhower in warm remembrance. The man in the street remembers the speech he made when he received the freedom of the City of London and the crowds called him out on the balcony of the Mansion House. On that occasion he showed he had what Kipling called 'the common touch', that trick of identifying oneself with one's neighbour. He told the delighted Londoners that he was now one of them and had as much right to be down there yelling with them as they had!

Someone in the eighteenth century made a great mistake when he asserted that "Measures not Men"

were the point in politics. He was putting the cart before the horse. America certainly to-day has voted for a man rather than for measures. President Truman thought that "measures" would win. In their twenty years of office the Democrats have done a lot for poor people and right up to the last President Truman said his Party would win because 'there are more poor people than rich people.' (Not a very statesmanlike straw, this, to cling to.) And the bosses of the three principal Trade Unions directed their members to vote Democratic on the same principle. But the appeal to self-interest failed. So did President Truman's astonishing and hysterical attempts to discredit General Eisenhower. Upon these the General commented: "An evil tongue is found only in disappointed men."

What is the great disappointment that has so transformed President Truman? At the last Presidential Election, when Press and Gallup Polls alike were against him, and even men in his own Party entreated him to stand down, he fought on undismayed—a small lone figure increasing in moral stature all the time. This time, in attempting to destroy General Eisenhower, he has only succeeded in destroying himself. He has been a liability to his Party, distracting attention from the excellent and realistic speeches with which the Democratic Candidate was reaching out to the electorate and indeed to all men of good will. President Truman put on a Samson act and we would all like to know why.

In this country the only discordant note I have seen is in the *Tribune* which is the paper that supports Mr. Aneurin Bevan. (His wife is on the Editorial Board.) The Bevanites generally care nothing for Anglo-American friendship and no doubt, had Governor Stevenson been elected, his victory would have been hailed as merely the lesser of two evils. As it is, the manner of the comment is most objectionable. It describes General Eisenhower's success as "a tragic set-back to the cause of human decency and political sanity all over the world."

The Bevanites are fulfilling to the letter the prophecy that was made about them when, during the last session of Parliament, they voted against the Labour Party's resolution on Disarmament. It was said then that Mr. Bevan would destroy the Party's chances in the country, would deliberately send it into the wilderness until such time as (he hoped) he could bring it back with himself as leader. Well, the sojourn in the wilderness has begun.

And here we come to the Wycombe by-election.

This constituency was a marginal one. For years it had been nursed by the Labour Candidate, a popular and able man. The sitting Tory, a son of the late Lord Astor whose death occasioned the by-election by raising the son to the peerage, had strong local interests. He had won the seat last year from the present Labour candidate by a small majority. But even so the Labour candidate was confident he would win again this time. And now the Astors were gone. Everything now depended upon the floating vote, which included the Liberal vote, since no Liberal candidate was standing. And what happened? The Tory candidate, who was not a local man, not only won, but he increased the Tory vote. The Tory vote too had been increased at another recent by-election, at Cleveland. Both contests had this in common: that they took place within the last three months; that is, since the Labour Party Conference at Morecambe when the Bevanites won their striking gains on the Party Executive. 'I would have won,' said the Labour Candidate at Wycombe, 'if three months ago the dice had not been loaded against me.' . . . Three months ago the dice was loaded with Bevanism; and the electorate, or its moderate elements, dislike and distrust Bevanism.

What is the Labour Party going to do about Bevanism? At the moment they are tackling it in a quite ridiculous way. It is futile to suppose, as they seem to do, that a militant group within their ranks can be kept down merely by passing Party resolutions. The Bevanites were told recently, by a majority resolution of the Parliamentary Party, that they were to hold no more group meetings. Yet, on the very day on which Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the former Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, was congratulating himself in public that 'the Parliamentary Labour Party had decided to stop organised group meetings within the party,' Mr. Aneurin Bevan was addressing behind closed doors, a meeting of five hundred people organised by the Co-operative Press. What does it matter how the Bevanites behave inside the Party when they are free to do what they like outside? If the Labour Party had any courage—and if the Bevanites had any political honesty—the two incompatible bed-fellows would part company. Each no doubt would go into the wilderness for a time but the more candid amongst their followers would feel mightily relieved. And the unfortunate Labour candidate, when he had to contest an election, would no longer be vulnerable to the charge of being a Mr. Facing-Both-Ways. (At a Tory meeting at Wycombe, when a mention of Mr. Attlee raised a few cheers, the Tory speaker countered with: 'And now one for Mr. Bevan'!)

Before leaving this question there is one other thing that must be said. The Labour Party leadership is making a great mistake in not taking the Bevan bull by the horns. Mr. Bevan is not only an

extremist, he is an embryo dictator. He would like to stop his followers' eyes and ears as eyes and ears are stopped behind the Iron Curtain. If he remains in the same mood, God help the cause of a free press in this country should he ever be returned to power. This is what he said recently at Cambridge (which produced the Puritan dictatorship in the seventeenth century and has produced some of the recent traitors who took themselves off to Russia):

"Don't let us be distracted from our work by sensationalism in newspapers. Remember that the great daily newspapers are evil institutions. The Press of Great Britain is responsible for a great deal of mal-education at the present time. Therefore, if you must read them, turn quickly to the back page and read the sporting page."

Read the sporting page . . . gull the people with bread and circuses.

Dictatorship is an evil and morbid thing and disappointment is in store for those who seek relationships with a dictator. The Western Powers had set some hopes on Tito in Jugo-Slavia. It was reported that he had embarked on a policy of decentralisation and that seemed to promise some measure of local freedom. But now we hear that Tito is planning an assault on the Catholic Church. The Sixth Congress of the Jugo-Slav Communist Party has been in session this week. In his report to the Congress Tito made a violent attack on the Vatican which he accused of interfering in Jugo-Slavia's internal affairs. Worse still, a new Clause is to be embodied in the Communist Party's Statute and it states that 'membership of the Communist Party is incompatible with a confession of faith and with the exercise of religious rights.' (It will be noted that the word is 'rights' not 'rites'.) The Western Powers have given moral and material support to Jugo-Slavia in her resistance against Russian imperialism. But how can we continue to succour a Dictator who makes a categorical attack on religious freedom?

Dictators came into fashion after the first World War. These people, who take the law into their own hands, are one aspect of the lawlessness generated in the chaos of war. Since the second World War another kind of lawlessness has become rampant in Britain—that of the armed thug. Everyone here is flummoxed by this problem. How has it arisen and what is the best way to tackle it?

The first thing to notice is that this is, alas, a problem about young people. Nearly forty per cent of all convicted criminals, we are informed by a headmaster writing in the *Daily Mail*, are not older than seventeen. It is an eye-opener! The influence of the home, evidently, counts for very little with this forty per cent. (Mr. Butler, incidentally, attributes 'a great deal of the present crime and moral decadence' to the shortage of houses. A proper family life, certainly, must be very difficult in the over-crowded rooms to which so many people are condemned. If

he is right in his view, he must take some comfort from the figures which his colleague, Mr. Harold Macmillan, has just given as to the progress of his housing programme. "All the figures are up—houses completed, houses building, houses started.")

But there is another and most disheartening feature about this youthful delinquency. Many disinterested people in this country—and notably Miss Margery Fry of the Howard League for Penal Reform—have set great hopes on the ameliorative work of the Juvenile Courts. These Courts sit in informal fashion, the atmosphere is sympathetic, and the attempt is made to guide and influence the child offender rather than intimidate him with the prospect of punishment. But the experiment has failed in a big way. Perhaps the magistrates have often been the wrong type: it is desperately easy, in such cases, to take the easy, sentimental approach. Any way, far from heading the child off from crime, these courts seem instead to have convinced him that it pays.

For the thugs of to-day are the child delinquents of a few years ago. Listen to a London Magistrate on the subject. Every year, he says, he has to read and consider the records of hundreds of young thugs. And he adds:

"I have been appalled to find that in at least eighty per cent of the cases the offenders had been before these juvenile courts, which, in my opinion, are cradles of criminals."

It is a relief to turn from this dismal problem to the few bright spots that there are in the home news. First of all there is the Queen's Speech with its welcome news that there is to be comparatively little new legislation. In recent years, as someone has remarked, we have become a people more planned against than planning. And this jibe, in fact, contains a very bitter truth. Private enterprise, private building, private travel—at every turn we are hemmed in by regulations. But at last we are beginning to see what is happening to us.

A most important book has just appeared and the author is Professor G. W. Keeton, Dean of the Faculty of Laws at University College, London. He gives it the ominous title *The Passing of Parliament* and his thesis is that we are governed now not by Parliament but by the Civil Service. His book is reviewed this week by Sir Carleton K. Allen, Q.C., under the all too explanatory title "Liberty Has Degenerated Into Licences."

A million officials, it appears, now rule over fifty million Englishmen—one governess for every fifty

infants.' This is a staggering state of affairs. But it is worse still when these figures are analysed. In agriculture, for instance, there is now one official for every twenty farmers.

The worst feature of this tyranny is that the legality of its decisions cannot, in the vast majority of cases, be tested in a court of law. As Sir Carleton points out, a farmer can be dispossessed, without appeal, by a committee of his neighbours; a doctor or dentist can be ruined professionally, without appeal, by the decision of a Minister—a decision which is, in reality, the decision of an anonymous official (of which more later); a property-owner can be cast into the street for the sake of an 'improvement scheme' or be forced to surrender his house 'for a derisory site value'—and so it goes on. Nor should we forget the case of the tax-payer who can be 'mulcted by retrospective legislation.'

Professor Keeton is not the only person who is trying to wake us up before it is too late. In this same review a book, entitled *Government By Decree*—the author is Mrs. M.A. Sieghart—is also quoted. Mrs. Sieghart insists that 'No liberty is safe without a court to guard it.' And in this contention lies our best hope of escape. Before very long we must establish an Administrative Court of Appeal.

And as for the anonymous official, who can unmake men and hide behind a Minister who has only the facts put before him to go on, his anonymity—his immunity—must cease. The subject who feels himself injured must have the right not only to defend himself but to arraign his accuser. The mysterious thing is that we have not had such a Court from the very beginning of the time when we first began to go in for government by decree and delegated legislation. (If we leave it much longer an infuriated people will see to it that, when we do get the Court, we can be as 'retrospective' as we choose.)

I must close with a glance at what seems to me to be the most delicious piece of unconscious irony I have encountered for a long time. The Coventry City Council is going to oppose the application for a licence to re-build their blitzed Cathedral. Says the Chairman of the Corporation's Planning and Redevelopment Committee: "We should not like to see the cathedral started at the expense of what we consider higher priorities such as schools and a new police station." Higher priorities. . . Truly the Welfare State is making a most awful hash of trying to live by bread alone.

Westminster, London, 8th November, 1952.



THE MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER-VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

By N. P. BHOWMICK,

Formerly of Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

III

IV INDUSTRIAL ASPECT OF THE PROSPECTS

Industry to flourish and have firm foundation, as has been already stated and usually known, must be situated close to an area so that the essential raw materials, cheap power, cheap water and transport must be easily accessible. It is most interesting and exciting to note that most of the regions where multi-purpose river valley schemes have been projected have rich forest-reserves, also most of India's mineral deposits and other raw materials. Thus, these multi-purpose river valley projects offer almost unlimited and ideal opportunities for industries to be developed which have been conceived of late.

The effect on local consumption by the utilization of the water resources is important, as industrial centres like the plain of Lombardy are no longer operating their cotton mills and silk mills by steam power, but are now dependent upon electric power from transmission plants. There is an economic evolution when it is considered that almost all of the coal consumed in Italy is brought in bottoms from England.

Few areas in the world have been blessed with such rich and varied mineral deposits as the Damodar Region. Three quarters of our known coal deposits are located in this valley; in and around it are concentrated the exceptionally rich iron ores of India; much of world's best mica is produced in this area; there are substantial deposits of bauxite, kyanite, chromite, copper, limestone, clay, also some manganese; minerals of high strategic value have recently been located here.¹⁴ Even if the minerals produced from the Damodar Valley area under operation compared to their total production in India is considered, the industrial importance of this region will be clearly evident.

TABLE VII¹⁵

Production of Minerals in Damodar Valley Region	
Minerals	In per cent of all-India production (approx.)
Coal	80
Iron Ore	98
Copper Ore	100
Kyanite	100
Chromite	70
Mica	70
Manganese Ore	10
China Clay	45
Fire Clay	50
Limestone	20
Asbestos	45
Building materials other than limestone	10

14. V. R. Khedker: "Mineral Resources of the Damodar Valley and Adjacent Region and Their Utilisation for Industrial Development." *Geological Survey of India*, December, 1950.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

The neighbouring area round about the Koshi river is similarly rich in natural resources.

The Mahanadi Valley is known to contain a variety of economic mineral deposits varying in size from replacement pocket lenses and fissure fillings up to extensive beds. It is extremely unfortunate that though this region is infinitely rich in minerals it has been very little surveyed by geologists and mineralogists. However the following may be mentioned here:

Metallic Ores—Iron, Manganese, Aluminium, Chromium, Vanadium, Titanium, Copper, Lead and Graphite.
Fuel—Coal of the Bituminous variety.
Flux—Limestone.
Refractories—Kyanite, Quartz, Fire-clay.
Other minerals—Mica, Asbestos, China-Clay, Ochres (Yellow and Red).
Ballast materials.

Similarly, in the absence of detailed Botanical Survey exact evaluation of forest products is not possible. But it is known to contain large amounts of Sabai grass and bamboo (both valuable for paper and newsprint), lac, resins and silk cocoons, mahua for alcohol, barks and roots for tanning purposes and medicines and kend leaves for manufacturing native cigarettes. Light timber, fire wood and cotton is grown in Chhattishgarh, which is situated at the upper catchment area of the Mahanadi. The areas where the above are located and the possible industries that could be developed utilizing locally available raw materials have been indicated below. (Vide Figure No. 1).¹⁶

The Godavari authority in Hyderabad envisages a great industrial-cum-agricultural scheme within the region of possibility. An industrial area has been selected with Mancherial as centre with a proposal to tap the natural resources within a region of about 100 miles and to establish both heavy and light industries. The planners hope that "Mancherial some day will become the Manchester of India. The area chosen for industrial development is a very fine one indeed. It has large coal reserves and has quantities of limestone suitable for the manufacture of cement, and has soap-stone, fire-clay, timber, cotton and above all, iron ore."¹⁷

Similarly, much hope is fostered by the planners around the Tungabhadra Project. "Considerable experimental work has been carried out on the suit-

16. K. C. Raghu: "Problems of Reclamation of Orissa," *Science and Culture*, February, 1947, Vol. XII, pp. 348-369.

17. Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung Bahadur: *Hydro-Electric Survey of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions*, Public Works Dept., 1938.

THE MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER-VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

463

ability of black cotton soil for irrigation. It is now established that the soil will not develop alkalinity or otherwise deteriorate so long as the water supply is controlled and care is taken to see that there is no

But the influence of hydro-electric power in any scheme of industrialisation is much more important than it has been dealt hitherto. It has been firmly established now that not only from the view of operation but from the perspective of installation too the lay-out and design of an industrial unit with hydro-electricity as its motive power is far economical compared to the other alternative, namely, thermo-electricity. To demonstrate certain fundamental aspects of the influence of hydro-electric power on the lay-out and design of industrial plant we quote below the experience of some countries which based their industrial evolution specifically on water-power.

Now, the power-consuming industrial processes can be broadly subdivided under the following heads:



over-irrigation. The yield under controlled irrigation is expected to be 3-4 times that under unirrigated conditions. A variety of long-staple cotton, evolved at Coimbatore, thrives extremely well in the ceded districts and a yield of 1200 lbs. per acre is expected. The tract is likely to develop into the main source of supply of long-staple cotton doing away with the necessity for importing long-staples from Africa for feeding Indian textile industry. Special steps have been taken to instruct the cultivators in the technique of dry cultivation under irrigation. The area is rich in iron ore, and red and yellow ochres. There is also some copper and gold. Industries utilizing these minerals, oil and sugar industries, paints and varnish industries will be developed in this area.¹⁸

Incidentally, it can be mentioned that the four mineral belts as has been conceived by mineralogists lie in the zones in the hydro-electric sites." (Vide Figure No. 2).

18. *Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research*, May, 1945, Vol. III.

19. M. V. Wazlawar: "Utilisation of Low Grade Indigenous Raw Materials for Metallurgical Industries," *Science and Culture*, November, 1946, Vol. XII, No. 5, pp. 230-236.

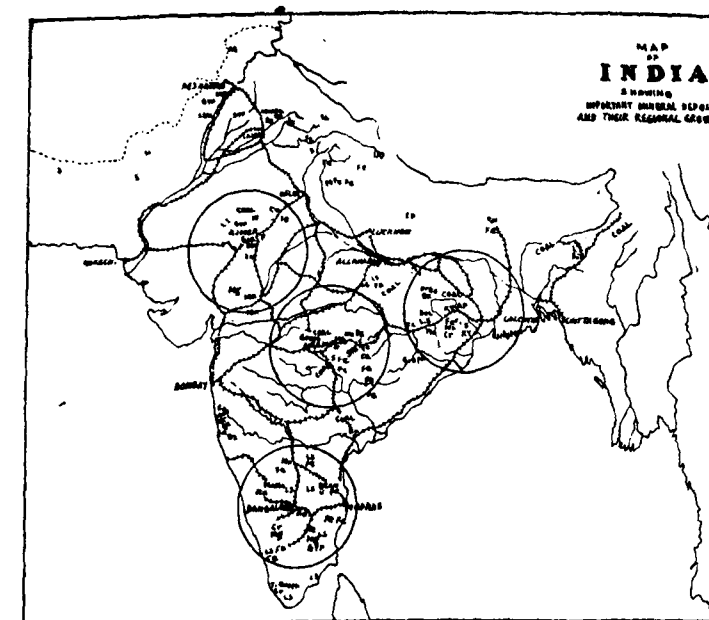


Fig-2

- (i) Mechanical or electrical energy consumers:
 - (a) General machine drive
 - (b) Motion of transport craft
- (ii) Heat or electrical energy consumers:
 - (a) Direct Heating
 - (b) Indirect Heating
- (iii) Exclusive electro-power consumers:
 - (a) Electro-chemical processes
 - (b) Electro-metallurgy.

(i) (a) *General machine drive*: Though necessarily not the largest, this is the most common and numerous power consumer. Hydro-electric power, and with it the grid distribution system was undoubtedly responsible for the origin of the present-day general adoption of the individual electric drive, which has shown an enormous improvement over the initial shaft and belt transmission gear, developed in connection with the steam engine. Electric single drive has now become an acknowledged standard also in industries based on thermal power.

(b) *Motion of transport craft*: The fascinating problem of efficient storage of electrical energy within a small space and involving little weight has not yet been solved. As a result the vast majority of prime movers for all possible means of transport are of the fuel-consuming type. The high investment cost linked with electric drive justifies its introduction only on lines with very considerable traffic density and is in operation in Bombay and Madras Provinces with a fair degree of success. The position is bound to undergo change later when due to increased industrial and commercial activity the demands on transport will multiply and electric traction will automatically become economically justified.

ELECTRO-CHEMICAL PROCESS

Electrolysis is by far the most important electro-chemical process, widely used in the caustic soda, aluminium, nitrogen and fertilizer industries, and since it cannot be replaced by a purely thermal process it led to the development of quite standard lay-outs of plant with hydel-power as the motive in operation.

The situation is different altogether with fertilizer plants where the elementary components such as pure hydrogen can be produced either by water-gas process or on a hydro-electric basis. The comparative economy of these processes depends on the initial investment, but to a greater extent on the price relation between coal and water-power. Whereas, generally the coal prices are subject to fluctuation and rather inclined to increase gradually with the course of time, one of the most outstanding features as has been already dealt with, of hydro-electricity is that once a power scheme is in operation and its writing-off period decided, the price per unit can remain constant, and at a later stage it falls, irrespective of the variation in the price of other commodities.

All these fundamental considerations led Norway, Canada, Northern Italy and Switzerland to develop enterprises of this category around big generating centres of cheap hydro-electricity.

Direct Heating: Innumerable main and auxiliary processes in industry are dependent on the maintenance of certain temperature levels, whereby a continuous addition of thermal energy is required. Direct heating without the intermediary use of steam is preferably utilized in the high temperature range,

and its most important application in the field of metallurgy. Melting and remelting of metals, specially in the iron and steel industry, consume enormous quantities of heat energy. In India, the present aspects are not favourable to such development, unless the price relation between coal and electric energy undergoes a substantial change or use can be made of cheaper secondary or waste energy, as the following figures prove:

Hydro-electric energy: 1 kWhr = 3.412 B. Th. units.

Maximum consumers price 0.20-0.25 anna.

Fuel energy: 0.275 lb. = 3.412 B. Th. units.

High grade coal consumers price at Rs. 25-30 per ton = 0.049-0.059 anna.

Thus, in view of the foregoing, electrical energy should prove to be more expensive because, for equal heat content, it can be regarded as a higher potential form of energy.

The success of electro-metallurgy with hydro-power in certain countries is due to the fact that the coal prices there are comparatively higher. However, it must to a certain extent be regarded as a special branch, famous for its production of special high quality and alloy steels. It is, therefore, not necessarily a mere alternative to coal-based plant, but completes the range of steel production. As such, the establishment of electro-metallurgical industry in India's water-power centres will certainly be justified.

EVAPORATION

Large-scale evaporation for concentration of this solution with or without ultimate crystallization forms part of a greater number of industrial manufacturing processes. The ordinary well-known multiple-effect vacuum plant is adopted as a standard for all evaporating purposes in the big industrial countries. Table VIII gives the industries which comprise evaporating plants in their lay-out.

TABLE VIII

Industries with evaporating plants in their lay-out		
Industries	Evaporation of	Normal evaporating capacities (lbs/hr.)
Miscellaneous	Water distillation	Various
Nitrogen industry (fertilizers and explosives)	Various	10,000-100,000
Cellulose factories	Sulphate liquor	10,000-130,000
Aluminium works	Aluminate liquor	22,000-270,000
Rayon factories	Spinning bath	7,000-22,000
Paint factories	...	2,000-30,000
Potassium works	Potash lye	22,000-70,000
Salt refineries	Salt brine	8,000-200,000
Caustic-soda works	Soda lye	10,000-70,000
Sugar mills	Sugar juice	120,000-300,000

In areas, specifically using hydel-energy, however, it has now been completely superseded by thermo-compression, working on the heat-pump principle. In countries like Norway, Switzerland, and Austria, as well as in regions like Northern Italy, Southern Germany, and the South of France, practically all indus-

trial evaporation is now-a-days performed by thermo-compression plant. The adoption of this more recent type of plant which has been particularly designed and developed for hydro-power presents very fascinating possibilities of improved economy and therefore of cheaper production in this field. Numerous thermo-compression plants are in operation outside India in all fields referred to above, and particular attention will here only be given to the latest achievements in the sugar sector. The first sugar factory on this basis was built in Switzerland in 1945 and has not only proved a thorough success on the thermal plant, but has further resulted in remarkable improvement in operation too.

The adoption of thermo-compression plant for future sugar mills in India is bound to terminate the present wasteful burning of bagasse which will then be available as a welcome and cheap raw material for paper and fibre-board manufacture.

ECONOMY OF THERMO-COMPRESSION

The investment for a thermo-compression plant can, for the sake of comparison, be taken as equal to that involved in multiple-effect equipment. In fact, it is on the whole found to be slightly lower in cost, so that subsequent estimates remain on the safe side.

The evaporation of aluminate liquor will be taken as an example for comparative economy between coal based multiple-effect and thermo-compression lay-out.

Mr. P. A. Suffel, in a paper entitled *Water Power and Layout of Industrial Plant in India* before the Fourth World Power Conference presented the following data:

TABLE IX

Alumina (Al ₂ O ₃) production	60,000 tons/annum.
Raw aluminium production (approximately)	20,000 tons/annum.
Necessary evaporation of aluminate liquor	200,000 lbs/hr.
	Triple effect Quadruple effect Thermo-compression
Total steam consumption, including heating-up and auxiliary purposes (tons/hr.)	45 35 7
Energy consumption of compressor and auxiliaries (kWhr/hr.)	 5,500

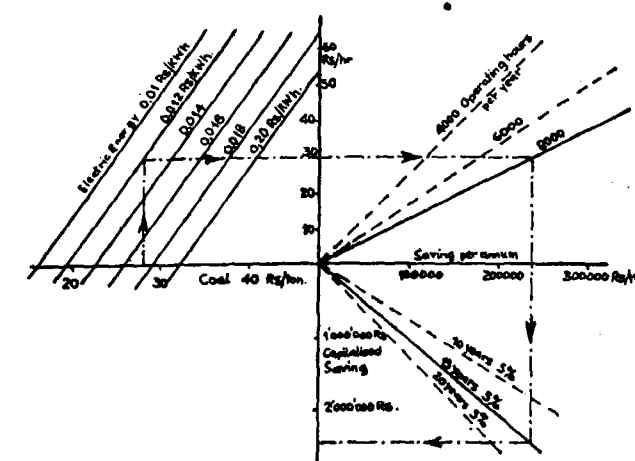
On the basis of the foregoing estimated figures, and on the assumption of equal investment, the graph given in Fig. III has been calculated. It determines the price relations under which thermo-compression proves more economical, and furthermore allows the

yearly economy to be read directly as well as the capitalized saving in favour of thermo-compression for varying coal prices and rates of hydro-energy.

Similar graphs can, of course, be drawn for all industrial evaporating processes after investigation of their particular thermal conditions. The amount of energy required per ton of evaporation varies very substantially with the individual concentration and boiling characteristics of the thin liquor in each case.

From the table given below, an idea could be formed as to the power requirements of varied basic and consumer industries (*vide* Table X).

With the hydro-electric resources harnessed, a great industrial programme is therefore well within the



Tea (20 million lbs./year) (For motive power only) 1200 "

Fertilizers and chemicals (50000 tons of Ammonium sulphate per year) 3500 "

(For high pressure synthesis and other motive power purposes).

"Another large industry which offers a good solution by calling for an enormous supply of energy is the Nitrogen Fixation industry.* At 5 tons of nitrates per annum to 100 acres of arable land, this industry in itself would absorb an appreciable portion of the whole hydraulic energy of the Union—farming, mining and electro-chemical works give a high load factor (80 per cent to 90 per cent), and are usually associated with hydro-electric concerns whose financial success depends much on a high factor. But the scheme of nitrogen fixation by seasonal power is still under consideration, as the economic effect of the irregularity of the supply in the idle period that occurs has to be studied."

ASPECT OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

Enforced idleness to the vast multitude of our population who are living in nearly 500 000 villages for the greater part of the year when there is no farm-work and application of primitive tools in agricultural operations must contribute in no small measure to India's pitiable condition in all spheres of production evinced today. The importance of better tools and implements to improve production can hardly be over-emphasized and the Indian farmer works mostly by hard labour and personal skill, with little or no aid from modern power-driven machinery and in accordance with traditional technique—such supplementary energy as is provided by animal power may add to the economy and efficiency of his work. This condition not only prevails in agriculture but also in the sphere of cottage industry as well. What this means in terms of the productive economy, to put figuratively, can be appreciated only if it is remembered that one unit of electrical energy (1 kWhr) is approximately equivalent to ten units of human energy, i.e., to the work done by 10 adults in one hour. Thus we find today that many of those cottage industries, which not in the very distant past occupied a pre-eminent position in Indian economy, are on the verge of extinction. Nature does not want to keep alive those who do not move forward. Some of our old workers and industries have already disappeared and others are disappearing. Dyers have almost disappeared, the oil man is living in a precarious condition. It is only in the textile trade that a good many old workers still survive.

"Lenin's famous formula equating socialism with a sum total of Soviets and electricity has now passed

* The Planning Commission estimates that the fertilizer requirements of the country will be at 2 million tons of nitrogen and 1 million tons of phosphates for the next five years. While there are plants to manufacture super-phosphates and also raw materials for fused and calcined phosphate there has been none so far to manufacture nitrogenous fertilizers.

into history. As a means of modifying the social and economic environment progressively, Lenin relied on two things: electrification and co-operation. The first of these, he thought, would change the economic face of the country, village and town alike. Such electrification, spreading a new industrial revolution from the urban centres to the countryside, was to transform the environment of the peasant, his habits and his psychology, and revolutionise the old rural economy. We need not be communists in order to accept the central core of this thesis. For there is no doubt that, apart from the economic utilisation of power, electricity changes intimately and profoundly the way of life of a village or a town. It is, in more senses than one, a source of light."

Rural electrification, small as it is, is confined mainly to certain areas in Madras and Mysore. Madras has 140 000 consumers while Mysore has about 55,000 consumers. In the U.P., rural electrification has been developed in some parts, mainly for tube-well pumping.

Rapid industrialization in India, without simultaneously giving effect to schemes for full employment in the villages, is fraught with very serious economic repercussions. It must be fully realised that the experience of the West in industrialization is not necessarily for us to follow, and that our schemes of development should have direct relation to the prevailing conditions so as to make use of the local talent and initiative to the maximum extent. Nevertheless, if our deserted, wrecked and wretched villages, which have been in the past and still are the pivot of Indian economy have to be rehabilitated, rapid electrification of the villages is the only way-out today.

The spread of electricity to rural areas is, however, beset with serious and challenging problems, such as heavy capital expenditure, low permissible tariffs, poor and/or long-delayed returns on investment. These are difficult, no doubt, but not insoluble.* Private enterprises may hardly be expected in lending their guiding hands and the responsibility naturally devolves on the government of a satisfactory solution.

The next question obviously arises: will the demand of our rural population for electricity justify the heavy expenditure which have to be necessarily incurred in bringing electricity to rural areas? The experience of the Government of Madras in the matter of electrifying its villages gives a conclusive answer to this end. The Madras State Electricity Department not only compels the agriculturist to purchase electricity and not water, but also compels him to own and operate the pump set, thereby passing over to him the responsibility of running the unit economically. In addition, the State also sees

20. G. L. Mehta, Member, Planning Commission: "Electricity and National Development," *Output*, May-July, 1952, pp. 12-16.

21. N. P. Bhosmick: "Rural Electrification in India," *Investment, Industrial and Agricultural*, No. 1961.

THE MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER-VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

that its own investment in both generation and distribution systems is assured of a minimum economic return. This it secures by laying the condition that every new applicant for power supply from scattered areas should secure a minimum number of consumers from his neighbourhood if his application is to be considered at all. The eagerness of the rural areas could be partially gauged from the fact that 20,000 applications for irrigation supply alone are pending with the State's Electricity Department mainly for want of generating capacity.

However, the creation of greater abundance in use of the natural energies is dependent not so much on scientific and engineering achievements as on suitably organising our affairs. Hydraulic power might be too expensive when the whole capital is sunk in a plant of the "continuous power" capacity. It is reported that with a plant capacity of 90 000 H.P. the Shannon Power Scheme is able to supply 153 million units in the driest year, 288 million units in a normal year and 373 million units in a wet year; so that the variable flows are being utilised not only from season to season but from year to year. By a Parliamentary Act the Electricity Supply is to furnish light from the Shannon Works to all villages with 500 inhabitants or more, unless economically impossible.

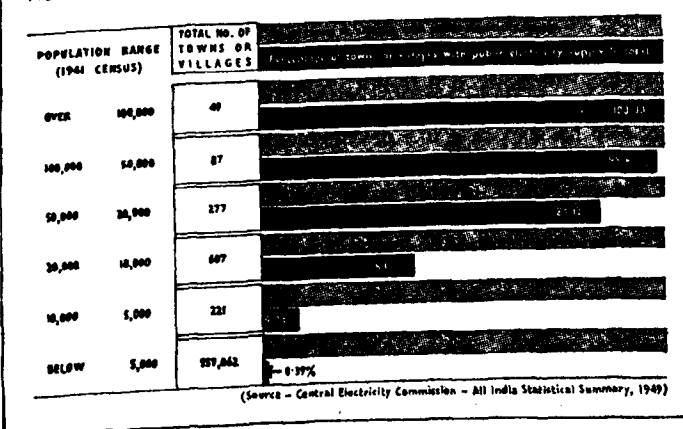
In practically all countries of the world the flows of streams vary enormously throughout the year, and the discontinuous power available for 6 to 8 months is much greater than the continuous power obtainable on "ordinary minimum flow." At present there is a vicious circle of industries that requires power and of power looking for an assured outlet; and neither side is inclined to make a move unless certain of the co-operation of the other. It is here that the particular advantage of water-power comes in: with water-power any sales which fill up the hollows in the load-curve without affecting the peak must be profitable at whatever rate they bring in. Water power with its long transmission lines offers, by its inherent characteristic opportunities, a large circle of consumers to be supplied without proportionately larger expenses being incurred. With a more rapid electrification of the rural areas, the amenities of modern civic life would be available to a larger section of population and result in the growth of many prosperous localities. With it, the dispersal of industries would follow, thus drift of population to the urban areas will also be checked.

Mines produce great wealth but they are even-

tually worked out; factories and mills rise and fall, but they are intimately dependent on what happens with the farm. The dependable resources are the fields and the pastures and the timber lands. The utilisation of power in areas to be served by multi-purpose schemes is, therefore, an important ingredient of the larger plan for national development.

Our ex-Congress President Dr. Pattabi Sita-ramayya in a message said: "Thirty crores of people in India means sixty crores of hands—and skilled hands at that. They offer occupation to millions,

FIGURE IV. ELECTRICITY SUPPLY IN INDIAN VILLAGES



particularly in a country where the home is the abode of Beauty and Art is the handmaid of utility. Where the crafts flourish, there prosperity dwells, unemployment vanishes, waste is converted into wealth, and brains and emotions co-operate under the restraining leadership of will. The sanctity of the home is preserved. Moral values are conserved in society and the outpouring of the human soul on works of art woven into utility elevates the nation's culture to the highest altitude. The co-operative spirit does the rest of the work. Work becomes worship and becomes capital and functions as the eternal wealth of the world. Labour and life by their confluence enrich the stream of national self-realisation and self-competence.

"All this may sound 'windy, vapoury rhetoric.' So it does to untutored ears and untrained susceptibilities. But when one transcends into an atmosphere where labour and life do collaborate, one realises that all this talk about crafts and culture is not mere phantasmagoria."

Obviously, our future largely depends on the extent this outlook is achieved in practice.*

The co-ordinated development of electric power with increased emphasis on power supplies in the rural areas is the essence of the Electric (Supply) Act, 1948. It is hoped that with the formation of the

Provincial Electricity Boards and the Central Water and Power Commission not only the electrification of the rural tracts will receive a spurt but will also lead to the systematic and integrated development of the country's resources.

CONCLUSION

While seeking permission of the Congress to create TVA, President Roosevelt remarked :

"Many hard lessons have taught the human waste that results from lack of planning. Here and there a few wise cities and countries have looked ahead and planned. But our nation has 'just grown.' It is time to extend planning to a wider field, in this instance comprehending in one great project many states directly concerned with the basin of one of our greatest rivers.

"This in a true sense is a return to the spirit and vision of the pioneer. If we are successful here, we can march on, step by step, in a like development of other great natural territorial units within our border."

And the complexity of such a scheme embracing so many aspects is immediately apparent. Proper phasing, careful planning and economic execution are obviously keys to their success. But from the scrutiny of even the scanty and scrappy reports available on our river valley projects a number of points stand out which will naturally be viewed with great apprehension and it is therefore no wonder that the public is getting very sceptical and consequently callous, and it is a very dangerous sign indeed. Since all those points could not be entered into details here, the more important points will simply be touched upon.

At a time when economy should be our watchword in every sector of our national activity, it has been reported that this is the most neglected item both in administration and in the execution of the river valley projects. The grand Anicut across the Cauvery River in Madras was built a thousand years ago. Khosla's theory on the design of structures on permeable foundation has made a revolutionary progress in the field of designs whereas in America, which is in the forefront in all such activities, designs are still based on Lane's theory which is nothing but an empirical approach to such a fundamental and intricate problem in design. And still the country is requisitioning the services too frequently of multiple consultants, which not only drains us directly in the form of extra high salaries but also by the indirect impact on the progress of work. The Corporations which have been formed are made responsible to carry out the work of these projects ; it is also being observed that a member in the administration is not necessarily an engineer. It needs little imagination to appreciate that to administer an engineering project a degree of experience in that line is absolutely essential. Hence, it is not surprising that the working of most of our projects is turning out to be defective.

Big gaps between estimated site expenditures and estimates prepared, of a project contemplated of late, when submitted to a batch of American engineers suggesting modifications economising expenditure by one crore of rupees, very badly reflect upon the capability of the personnel entrusted with such magnificent tasks. It must be clearly borne in mind that high capital cost both as a cause and as a consequence will impose very serious restrictions in formulating a tariff policy conducive to the country's requirements.

Most of our multi-purpose river valley projects have been modelled on the Tennessee Valley of the United States, and the guiding principles of TVA which led to its monumental success could be very gainfully recalled. Gunther summarise them as follows :

"The quality of personnel is very high. TVA picks its employees with as scrupulous care as any corporation ; its standards are at least as high as those, say, of the United States Steel Corporation or, in a different field, the University of Chicago or Harvard University . . .

Autonomy. TVA makes its own decisions and makes them promptly. It is in first and last analysis subject of course to control by Congress, but in the field and in day to day administration it is wholly its own boss. Nobody has to ask permission from a distant bureaucracy in Washington. Nobody breathes down anybody else's neck.

Decentralisation, a point that needs important emphasis. TVA is very big, also it is very small, in that every unit has its root in the immediate local problem. . . .

No interference with private business interests. TVA spreads the socializing concept, but does not threaten anybody. There is no attempt to dominate. Nobody in the valley thinks it has a foot behind the door. Man and Nature work together, so do government and private property.

No politics. This factor is absolute and paramount. All TVA appointments are in the exclusive basis of merit and experience ; there are no political jobs of any kind, patronage does not exist, and no employee may undertake any kind of political activity at any time.

Above all, the nature of the job. People are happy because they are doing something creative, something bigger than themselves. You cannot impose from above the kind of loyalty TVA gets from almost every worker."

But there are still some more vulnerable points, which if not properly guarded right from now, the resultant effect will jeopardize the country's economy. For example, with the production and harnessing of hydro-electric power there will be a rapid mechanisation of productive processes and the substitution therefore of the animate by the inanimate energy is bound

to throw many out of employment. This means that besides the intricate question of underemployment of teeming millions there will come up the question of redundant labour. This is a very important point indeed. Again, unless there is a very thoroughly worked out scheme of stages by which both industrial and agricultural advances are properly co-ordinated it may result in not a few jolts from the mere output of more and more hydel energy. It is becoming increasingly known that whereas the technical problems of engineering are being energetically worked out in our projects, these subtler problems of economic advance seem to occupy very inadequate attention of the administration.

Furthermore, the consumer is the common man. Therefore, in the final analysis our success, as has already been stated, to a very large extent depends how rapidly and efficiently we organise our internal affairs so that by the time these projects come into operation, the response from our consumers is immediate and irrevocable. The responsibility of the technologists and engineers is, of course, accepted. Nevertheless, all these considerations simultaneously demonstrate the responsibility that devolves upon the country's administration in making this magnificent endeavour a glorious success, with which is intimately linked the crying problems of our country urging for solution.

—:O:—

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY In Memoriam

By ADRIS BANERJI, M.A.

Dr. Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy was the son of Sir Mutto Coomaraswamy Mudaliar, a cultured Ceylonese barrister, and his English wife. Sir Mutto was interested in Buddhism and was first to translate into English *Dharmapala*, the Ceylonese chronicle on the tooth relic of Lord Buddha, and *Sutta Nipata*. He was also a member of the local Legislative Assembly. In this rare and happy atmosphere, Ananda Coomaraswamy was born on 22nd August, 1877. Two years later Sir Mutto died. The burden of bringing up this fatherless child fell upon his mother. With what care and success she discharged her responsibility, the intelligentsia all the world over can testify. By his death on 20th September, 1947, we the people of the two hemispheres have lost a scientist, scholar, poet, philosopher, religious reformer, artist and art-critic, the like of whom this generation may never meet again.

SCIENTIST

A. K. Coomaraswamy received higher education in the University College, London, and curious as it may seem, in a scientific subject—Geology, in which he ultimately obtained a D.Sc. degree. Twice in this century, we have seen two great personalities trained in scientific subjects earning universal applause as litterateurs. The first of these was Coomaraswamy and the second is Pandit

The sheer waste of tens of crores of rupees in the name of that somewhat funny "Grow More Food" campaign is still too fresh in the memory for anyone to forget. Heaven forbid if we are defeated this time too, which involves hundreds of crores of our impoverished millions' dearly-earned money, the fun will be too dangerous for the country to withstand. To emphasise the gravity of the situation we can only quote the relevant portion of a communique recently appearing in the *New York Times* communicated by Mr. Chester Bowles, the U. S. Ambassador in India :

"... If I may paraphrase a saying of the great Gandhi, we who have never felt hunger should remember that to the hungry democracy comes in the form of bread.

"Within the next four years, the history in Asia will reach a turning point. It will be a turning point not for Asia alone, but for the whole world. The pivot of this turning point is India. Within these coming four years, democratic India must prove to her own and Asia's millions whether or not democracy can solve the staggering problems of an Asian people.

"What is required in India is grass-roots, village by village attacks upon poverty directed by and participated in by the Indian people themselves. The Indian people must feel the success that arises from their own efforts to solve their own problems in their own way."

(Concluded)

Jawaharlal Nehru. While Dr. Coomaraswamy tapped the dammed-up unfathomable waters of religion, philosophy, mythology and art, Pandit Nehru has brought about a new thought epoch by introducing a new method of writing autobiography and through his approach to the writing of history as a dynamic process of thinking.

With his brilliant academic qualifications Ananda Coomaraswamy was immediately appointed Director, Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon (1903). The Reports published by him are proofs of this remarkable analytical qualities of his mind. In 1904, in his *Annual Report* he heralded the future publication of his monumental researches on the re-assessment and use of the Sanskrit and Pali words and technical terms in works of art and culture, by writing a paper on the indigenous Ceylonese terminology about minerals and precious stones. While engaged in the arduous work of a scientist in a government department Coomaraswamy's youthful energies did not remain content with the useless pursuit of official glory and prestige. Nobody could have blamed him for such an attitude. Son of rich and distinguished parents, educated abroad, his mind might have allowed him to mould his destiny in the lounges of the Anglo-Ceylonese circles, in the enervating atmosphere of the fashionable society,

Volsund, Icelandic Eddas, the writings of Plato and Plautinus and works of the mediæval European scholasticism like Meister Eckhart and Thomas Aquinas. With his insight and intuition he discovered the fundamental unity underlying all religions. His researches in Christian monastic philosophy won for him fresh laurels so beautifully summed up in his *Paths That Lead to the Same Summit*.

LAST PHASE

In his life-long meanderings amidst literature, art and philosophy of the nations on this earth, Dr. Coomaraswamy had like the ancient *Rishis* become not only well-versed in the Brahminical *Vedas*, *Brahmanas*, *Upanishads*, *Vedantas* and *Puranas*; but like Max Muller and Rhys Davids had drunk deep from the eternal springs of the Buddhist *Vinaya*, *Nikayas*, *Tripitakas*, *Suttanta* and *Abhidhamma*. He had also become a master of the Jain Canonical texts. Thus, after 1938 he devoted his aged energies to the interpretation of Vedic thoughts and symbolism. His *New Approach to the Vedas*, *Inverted Tree*, *Angels and Titans*, *The Vedic Doctrine of Silence*, were like new fountains that gushed out from an ancient spring. His interpretations of Vedic symbolism were greatly appreciated. His work went to show that though the Indian tradition is the essential truth, yet, it was not a unique statement of the universal truth. His position was more that of an orthodox Hindu than that of a painstaking modern scholar. Just as the youthful Coomaraswamy, in a different age and different region of the earth, had striven for the resurrection of the Ceylonese life; in the well-earned dusk of a life spent in the pursuit of knowledge, he wanted to bring back to the Indians, maddened with gutter politics and striving for the poison fruit of the Industrial Revolution, the courage of conviction based on their tradition which is the *adhyatmic* basis of life. He also wanted to point out the fact that truth of the oldest texts could be demonstrated by the most vigorous modern methods.

AN APPRECIATION

One of the most charming features of that great mind was the complete forgetfulness of his own greatness. Scholastic snobbery is a dangerous and vicious quality, but the seer of Indian renaissance in Europe was completely free from it. Lesser mortals, small officials, College Professors that I have met in the two generations of living in an international scholastic circle, were not free from this vice; but the great Dr. Coomaraswamy, with his beard, shallow brown complexion, poring over the accumulated learning of the two hemispheres, knew no such complex. Young and old, teenagers and short-sighted Professors, beginners and savants, all could approach him, write to him and what is more, criticize his theories. There was always a gracious understanding, sympathy and word of encouragement for all. To him every publication, be it a sumptuous volume, or a small

contribution however meanly printed and whatever the standing of the writer, had some value. He would take the writer's views as seriously as that of any Harvard or Cambridge Professor with an international reputation.

Indian researches in those days were sharply divided into two camps over the question whether the lowest member of the Mauryan Capitals were Lotus or the Iranian Bell. In 1930 a select band of young Indians used to congregate in the room of the late R. P. Chanda in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where the deceased gentleman in spite of all his stern school-masterly code was a great attraction. Amongst them was A. K. Mitra (now Dr. A. K. Mitra of the Department of Anthropology), who had accompanied Chanda to Sarnath, Mathura and Khiching excavations and was his favourite in those days. While in training under him Dr. Mitra published a paper questioning Dr. Coomaraswamy's identifications of the base of the Capital as 'Lotus.' A copy was sent to the savant for opinion. A lesser mortal would have probably taken to silence and contemptuous treatment of the publication. I have seen many Indian scholars having recourse to this method. Not so however the scholar of Boston—verily he was a *gurudeva* who sympathised with the daring of this beginner unknown to fame. He published a long and patient contradiction of Dr. Mitra's contentions, and what is more, presented him with all the copies of his publications.

In 1930, I published a very short account of the beautiful Parmara Temples, situated at a place called Nemawar, in the Indore State* and had the audacity to send him a copy. Months had elapsed and I myself had forgotten all about it, when one morning sitting in my Calcutta house, I was very much surprised to find an envelope from the Boston Museum of Fine Art. Opening it I found a letter in a few lines from the greatest authority on Indian Art and Architecture. "You have developed an undoubted insight into the real spirit of the subject. It is a pleasure to observe such hereditary aptitude for research." Since that time till 1942, I often corresponded with him on every conceivable subject, I only wish that the communal hooligans who burnt my father's library in Calcutta in 1946 had spared those letters.

Dr. Coomaraswamy had the intuition to catch the underlying significance of oriental designs and sculpture. He was probably the first scholar to realise the fundamental unity underlying the æsthetics of the East. The result was his *Dance of Siva*, *Visvakarma*, *History of Art in India and Indonesia*. Particularly, in the last treatise, his treatment of a varied subject which called for encyclopaedic knowledge, was so brief yet so meticulous and full of understanding of the contacts and reactions of the various schools of India sculpture on each other *vis-à-vis* sculpture in Greater India, that one regrets the disappearance of the volume in the market.

* *The Modern Review*, January, 1934. pp. 61 ff.

ROLE OF NEW PUSA TO SOLVE OUR FOOD PROBLEM

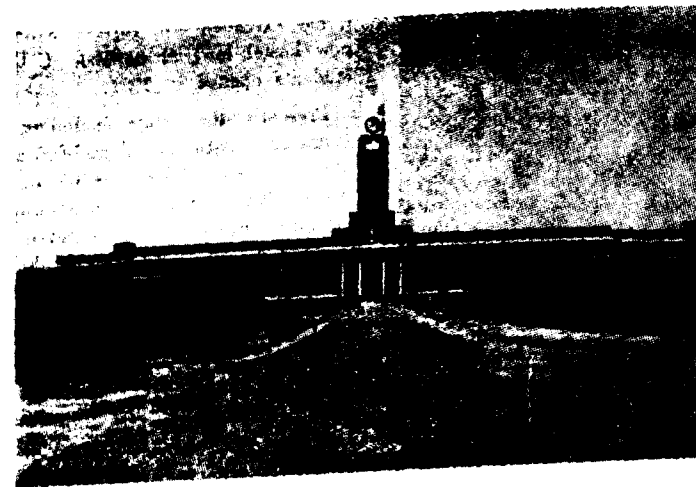
BY MURARI PRASAD GUHA, M.A.

A stay at New Pusa (New Delhi) induced me to write this article. The Indian Agricultural Research Institute or as it is shortly called I.A.R.I. is the best Institute for Agricultural Research in India and is equipped with the biggest Agricultural library in Asia (containing 200,000 books and 1200 journals on Agriculture). The brief details of the origin of the Institute are drawn from historical records.

The fund for carrying out the Scheme was enhanced by the generous gift of £30,000 from a Chicago philanthropist Mr. Henry Phipps and thus at Pusa in North Bihar the Agricultural Research Institute and College (later renamed Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research—Imperial Agricultural Research Institute—Indian Agricultural Research Institute) was established in 1905.

The Institute with all the departments was housed in a magnificent building and was furnished with a laboratory and a library and bore the name of Mr. Phipps. It had an area of 1,358 acres and was situated at the bend of the river Gandak about 6 miles from Pusa Road Station on the O. T. Rly.

Teaching was confined to short courses until November, 1923, when Post-graduate courses of two years' duration without any syllabus was started. This continued until 1945. In July, 1945, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research convened a meeting of the Directors of Provinces and States and of a number of eminent Scientists for advising what additional Post-graduate courses of training in the different branches of



The Library of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute with its beautiful clock-tower and the park in the foreground

With the Famine Commission Report of 1866 the first proposal for the Department of Agriculture in India originated and the Departments of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce started to function from June, 1871 but was abolished in 1878 in the absence of any progress. The Famine Commission of 1880 urged to establish Agricultural Departments in the provinces for (i) Agricultural enquiry, (ii) Agricultural improvements and (iii) Famine relief. The Imperial Department of Agriculture was first formed in 1881 and steps for their formation in the provinces were taken in 1882. Other steps for other appointments and improvements followed the report of the Famine Commission in 1901. In 1903, a scheme submitted by Curzon was approved by the Secretary of State for the establishment of (1) an Experimental Farm, (2) an Economic Botanic Garden, (3) an Agricultural College, (4) a Research Institute, and (5) a Cattle-breeding Farm.



Placement of more than one fertilizer simultaneously in potato rows. The bullocks and the ploughmen are so trained that they always move in straight lines

Agricultural Science should be provided and syllabus followed. And from then now on students have been admitted in 18 different branches of Agricultural Science, such as (1) Agriculture, (2) Genetics and Plant breeding, (3) Cytology (4) Physiology, (5) Economic Botany, (6) Soil Science and Agricultural Chemistry, (7) Soil

Science, (8) Agricultural Chemistry, (9) Soil Microbiology, (10) Entomology, (11) Toxicology, (12) Ecology, (13) other advanced aspects of Entomology, (14) Mycology and Plant Pathology, (15) Virus, (16) Agricultural Engineering, (17) Agricultural Economics, (18) Sugarcane breeding.



The author (extreme right) working in his plot along with others

The Royal Commission suggested, "Pusa should be developed as a first class centre for advanced training and research in Agriculture" and the suggestion has borne fruit.

The head of this Institute used to function as the (Agricultural) Adviser to the Government of India till the establishment of Indian Council of Agricultural Research in 1930. There were appointments thereafter of a large number of advisers of different branches of agriculture.

On 15th January, 1934 a disastrous earthquake which took a heavy toll in North Bihar damaged the Institute beyond repair and a deep fissure throwing sand and water ran through the estate and through the length of the building.

The Central Government wanted to shift it to a central place such as Delhi. The present site situated about 5 miles to the west of the New Delhi Railway Station was selected in October, 1934. The foundation-stone was laid by Lord Willingdon in February, 1935. Land Acquisition, etc., was completed by May, 1935 and the shifting was completed in October, 1936. And then on 7th November, 1936 the present Institute, locally known as the "Pusa College," was formally opened by Linlithgow.

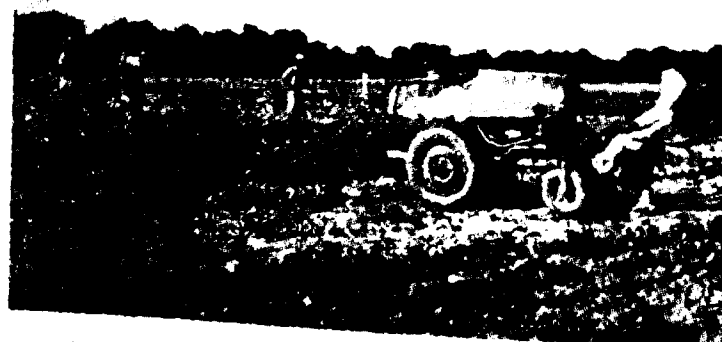
Again with fresh vigour work was started and now with the six divisions of (1) Agronomy, (2) Botany, (3) Chemistry and Soil Science, (4) Entomology, (5) Engineering and (6) Mycology, agricultural research

has advanced further in India, even foreign institutes recognizing its worth.

Earlier hostel accommodation limited the admission. After the construction of the new hostel with an accommodation for 100 students in 1946-47, admission has been opened up for more students. The one-storied old hostel with an accommodation for about 2 dozen students still remains open but for only short-course students and research-scholars, etc.

With the merger of the Central College of Agriculture with I.A.R.I. it has extended still further with the new hostel for about 100 C.C.A. students opened in 1951.

Presently the estate including the farms extends to more than 1,000 acres, the irrigated farm being of 350 acres. The annual consumption of irrigation water can be measured with meters placed at intervals at the end of the hump-pipes that bring it down to the farm now-a-days. The average cost of irrigation per acre per



Spraying of tobacco decoction in potato fields to control aphids (carriers of virus diseases) with a modern power sprayer

annum is as follows:

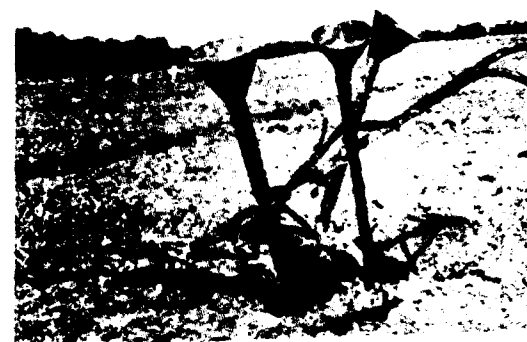
1946-47	Rs. 35-26
1947-48	47-15-0
1948-49	39-10-0
1949-50	37-6-0
1950-51	25-11-6

The site may appear a little high but the area about Delhi is dry like bone with scanty rainfall, last year there being almost no rainfall.

Every year, from all parts of India new students come to specialize in different branches for the benefit of their States and the old and trained students or Associates of this Institute return to their States to implement the new knowledge.

In the Agronomy section one will find students studying the best sowing time, the best size of and the best

manure for potato, or the water requirement of the potato under different conditions and also the maximum dose of manure that can be best utilized. Plant protection measures in the form of roguing of virus-affected plants and spraying of tobacco decoctions to control aphids or virus-carriers or other insects, are followed as routine practice. Experiments are carried on to determine if spray irrigation of potato with "Rain Marshall Pump" is more economic from the irrigation point of view and if it also improves the yield.



The horse hoe with adjusted metallic 'pora' for placement of fertilizers

Seeds are sown by students with the help of mechanical seed-drills simultaneously sowing 7 rows of wheat with adjustable seeding distance and also of the desi poro of hollow bamboo pipe with wooden funnels adjusted behind the plough like the funnel-adjusted horse-hoe used for simultaneous placements of more than one fertilizer inside the soil, at the same time preparing the furrow for the planting of the tubers of potato. The placement of fertilizer is very important for potato, as with shallow root-system it can better utilize the manures and fertilizers placed close to but not on the tubers. Other similar experiments are being conducted with wheat, cotton, berseem, etc. Work on some important trace elements like boron, molybdenum, etc., are in progress. The underlying idea of all the experiments being the best utilization of land and the proper maintenance of its fertility level with maximum production in the unit area.

Our cattle population speaks of our utter negligence for their maintenance, they being uneconomic for us are eating away a great portion of our food. In olden times there were pastures for cattle but now we never think of them. There are plenty of grasses and legumes indigenous to our own country. Some imported grass found suitable from the production and nutritional point of view can be easily grown in our fallow lands to get some fodder for cattle at the same time improving the soil. The Agronomy section has definitely established this. The protein content of some of the important grasses and legumes studied was found to be as under:

Name <i>Grasses</i>	Protein content		Flowering
	Young	Preflowering	
1. <i>Setaria palmaefolia</i> (Dahpatia)		16.61	10.07
2. <i>Panicum repens</i> (Silokar)	14.22	4.39	3.63
3. <i>Cenchrus ciliaris</i> (Anjan)	5.30	11.88	11.87
4. <i>Phalaris minor</i> (chidia bajar)	19.04		13.98
<i>Legumes</i>			
1. <i>Vicia hirsute</i>		37.91	



Roguing of virus-affected potato plants

The Botany division has evolved some new hybrids by breeding which combine economic with useful character such as more yield and resistance to disease, etc. The N.P. 710 is the finest wheat in the world with many special characteristics. Breeding work has progressed much in the case of (1) Tomatoes, (2) Mustard, (3) Sesamum, (4) Linseed (disease overcome by crossing), (5) Chillies (6) Cowpea (for wilt resistance in particular), (7) Maize (now we hear about hybrid maize).*

Here also the nitrogen requirement of wheat and its time of application is being studied. By means of wheat-weedicide experiments it has been found that application of chemicals checks weeds at one-third the cost of manual labour. But the use of chemicals to control weeds is better practised in larger compact acres under same crop as in U.S.A. where manual labour is short and also

* Offspring hybridized and then selfed.

costly. By means of wheat-lodging experiments it has been found that high doses of nitrogen and high seed-rate induce lodging, and lower seed-rate with application of potash only prevents it. And they are observing many factors to find out how to check lodging definitely. Trials for drought resistance and rust resistance in wheat are also going on.



Spray irrigation of potato fields with Rain Marshall pump

The Agricultural Chemistry and Soil Science division deals with soils and soil nutrients. They try to locate the hunger of the crop and according to the requirement it is remedied. Soils from all parts of India are being analysed and they are being mapped by survey. The harvesting of crop from time immemorial has impoverished our soil and now the soil chemists are finding for us the way to replenish mother earth. In collaboration with the Agronomy division they are trying to find the way to best utilize the land and how it can be managed, how crops should be rotated to maintain the status quo. They also advise how to control or check soil erosion to reclaim waste lands and also how to utilize the resources of irrigation projects.

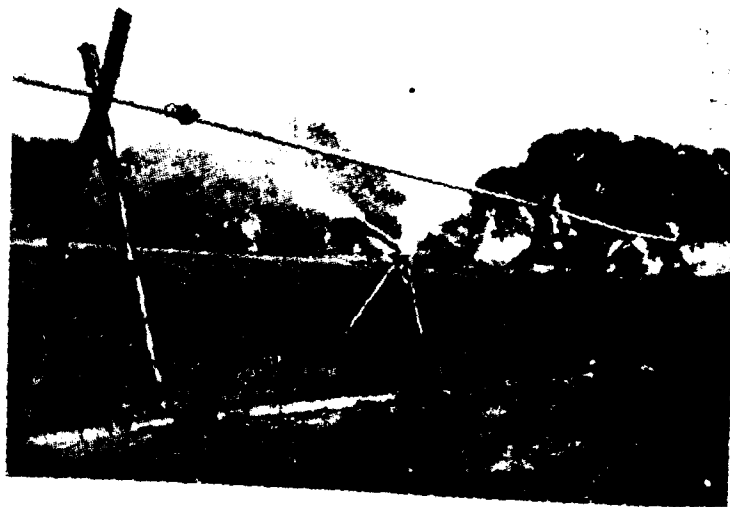
With the new knowledge of new insecticides we are now in a better position to combat pests and the invasion of the locust swarms that destroy our food. Entomology deals with all this. Of course the old knowledge of tobacco decoction is still in use along with D.D.T. and other methods although the method of application has improved much, it has advanced from hand-sprayers to power-sprayers. Similarly, the old method of drum and torch to control locusts is supplemented by insecticides. Along with them the knowledge of biological control is

getting momentum. Sugarcane-borer is controlled by *Trichogramma evanescens* acuminatum—a useful wasp. This parasite released at the rate of 5000 per acre can control the borer attack if continued for 8-10 weeks depending on the intensity of attack. Cost of control comes to about Rs. 12 only.

Similarly potato aphids (carriers of virus disease) are controlled biologically by grubs of *coccinella* and maggots of syrphid flies. For potato-moth control one larval parasite *Bracon jelskiae* has been obtained from Canada.

The Engineering division is doing its best to improve our agricultural implements with its modern knowledge of economising time and saving drudgery of our lone fighter in the food front—the poor farmer.

Mycology division deals with the plant-diseases, their study and their control. Instead of fighting with chemicals only, the raising of disease-resistant varieties by breeding and selection is going on. The relation of temperature, rainfall and humidity with particular diseases is also studied. In the U.S.A., with the



Close-up of the field and spray equipment

knowledge derived from such studies, warning service for potato blight, etc. has been started and it may be tried in our country also where knowledge will be complete here. In the sub-station at Simla virus-free seed potatoes are being raised and distributed throughout India. Also all Indian and many foreign varieties of potatoes are being studied there as well as here at New Pusa.

Our poor country with poor resources can ill-afford to miss the advancement of knowledge of how to

improve our soil, how to improve our crop and how to check its deterioration and diseases and pests. It can ill-afford to miss the knowledge of improvement of the desi plough which can scarcely turn over the six-inch soil, leave aside nine inches.

A great seat of learning is thus formed, and we must utilize to our best advantage the piled-up knowledge of our predecessors. We must know

what they have said and what others say. One takes much time to forget the knowledge of techniques applicable to foreign soils derived from foreign studies before reconciling himself with the surroundings of his own homeland. We must utilize our best talents to learn the best technique, with relation to our own soil and climatological factors instead of foreign environments, to produce more food. (Illustrations by the author)

—:O:—

CHICAGO : SECOND CITY IN THE UNITED STATES

By ALBERT HALPER

Chicago is the second largest city in the United States. Only New York City has a greater population. Nearly 4,000,000 people live in Chicago, according to the 1930 U. S. Decennial Census. Located deep in the interior of a nation, Chicago does not—like London or Paris or Rome—have a lengthy, sensible history, always moving in the same direction. Chicago is a heaving, complex place, shifting and unpredictable. It is never dull; it is seldom tranquil. Its tempo, its rawness, and its beauty have a tremendous impact upon the visitor. Youngest of the world's very large cities, America's mid-western metropolis is vibrant and vital and has in its polyglot population people from all corners of the globe.

Different from all other American cities, Chicago is big in many ways. It has the greatest concentration of railroads on earth. In a single day 1,500 passenger trains roll into its terminals; the daily score of freight trains is almost literally countless. Chicago is the chief livestock and packing-house center of the United States, the biggest grain market, headquarters for the nation's mail-order business, and a leader in the printing trades.

Even in its weather Chicago follows its own pattern. It has all four seasons well defined, each with its own emphasis. In winter the snows are deep and the temperature drops below zero Fahrenheit. In the summer the heat is over-powering. The city's climatic changes often are abrupt and violent. In August it can be as balmy as May. Rain can fall in cascades or the sun can shine for weeks in spring. Autumns may be unbelievably beautiful or plunged in gray winds for days.

Because Chicago has so many railroads, its citizens are never far from tracks or out of range of the sounds of locomotives. Some of the grade crossings, as they approach the city's heart, look almost a mile wide. The freight trains so frequently seen have come a long way, from the ends of the continent, carrying the goods of commerce—food, clothing materials, ores, woodpulp. Reading the names of the railroads painted across the boxcars in ringing, evocative

American names is like reading a combination of poetry, history, and folklore.

Geographically, Chicago is divided into three parts; the South Side, the North Side, and the West Side. There is no East Side because east of the Central area of the city—widely known as the Loop—lies Lake Michigan. People who are born and reared in one section of Chicago seldom move to another. They stay in one general area, acquiring a rooted identity to their neighbourhoods. Each major area has its own attractions and points of interest and all depend on the Loop.

Within its borders Chicago is a kind of miniature United Nations. For instance, it has a greater Polish population than any other city in the world except Warsaw. It has many people whose parents came from Italy, from Sweden, from Germany, from Japan, from Syria, from Eire. For many reasons, geographical and industrial, Chicago attracted hundreds of thousands of new Americans during the years of greatest immigration into the United States. Absorption of many and varied cultures is one of the reasons for the vitality and interest of the city. Yet despite the variety of its inheritance, Chicago remains a friendly place and one to which its children return with enthusiasm.

The buildings of Chicago hold great interest for the visitor. The first skyscraper was built there. To eyes accustomed to much greater buildings in the 1930's, that structure which first embodied the principles which made the erection of 199-story buildings possible looks small, but it was the necessary forerunner of New York City's Empire State Building and the United Nations Secretariat. Chicago always has had private construction showing daring and handsome designs. Its Merchandise Mart is one of the world's greatest commercial buildings, with a floor area of more than 4,000,000 square feet. Many of its buildings are lighted at night, so the city is dazzling after dark.

Chicago has been greatly influenced by great personalities, sometimes for ill, often for good. Hull

STAMMERING—ITS CAUSE AND CURE

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

The Stammer Clinic run by Dr. M. S. Rami both at Cama Lane, Ghatkopar, and at Arthur Bunder Road, Colaba, Bombay, continues to be an ever-growing blessing and inestimable boon to stammerers, stutterers and all those who suffer from defective speech. In the beginning it was well-nigh impossible for me to believe that bad stammerers who have suffered for two or three decades could be cured within four to six weeks without surgery, hypnotism, psycho-analysis, carbondioxide therapy and medical drugs. But the facts and figures I collected from the Bombay Stammer Clinic convinced me that Dr. M. S. Rami has now a pioneering, unique and simple method of curing stammer through radical re-education of voice and speech.

Of the few cases of really bad stammering I have watched the progress made by a certain Kamalendra Singh, a college student from Agra. On May 14th I saw him coming as a raw material for Dr. Rami to work upon and straighten. He would stammer so badly on some words that it would take him twenty to thirty seconds to pronounce them. I saw him three weeks later, when half of the voice re-education process was over. He could speak without stammering, although his intonations and words were very slow. At the end of the full course of six weeks none could detect that Kamalendra Singh was a life-long stammerer at all. I have verified for myself many such cases and some conclusions I have arrived at after basing them on the data collected from Dr. Rami's Clinic, I am setting down with the hope that it may prove to be a boon and hope for all stammerers everywhere.

In India, the Stammer Clinic at Ghatkopar is unique. Patients come to this place from distant parts of India, from the Himalayan regions to the sea-washed shores of the subcontinent. The singular eminence of the Stammer Clinic, I think, is due to the simple, natural and homely way in which Dr. Rami cures his patients, whom he calls his "pupils." Dr. Rami has now won such a reputation as the wonder-healer of all stammerers that even speech-specialists and psycho-analysts of leading hospitals in Bombay and elsewhere send their patients to Dr. Rami for treatment. Besides the hundred per cent cure which the Clinic guarantees to the patients, I think, the personal touch, attention, simplicity and conscientiousness of the hard-working healer, Dr. Rami, is one of the reasons that made the Ghatkopar Stammer Clinic so famous and attractive to every patient who has visited the place and has undergone the treatment.

A SELF-HEALING DOCTOR

It may interest the readers to know that the

protagonist of the new technique of curing stammering, Dr. Rami was himself a bad stammerer in his boyhood and youth. From the age of eight Dr. Rami developed a sort of acute stammering which increased ever since. Self-conscious of the criticism and adverse remarks of his class-mates and play-mates, Dr. Rami went from bad to worse as years rolled on. At the age of twenty-three we find the young man as a student in Japan, enrolled in the faculty of dentistry, seriously handicapped by his speech defect.

In India, Japan, East Africa and wherever Dr. Rami has been he tried several methods to obtain relief from his stammering. It is said that Dr. Rami even tried to stand for hours in the river up to his neck and, filling the mouth with pebbles, shout at the highest pitch. This is one of the superstitious methods prevalent among the common people. It is after trying all such methods that the idea occurred to the Doctor that he should try to control breath so that air may pass in a strictly measured way through the voice box and vocal chords while speaking. Accordingly, he devised a curved palate fitter with a hole which was meant to regulate the passage of air and consequently for controlling the speech. He fitted the device into his mouth and began thoroughly to re-educate his speech, beginning from the vowels. This pioneering method through which Dr. Rami got himself cured completely became at last an inestimable boon to hundreds who later on thronged the clinic, where stammerers become normal men and women later on and could face society with confidence and faith.

This self-healing Doctor has now learnt the root-cause of stammering from his own experience and has invented the device and learnt the technique of how to deal with it. The cause and cure of stammering, as is learnt from the data of the Stammer Clinic, are not just the same as are found in the books on psycho-analysis and other authoritative literature. Here is a simple, straight, but hundred per cent effective method which has enabled many boys and girls, men and women to face the world and regain their normal speaking, thanks to the patience, almost paternal solicitude of the pioneering Stammer Specialist in India. Dr. Rami has now placed at the disposal of all stammerers, stutterers and everybody suffering from any speech disorder, the results of his own personal experiences and experiments and research.

CAUSE OF STAMMERING

The records and data available at the Stammering Clinic of Dr. M. S. Rami at Ghatkopar, Bombay, go to prove that over ninety per cent of those

who stammer, stutter and in any way are afflicted with speech disorders are the victims of nervous shock and strain of the sympathetic nervous system. Many children who come to the clinic have been able to trace the genesis of their stammering to some fear,

cause stammering. Thus, for instance, a boy who utterly fails in a public performance and is ridiculed beyond the stage, of forbearance may develop temporary stuttering. A girl who experiences a sudden shock at the physical symptoms of her coming of age may also develop some kind of stammer. But in all these cases it should be noted that psychological factors of fear, self-consciousness, etc., are only predisposing causes, while the main factor that actually causes stammering is psycho-physical, i.e., lack of coherence between thought and word.

Hence, it is that during the first week of treatment at the Stammer Clinic of Dr. Rami the pupils are forbidden to speak to anybody save their fellow-pupils undergoing the same course of treatment. During this week for about six hours a day or more, Dr. Rami is with the patients with prescribed charts and readers, so that the re-education of the vocal system may be made radical and thorough, by making the voice and the nervous system work in harmony. This



Dr. M. S. Rami applying the instrument to regulate the voice

shock or to some predisposing cause of nervous affection through heredity, mimicry or even through lack of co-ordination between their ideas and their mode of expression.

The thesis of those writers who ascribe the cause of stammering to some mysterious and mystifying causes, brain disorders or organic defects in the vocal system may now be rejected out of hand. The cause of stammering is today definitely known and in about ninety-five percent cases it is due to lack of co-ordination between the organs of respiration, voice and articulation, most often caused by some conscious or unconscious nervous shock. Timidity, bashfulness, over-self-consciousness and such psychological factors are predisposing causes. But stammering itself is directly due to extra speed in thought to which the vocal chords do not adequately respond. Hence the need for re-education of the vocal chords and the entire speech system so that a particular letter, syllable, word and then sentences may be pronounced within a particular given time and in a way most conducive to a restoration to normal speech.

Sudden fear or overwhelming novelty may also



Dr. M. S. Rami re-educating a group of stammerers

is attained through slow, patient, persevering efforts on the part of both the teacher and the pupils to learn afresh every vowel, and every consonant singly and in combination with words, in a strict rhythmic and measured manner so that the air passage, aided by the palate-fitter device, may become natural and free and the spoken words

and the thoughts within the mind may move harmoniously.

MECHANISM OF SPEECH

To understand fully the regulation of breath that is achieved during the first week or two at the Clinic, it is necessary to bear in mind the broadest outline of the mechanism of voice and speech in man. For stammering, as the Medical Dictionary defines it, is "the want of co-ordination between the muscles of respiration, voice and articulation."

Besides the muscles that are brought to work in normal speech, the windpipe, the larynx or voice box, vocal chords, palate, tongue, lips and throat are all co-operating in one way or another for natural speaking. Now the muscles of speech can be made not to relax or contract as is needed through nervousness, fear and other psychological factors. If any muscle or organ of the speech, through nervous disorder or any other cause fails to regulate breathing and the passage of air through the vocal chord there almost invariably faulty speech results.

The movements of the lips, jaw bones, palate and tongue must be such that when the air passes through the vocal chord to produce the given sound or speech there may result harmony and co-ordination between words and thoughts. In almost every case of stammering this co-ordination is lacking. Hence the purpose of re-education is to bring back the needed air for the needed words and remove the disharmony between the two. Hence it is rightly said that it is not a physician nor a surgeon that is needed for curing stammering and stuttering, but rather a master, a teacher who with infinite patience and practical experience would sit hours together with his distressed pupils and enable them to control breath corresponding to the letter, syllable and word to be pronounced.

Besides the bio-physiological apparatus for voice production, there is also the psychological element that enters into the art of speech. For example, inferiority complex and fear are most common factors that work for the perpetuation of stammering. It is a vicious circle and at some end it must be broken. It is for this that the cure of stammering is attempted on a dual front, physical breathing and psychical healing.

METHODS OF CURE

Besides the natural re-education of phonetics, the psychological handling of the case is also most important. Psychological treatment, however, is not the prolonged, costly, and often ineffective methods of modern psychoanalysis. Psycho-therapy is part of naturopathy and it essentially consists in the skill of the teacher to detect the hidden psycho-somatic causes that work behind and cause stammering in the given individual. Psychotherapeutic methods, however, do not altogether exclude psycho-analysis in those cases where some deep, hidden unconscious force is working and is not easily detectable except through the skilled queries and observations of an experienced psychoanalyst.

What is to be stressed however is that the cure of stammering essentially, basically and fundamentally consists in re-moulding the breath with perfect control and measurement so that the disharmony between letters, syllables and words while pronounced or spoken and the ideas may be removed by bringing back the normal vibrations of the vocal chords. It is for this that the first step for a patient, after being admitted to Dr. Rami's clinic is to take the measurement of the upper palate and get the device for breath control to be fitted into his mouth. This mechanical device continues to be used until the cure is complete at the end of the course which may vary from one single week to six or ten weeks, according to the nature of the case.

For the entire Indian subcontinent there is at present only one Clinic based on strictly naturopathic and psychotherapeutic methods. The cures achieved at Dr. M. S. Rami's clinic are so thorough and quick that the stammerers themselves, not to speak of their relatives and friends, begin to attribute some sort of miraculous powers to the healer.

The experienced, self-made, creative, unassuming, friendly Dr. M. S. Rami and his clinics at Ghatkopar and Colaba, Bombay, are a veritable boon for all stammerers. Not a single case has returned without permanent and effective cure. Hundreds have been benefited by the clinic; their testimonies and the records at the clinic are eloquent proofs of the wonderful achievement of the Rami method.



AAGE JOERGENSEN—THE DANISH SCHOLAR AND PACIFIST

By P. K. BANERJEE, N.K.I. (Sweden)

THE 62-year-old Danish scholar, pacifist and humanitarian Mr. Aage Joergensen, who is in the pink of health and a picture of ceaseless activity, has had a wonderful chequered career. From his early boyhood, he showed a conspicuous aptitude for strenuous literary pursuits and he took to the teaching profession when he was only 18 years old.

Early in his youth he left his father-land for Russia and during his stay in Russia for a couple of years beginning from 1908, he came to have an unstinted admiration for the immortal writings of Tolstoy. He applied himself seriously to the study of the Russian language and his undisturbed stay in Russia for a couple of years, considerably helped his whole-hearted endeavours and sincere application in this direction to acquire a thorough mastery over the intricacies and complexities of the said language. During his stay in Russia, he came in contact with Tolstoy's daughter, Tatyana, and set himself to the task of translating two of Tolstoy's works into Danish, which he did so creditably.

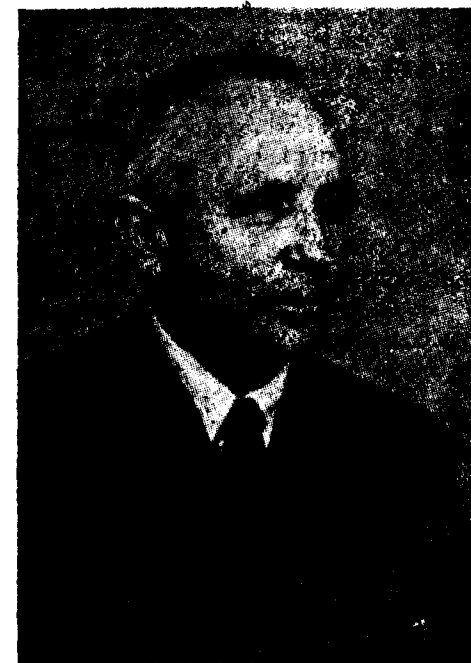
During his subsequent sojourns in Russia, to which country he betook himself many a time and oft, he came in contact with all manner of Russian life and wrote books on Russia. His last book on Russia was written in 1943, while he was staying in the famine-stricken Caucasus.

His stay in Russia at that time when revolutionary changes were taking place there in the world of ideas about state-craft, made him unconsciously project his mental vision on a wished-for socialistic reconstruction of the World-States. But his rosy dreams of a genuinely socialistic structure of the states, received a rude shock in later years when he found that there had crept in a yawning chasm—separating the noble ideals of socialism from the tangible methods adopted for their attainment. He was now confirmed in his belief that a better human society and a happier world could only be created by man, if he could ever eter a middle course between Capitalism and Socialism. He cleared the attics of his mind of all the lumber of misconceptions, ill-founded enthusiasms and fond beliefs which had so long cluttered his thinking. Sadly disillusioned and badly cheated in his hopes of the ushering in of a new era in the world by the blossoming forth of World-Socialism, he bade a final good-bye to Socialism and with it he cut himself off from all politics and bent the energies of his mind to a deeper pursuit of the literatures.

His extensive travels and his varied experiences of men and things considerably softened his already tolerant attitude towards human life and the inmost

feelings of his heart urged him on to the road of pacifism, which now he thought could alone bring peace and happiness to mankind.

Henceforward, besides assiduously following the natural inclination of his mind for greater and greater penetration into the magic-land of literature, he threw himself heart and soul into all works of the Pacifists and the Humanitarians.



Mr. Aage Joergensen

He visited India for the first time in December 1949, in connection with a World Pacifists' Meeting which took place at Santiniketan and Gandhiji's Sevagram. He also took an active part in Hunger Relief Work in Russia and Germany.

Only some time ago, he was the Chairman of the Information Bureau of the Danish Aid Committee for India. Under the auspices of this Committee and with the permission of the Danish Ministry of Justice, collection of food-stuffs, medicines and money was started in Denmark for the famine-stricken areas of India. It proved to be a grand success and from contributions reaching from all strata of Danish life, a fund amounting to 100,000 Kroners could be raised for rendering help to the hunger-afflicted people of India.

He has been recently in India once again and in the midst of his multifarious activities on a very

wide front, he could make time to translate into Danish the sublime Gita and the Bhagabat. A perusal of certain parts of his translations show how wonderfully faithful these are to the texts. But what is more, he has been able to bring out the real meaning underlying the texts and to get at the spirit of the whole thing.

At present he is in Calcutta with the object of furthering on a more extensive scale the already existing Indo-Danish spirit of fraternity and amity. With this object in view he has just founded an India-Scandinavia Society at P.33C Improvement Trust Road, Park Circus, Calcutta, of which he is the Vice-President. He has selected foreign-travelled Psychiatrist, Dr. Samiran Banerjee as its president and Sri P. K. Banerjee, the linguist and journalist as its Honorary Secretary.

According to Mr. Joergensen's idea, there should not only be greater exchange of thoughts and ideas between India, of which he is a great admirer, and

the Scandinavian countries, but also a mutual exchange of scholars and teachers among them. He is in charge of selecting deserving Indian alumni for being sent to Denmark for higher technical education. Besides this, Mr. Joergensen intends calling frequent meetings of this organisation for discussing matters not only pertaining to the general well-being of the institution, but also such subjects which are conducive to a better understanding of Indo-Danish relationship. This Society will have a reading room of its own, containing newspapers, magazines, periodicals and books of general and special interest to the readers, in the Scandinavian languages and all members will have free access to it.

Many Indian gentlemen, drawn from all walks of life, beginning with His Excellency, the Governor of West Bengal, to the humblest clerk, have already expressed their whole-hearted willingness to join this Society as its members.

—O:—

REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

By S. K. BANERJI, M.A. (Lond.),

Lecturer, David Hare Training College, Calcutta

THE Secondary School Commission, entrusted with the task of devising "a sound and reasonably uniform system of secondary education suited to our needs and resources," will discuss the very many questions that fall within its scope under its terms of reference. The matter, therefore, is of supreme importance to all interested in education. The Commissioners' deliberations and finally their recommendations will have profound influence on the secondary system of education. Nay, action taken on their basis will influence education at both primary and university level. In this article the present writer will discuss some points which deserve mention.

The Commission is supposed to envisage a form of secondary education of a particular type or a variety of types within a basic framework of uniformity. This country lacks the American type of common (comprehensive) schools for all children alike as well as the British variety of Grammar—Technical High—Modern types of schools. The pattern here roughly resembles the English "modern" schools minus their practical courses. These schools cater for the greatest majority of the secondary school population.

Variety indeed is needed in order that children shall find within the educational system the kind of training needed for the development of their potentialities as well as for the acquisition of those skills

for adaptation to a society that is fast changing its character from more or less stable conditions. A particular form, however flexible, will not therefore meet the case. There is need for academic, scientific and technical schools, art and craft schools, and schools with a domestic, agricultural or commercial bias. All these and many others, not mentioned here, will not make for uniformity.

A common code instead of a common basic framework requiring high standards in matters of equipment, staffing ratio, and premises in different types of schools is needed and this will ensure unity rather than uniformity in the educational system of the country. Variety will not be forthcoming without reference to private enterprise and a basis of partnership has to be found in order that the educational structure truly evolves as the joint product of state and private enterprise. The contribution of the latter, though one-sided, in the secondary sphere has been in this country quite significant.

Technical education for secondary school children is a new phenomenon here. In this matter we can follow profitably the example furnished by the Junior Technical Schools of England. From small beginnings their development and subsequent rise in status in the postwar years is a creditable achievement and an instance of what private enterprise can do. On account of their very good work, the Schools

Committee in 1939 recommended these schools to come under the secondary school code and renamed Technical High Schools. If technical education is to grow in this country let it grow unassumingly, on an experimental basis.

In due course it will be an integral part of the whole system. On the other hand, if it is to come from above as a state-directed venture, a full-fledged model made to order will be the result, and produced at a terrific cost it will fritter away the money badly required for other educational needs.

Technical schools should not be allowed to degenerate into trade schools. The dichotomy between cultural and vocational subjects can be removed by teaching methods which develop historical prospective in the pupils. For example, in teaching the technological subjects historical presentation of the evolution of 'artifacts' will give a broad outlook to the pupils. When such methods combine with a good course of general education these will have cultural implications transcending the limitations of narrow vocationalism.

While at the primary stages the "basic" pattern is slowly emerging, we have neither tackled the sociological problem inherent in this form nor have we removed from our mind our muddled conception about secondary education. Our middle and well-to-do classes do not send their children to the State primary schools. Where there are exclusive schools, these do for their purpose, where there are not, children after a few years' home education go to the high schools. Extension of franchise will duly create no doubt a "bulge" in the primary school population as 'compulsory areas' are widened but the problem will not be solved in the existing lines of cleavage in society. In the event the nation's children will go to the kind of schools their status in society determines; this will be a poor show indeed when we consider that other countries with a school system representing their social stratification are now narrowing down differences in the matter of inequities in that system. It may be noted that democracy in a nation cannot flourish unless it can be found in the nation's schools.

What is known as the High School in our country is in reality a post-primary school with a primary department at the bottom or, if you like, a primary school with a secondary department at the top. The Roy Choudhury Report of West Bengal suggests a demarcation at 11 but why in fairness at that particular age only and not at 12 or 13 is nowhere adequately explained. Hadowism has struck such deep roots into our thinking that it is taken for granted. That the form and content of secondary education are different from those of primary education is forgotten. The schools are administered under a Secondary Code and the nomenclature of the school is all right. But do they suffice?

The inter-relation between the primary and secondary education should not be lost sight of but each should have its separate existence and be independent one from another.

Development of primary education will anticipate developments in the secondary sphere. Matthew Arnold's oft-quoted remark "Organize your secondary education" was made in 1859 in connexion with the organisation of primary education in England. Unfortunately his caution went unheeded. The introduction of the "Revised Code" (1862), which followed, was supported by Robert Lowe's statement. "If it is not cheap, it shall be efficient, if it is not efficient, it shall be cheap." The key word in it was, of course, the term "cheap." However, at that time, besides primary education, the claims for the extension of secondary education in England could not be ignored any more. So there was a Royal Commission—The Schools Inquiry (Taunton) Commission of 1867—to look into the matter. It recommended three grades of schools. The first grade for children staying in school till the age of eighteen and upwards. The corresponding ages for the second and third grades were respectively sixteen and fourteen. While the endowed grammar school after certain necessary reforms was considered to be the model for the first grade, the Realschule of Germany was recommended for imitation by the second grade schools. The models for the third grade schools were the Sekundarschulen of Zurich and the Burserschulen of Prussia—off-shoots of the primary schools like the *écoles primaires Supérieures* of France. While classical studies predominated in the first two, these were not regarded as essential for the third grade schools. Modernisation of the curriculum was sought to be effected by scientific courses and such studies as are included now-a-days within "English" subjects. A Central Authority for the administration of all forms of secondary education was also recommended. The Schools Inquiry Commission's recommendations, except in minor matters, went by default in subsequent legislation as the mood of the moment, best represented by the epigrammatic remark, to quote Robert Lowe again, "We must educate our masters", was not for the extension of secondary education. And this at the time of the passage of the second Reform Bill!

The latter half of the Nineteenth Century England saw a number of Royal Commissions on education. Its cumulative effect was not evident till well after the turn of the century. In India too it augurs well that we should have our educational commissions; these create a ferment in the educational atmosphere that must precede any developmental plans or their later implementations.

The question now is: should we have an organisation on the lines suggested by the Schools Inquiry (Taunton) Commission or should we follow the lines

fair to the author of the book I am reviewing, that I checked most statements I found objectionable and discovered that Russell or Gibbon (and, for a few, S. Radhakrishnan) were responsible, not Mr. Roy.

Boethius, a wonderful type of Christian Philosopher, thoroughly Greek in his culture, though all Christian in his faith, is said not to have been a real Christian and his religious books on the Trinity, for instance, are declared unauthentic. This was accepted, for a while, a hundred years ago; Russell has repeated it, though the point has been scientifically established and, more than 50 years ago, manuscripts have been discovered which establish beyond doubt the authenticity of Boethius' theological writings.

St. Cyril of Alexandria is made responsible for the murder of Hypatia, the Platonic lady-philosopher. Gibbon and Kingsley had made this legend popular; scholars have proved it baseless but Russell has given it place in his *History* alongside with many more 'stories' about the intolerance of Churchmen and the darkness of the Middle Ages.

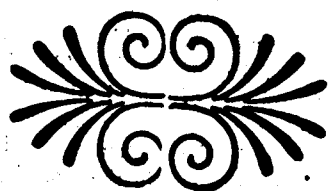
A chapter on Christian origins, taken from Gibbon by both Russell and Radhakrishnan, tells us much about Ebionites, Buddhist influences on the peoples around Judea, the Hellenic infiltrations in Johannine thought and theology, etc. All these points have been time and again discussed by scholars and historians; stories however live long.

There exist excellent books on the Medieval Philosophy. E. Gilson, for instance, is one of the best guides and several of his books have been translated into English. Curtis' *Short History of Western Philosophy in the Middle Ages* is a handy and reliable instrument of work. Other books could be mentioned but it is not the purpose of this review to establish a list of books for the student of medieval philosophy. Enough to repeat that Russell is definitely not a reliable guide and that Mr. Roy's own work has been marred by too much dependence on that rather erratic guide.

A most important question would remain, that of the relation between philosophy and religion. Both orthodox Hinduism and Christianity claim to be, in different manners, more than man-made-philosophies; this dependence of human thought upon divine revelation has never been felt like a slavery by the greatest

and most representative philosophers of either India or the West. A Sankara or a Thomas Aquinas, though both affirming the need of divine revelation, were not felt hampered or fettered in the pursuit of truth. Mr. Roy, following Russell's rationalistic lead and his own personal convictions as an orthodox Hindu, speaks of the 'slavery' in which medieval thought found itself before being freed at the time of the Renaissance. I think that the thought of an Aquinas was freer from human limitations and from all the fetters of current rationalism than that of the 'free man' Russell; similarly, a Sankara was freer from worldly prejudices and the weight of public opinion than many a modern Indian thinker who has rejected the authority of the Vedas. Mr. Roy himself though generally accepting Russell's views on the history of medieval philosophy, has a few words to say in defence of Aquinas on this very point.

To sum up, the book of Mr. Roy should be appreciated rightly by all Bengali students of philosophy. It gives them the vocabulary they need, at least a large amount of philosophical vocabularies, to pursue, in Bengali, their study of Western thought. It contains excellent chapters on the leading figures of Greek thought; Pythagoras, Parmenides, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus and others are presented to us with much effort at objectivity. It is a less reliable guide as far as early Christian thought is concerned; yet, even there, it gives the important names and outlines with some information by way of summary introduction. If we found fault with many statements contained in the second part and some interpretations in the first, in fairness to the author, we must repeat that the fault is not his but that of the guides he has chosen: this choice was rather natural for a Bengali writer. Gibbon, whose *Decline and Fall* has been—and still is—so popular in Bengal is now discredited as an historian; his popularity lives on. Russell, whom no one ever took very seriously in European philosophical circles, has always been very popular in America and in India. Gilson, on the contrary, only begins to be known outside France; few other scholarly writers have produced whole surveys comparable to those of Gibbon or Russell, their monographs or researches are not often available in our Calcutta libraries, while popular books like Russell's are within easy reach of everyone.



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

CENTENARY SOUVENIR (1851-1951) of the Government Museum, Madras, 1951: Edited with an Introduction by Dr. A. Aiyappan. Government Press, Madras. Numerous illustrations in the text, with XII full-page plates illustrating thirty outstanding examples of ancient masterpieces of Art. Pp. lvi + 158. Price not stated.

"Among the Museums of India—the Madras Government Museum has a unique place, by the richness, variety, and range of its collections. It is a monument to the continuity of civilization in South India, a store-house of rich artistic and historic treasures, a shrine which gives inspiration to continued cultural activity." Very interesting reading is offered by the history of its hundred years' growth given by the Superintendent, with details of the activities of its earlier superintendents, some of them being distinguished names in the study of Indian Anthropology, Ethnology, and Art.—Balfour, Mitchell, Bidie, Thurston, Bruce Foote, Henderson, Gravely—whose brilliant works have been ably continued by Dr. Aiyappan who inherits worthily heavy responsibilities bequeathed by a succession of learned curators. Bruce Foote's valuable contribution to the recent development with an active educational programme with publications of monographs and picture post-cards was initiated by Gravely who had himself published several Art monographs in collaboration with Ramchandran and Sivarama Murthi, Paration with Ramchandran. This valuable educational role which turned a rich store-house into a dynamic teaching institution is a brilliant record, very highly eulogized in Markham's *Report*. Besides the history of the progress (Part II), the volume contains interesting reminiscences by Gravely, Sundara Raj and Chandrasekharan (Part III). Part IV gives interesting surveys of the different departments by departmental curators, the most interesting contributions being that of Srinivasan on Archaeology and Art, and Art in Madras Museum by J. H. Cousins. But the most brilliant essay is the "Problems of Indian History" by Sardar K. M. Panikkar which deserves the serious attention of our history-students. The Museum is known all over the world for its wonderful collection of Amaravati Sculpture, Southern Indian Bronzes (one of the richest in any part of the world) to which has been added masterpieces of stone sculpture of all the periods of Tamil Art-history. Two remarks by the Madras Prime Minister in his speech are very significant: "The descendants of the architects and sculptors who built the great temples of Tanjore and Kanchipuram and carved the immor-

tal sculptures of Mahabakipuram are languishing in our villages. The potentialities of these ancient community of *Sthapatis* are lying dormant. But there is evidence all round of re-awakened interest in the fine arts." The opening of the National Gallery of Art at the old Victoria Technical Institute by Pandit Nehru coincided with the Centenary celebrations and the Prime Minister's speech was punctuated by many happy remarks: "I do not know, but the fact remains that we are getting more and more shoddy and we take pride in the fact that we are getting shoddy. Therefore, it is desirable to collect articles of beauty." This should be a motto for all our public museums. We have no hesitation in saying that this volume should find place in every library in India, and read, chewed, and inwardly digested by all our Ministers of Education and Directors of Public Instruction. It would provide a new inspiration of renewed educational activities through our museums in Free India.

O. C. C.

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA COMMEMORATION VOLUME: Editors—N. Sivarama Sastry and G. Hanumantha Rao. Prof. M. Hiriyantha Commemoration Volume Committee, Mysore. 1952. Pp. 272. Price Rs. 15.

The late Professor M. Hiriyantha was, as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan writes in his short appreciative foreword, "one of the finely touched spirits of contemporary Indian thought" and a scholar who "spent a life-time in the study of Indian Sanskrit classics, especially the philosophical ones." This impression is heightened by a perusal of the short biographical sketch prefixed to this work which gives us a picture of a man whose high intellectual attainments and exemplary character carried him from the humble position of an office head clerk to the Sanskrit chair at the University of Mysore. It is therefore quite in the fitness of things that his pupils, friends and admirers should honour his memory (he passed away, alas before this work appeared in print) by the publication of the present volume.

The papers included in this work range over a wide variety of subjects in which Philosophy, naturally enough, takes the place of honour. In the branch of classical Sanskrit literature important contributions are made by S. K. De ("Jagannatha's Classification of *kavya*"), C. Kunahn Raja ("Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*") and P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri ("Some Riddles in the *Kumarasambhava*"), while two little known poets of the Mediaeval Age, namely, Ramachandra and Ghana-syama, are introduced to us in the papers of K. Madhava Krishna Sarma and A. N. Upadhye respectively. Textual criticism forms the subject-matter of the important papers of S. K. Belvalkar ("Two Mis-

handled Passages from the Bhagavadgita"), V. Raghavan ("The Setubandha") and T. N. Sreekantaiya ("Unrecognised Stanzas of Asvaghosa"). Contributions to the literature of Arthashastra are made by M. V. Krishna Rao ("Guild and State in Kautilya's Arthashastra") and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri ("The Place of the Arthashastra in the Literature of Indian Polity"). In the latter and by far the more important paper the author emphatically accepts the genuineness of the tradition attributing the work to "the great Maurya Chancellor." He further singles out what he thinks to be three unique features of Kautilya's work which were probably borrowed from Achaemenian and Hellenistic models, namely, "the exaltation of the royal power, the elaboration of the bureaucracy and the provision of checks and controls over its activity." From the above he draws the conclusion that "the Mauryan Imperial system in all its aspects is a glorious parenthesis in the course of Indian history." These points are sufficiently important to merit critical examination in a separate place. Papers of general interest included in this volume are those of P. K. Gode (plausibly arguing in favour of the use of cloth for letter-writing in Harsha's time) and C. Hanumantha Rao (giving a good popular account of Hinduism).

Altogether this volume provides a rich and varied intellectual fare befitting the memory of a good man and a devoted scholar.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION: By H. N. Banerjee. With a Foreword by Dr. Radhabinod Pal. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1950. Pp. 173. Price: Paper cover Rs. 3, Board cover Rs. 3-8.

Books on the new Indian Constitution are coming out in any number written from different approaches and to serve the needs of different sections of the reading public. The one under review appears with modest pretensions "to place before the readers, simply and concisely, in a narrative form, a short analytical abstract of the Constitution of India" and professes to cater mainly to the needs of students preparing for University Examinations. A perusal of the twelve Chapters into which the book falls will convince any one that the author has not made any tall claim. The limited object he has set before himself has been fully served. We may even go further and say that although intended mainly for college students it may be profitably read by other sections of the public as well who may feel inquisitive to know—and their number, we hope, would be on the increase—how we are governed.

We fully endorse what Dr. Pal has observed in his Foreword to the book: "The value of a book like this can hardly be over-estimated, if we only remember that in Free India a primary task of education should be to arouse and to cultivate, in all the members of the body politic, a desire to understand what the national plan of Government is." From this consideration it is a good thing that the book has been very moderately priced so as to place the volume within the easy reach of a large section of public.

A. K. GHOSHAL

1-2. THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS IN THE FAR EAST, Parts I and II, Japan and China (1839-1951): By Dr. B. R. Chatterji, M.A., Principal, Meerut College, Meerut. Published by Jai Prakash Nath and Co., Meerut. Price Re. 1-8 and Rs. 1 respectively.

3. REVOLUTION IN CHINA: By Robert Guillain. Published by Hind Kitab Ltd., Bombay. Price eight annas.

4. NEW JAPAN: By N. Ito. Edited by the Japan Peace Study Group, Tokyo. Price not mentioned.

The Far East is the cynosure of the world today and will play a vital part in the final show-down between the Eastern and the Western blocs. The Far East, we might go further to say, will decide the fate of the East-West conflict.

Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterji is one of our well-known historians. In the first brochure under review he gives a bird's-eye view of the Land of the Rising Sun from 1853 to 1945. Within the narrow compass of 79 pages the learned author has compressed a very readable account of how Japan was 'opened' in 1854, how she was modernised, how she became a world-power and how she burnt herself in a bold—maybe, fool-hardy—bid to liquidate Western—American, Dutch, English and French—imperialism from Eastern and South-Eastern Asia. The learned author points out further that it was the Japanese bid for supremacy and its initial success which paved the way for the emancipation of Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines and, last but not least, of India.

The brochure ends in an optimistic note—beneath the degradation of capitulation and the degeneration of alien occupation, the deathless spirit of Dai Nippon continues to live. "Beyond occupation stands Fujiyama immaculate."

The rise of the Chinese Communist Party and the fall of the Kuomintang have opened the flood-gates of interested press and platform propaganda, pro-Communist as well as anti-Communist. Truth has been sacrificed in the controversy. The layman with no 'ism,' with no ideological axes to grind is confused. The second brochure in the above list is the companion volume of the first. The former tells in simple English everything a beginner in Modern Chinese history would like to know. A fuller account of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and of China's New Democratic experiment should, however, have been given.

While Nos. 1 and 2 represent an attempt to know and understand China and Japan from the scholar's point of view, Nos. 3-4 are definitely propagandist. *Revolution in China* by Robert Guillain has not a single good word for New China. Everything there is, in his opinion, absolutely rotten. Such a state, needless to say, cannot live even for a day. But has not New China during its short life given ample proof of its viability? M. Guillain should excuse us for telling a home-truth—his pamphlet is not worth the paper on which it is printed.

New Japan is a catalogue of what the U.S.A. occupation authorities have done in Japan from 1945 to 1951. It describes the American attempt to re-make Japan by a thorough overhaul and re-organisation of the economic, social and political life of the people. The author's reticence on the effects of the changes makes us suspicious that these have not been conducive to the national well-being. Why does not the author say anything of the man in the street's reaction to the Yankee brand of new order in his country? Disquieting reports of happenings there reach us from time to time. The local press gave out not many days ago that the maintenance of 200,000 babies of alien fathers by Japanese mothers is giving a headache to the Mikado's government. It seems, therefore, that all is not so quiet in the Land of the Rising Sun as interested persons and parties would have us believe. Mr. Ito not excluded.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DIVIDED INDIA: By C. N. Vakil. Published by Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalkadevi Road, Bombay 2. Pp. 555. Price Rs. 16.

Shri C. N. Vakil, University Professor of Economics, and Director, School of Economics and Sociology of Bombay, has been an outstanding interpreter of economic facts in India. In the Introduction, he has mentioned the names of his helpers—S. A. Pandit, T. M. Desai, C. R. Cirvante and P. R. Brahmananda, all young Research Assistants, associated with the school—as doing the spade-work of this vast work, enabling Dr. Vakil to produce a volume that for many a day will continue to be consulted by enquirers into the economics of our continental country now divided into two nations and States breaking up a geographic and socio-economic unity.

The author utters the usual lamentations of such a cruel operation. But it being a political necessity, the citizens of the two States, out of the morass. In 1918-19, Maynard Keynes had signalled his career as an economist by writing *The Consequences of the Versailles Treaty*. Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote *Divided India* to warn the Muslim League hot-heads of the danger of their two-nation theory. Both these books have proved true in their diagnosis of the evils and in the remedy—the supreme consideration that should have taught us, Indians and Britishers, wisdom in this matter. But Fate willed otherwise. And today "a truncated Pakistan" and "Hindustan" are faced with unthought-of consequences of the decision of June 3, 1947, announced on behalf of the British Government.

Dr. Vakil and his co-adjudicators have collected statistics from New Delhi and Karachi to help the world understand the mischief of that process of securing internal and international amity. It will be a source-book which no student of affairs can fail to use always. The first edition of the book appeared in November, 1950. There was thus enough time to realize the full implications of the Partition of India. The December-March tension (1949-50) had almost driven the two States to open armed conflict which was eased a little by the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of April 8, 1950. The years 1947 to 1949 had evidently been forgotten when two "sovereign peoples" worked their will on the Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim minorities, perpetrating acts worse than those of beasts. The consequences of this mad frenzy have been related in many a book but never with such wealth of information and care in handling it as we get in this book.

But for a return to normalcy in the economics of India, there is yet no sign. Not because we are ignorant of the harm being done, but because the two nations and States are psychologically far apart yet to do the generous and bold thing. The Kashmir "affair" proves this. And Anglo-American partisanship over it points to the seat of disease as never before. India and Pakistan have become parties to the world's rival Bloc's politics. Thus no economic rationalism or wisdom can undo the evil. Even in 1947, the two Anglo-Saxon Powers—Britain and United States—had acted in concert in full realization of the consequences of an "India Divided." And for about four years these two Powers have been watching the rake's progress.

58th year!

PRABUDDHA BHARATA OR AWAKENED INDIA

January 1953 Number

The *Prabuddha Bharata*, a monthly journal conducted by the monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, enters the fifty-eighth year of its publication from January, 1953. We are glad to inform our readers that the January number will be a special enlarged issue containing many beautiful illustrations. A choice collection of learned articles by distinguished writers will form a special feature of this issue.

CONTENTS

Letters of Swami Turiyananda.
Vedanta and the Problem of Human Relations—By the Editor.
Sri Ramakrishna Temple at the Belur Math (Illustrated)—By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.
New Hopes—By Anirvan.
The Conception of History in Ancient India—By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
The Tantric Cults: I. Shākta Tantra—By Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., Ph.D.
A Pilgrimage through the Himalayas (Illustrated)—By Swami Apurvananda.
Ramakrishna Vedanta and the Unity of Religions—By C. T. K. Chari, M.A.
'Perspective'—By Manu Subedar.
Literature and world Peace—By Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D. (London).
Some Positive Aspects of Advaita Vedanta—By Swami Gambhirananda.
Religion and Science—By Dr. Mohan Lal Sethi, D.Sc.
Ramakrishna Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium (Illustrated). Etc., Etc., Etc.

Beautifully printed and excellently got-up.—Price As. 12.
Subscribers are enrolled from January.

Annual subscription: Inland Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh.; U.S. \$ 4.00

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

Therefore, in books like these, no constructive remedies are possible to be elaborated, and we do not get these here, in Dr. Vakil's book. The author, therefore, is found closing his volume with words that have a hopeless ring. He puts these on the lips of Indian Insurance Companies—"unsuitable working conditions in that country"—meaning Pakistan. These utter the innermost feelings of minorities in Pakistan.

All the same, patient readers will glean from many pages—53, 57, 78, 79, 120; 127-151; 294-295; 388-398—for instance, facts and figures that will explain Indian and Pakistani policies, very often divergent, for many more years. Their labour will repay them, whether they are constructively or destructively inclined.

The get-up of this volume is all that a reader can claim from the publisher and printer.

SURESH CHANDRA DUTTA

MAN AND SOCIETY: By Ranajit Kumar Sen. Gupta Press, Calcutta 9. Price Re. 1-8.

It is an English rendering of the author's original work in Bengali entitled *Samaj-Darshan*. He has indicated the relation between man and society and pointed out how inordinate emphasis on 'individuality' has marred the peace of the world. "Man has a dual character." With indulgence his 'lower self' tries to get the better of his 'higher self' and creates conflict and misery all around. If he wants to see 'good' triumph over 'evil', he has got to control his base animal instincts. Not through the adoption of any external device but only through man's spiritual regeneration can that triumph come.

The book contains four essays, viz., (1) Faculties of the Mind (2) On the Way to Life, (3) The Century Mind, (4) Social Observations. The ideas expressed may not be new, but one feels that the author has spoken from his heart and spoken in a lucid, fluent style.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

GANDHIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT: By J. C. Kumarappa. Published by Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Bombay 2. Pages 72. Price Re. 1-4.

It has been rightly said by the author that there is no such thing as principles of economics of Gandhiji. According to the author, two life principles governed all Gandhiji's economic, social, political and other considerations, viz., Truth and Non-violence. It is in the application of these criteria that the Gandhian Economic Thought has been built up.

Dr. Kumarappa is well-known as one of the trusted disciples of Gandhiji and has devoted his life to translate the ideas of his master in the matter of reorganisation or rather revitalisation of the village life and cottage industries. His presentation of the subject brings out clearly the Gandhian portrait of ideal human economy, however unreal it may appear to us in the present-day world. The men at the helm of affairs in this country are all tremendously influenced by Gandhian thought and it is not unoften that we witness two contradictory things being preached and advocated by our administrators. India, faced as she is by world economic and other forces on the one hand and by Gandhian idealism of spiritual nature on the other shall have to bring about a realistic compromise to march ahead as a progressive nation. The conception of a Welfare State as understood in West and the Gandhian welfare idea as regards humanity, has something in common, which requires to be understood and analysed and made proper use of in our new civic and economic set-up.

The author in six chapters unfolds Gandhian ideas of economy, and applies them to modern methods of production, distribution and exchange and also to trade methods and standard of living. Agrarian economy and rural reconstruction are tested from the Gandhian point of view and the author tries to show merits of the method. Even in industrial economy he prefers Gandhian method in spite of the progress of machinery and use of power all the world over. Finally he analyses Socialism and Communism from the Gandhian point of view and expresses the view that the latter is superior to former two 'isms' as it is non-violent and free from any idea of regimentation. Gandhism stands for the best expression of human personality. We would commend this small book to every student of Gandhian literature as it throws clear light on some of the aspects of our rural economy which deserve early and satisfactory solution by the State in close and intelligent co-operation with them who are to be benefited.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE MEGHADUTA OF KALIDASA with the commentary of Bharata Mallika and extracts from other unpublished commentaries on the text: Critically edited by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chowdhury. Published under Dr. K. N. Kalju Series by the Prachya Vans Mandira, Calcutta, 1951. Royal Octavo. Pp. 1-50, 1-84, and 85-148. Price Rs. 8.

Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* is an unparalleled piece of lyric in Sanskrit Poetry. Kalidasa's Muse is found to be at her best in this composition and her charms and elegance present a poetic coquetry which never fails to bewitch the hearts of the sensitive and the sensible of all ages and climes. As a result of this feature the foremost of scholars, whose devotion has been embodied in and has assumed the shape of various glosses and commentaries and translations in different parts of the world during different ages and through different languages, are enamoured of this masterpiece. Several of them are printed and re-printed, yet not a small number of them housed in the bibliographical treasure-houses have yet to see the light of the day. In Bengal itself there are over a dozen of them, the publication of which is the need of the day. Dr. J. B. Chowdhury, a veteran Sanskrit scholar, has thrown the world of Sanskritists under a deep debt of obligation by bringing out the edition of the most popular lyric which is under review. The learned editor has evidently spared no pains to put forth a scientific edition starting from giving a critical apparatus and ending with Wilson's English version and the Bengali rendering of the poem. Bharata Mallika's commentary, which evinces an erudition of a high order on the part of the writer and great elegance of style, is a very useful addition to the expository material already available on the book. Besides this, the value of the edition as a reference book is enhanced by the editor's having given a select index *in mecum* of the comparative interpretations of the text from other commentaries hitherto unpublished. The geographical notes along with the select vocabulary with notes are a useful prefix to the text. The catalogue of variants and also of the verses said to be interpolated serves as a good index for the research scholar. The printing and get-up befits the learned edition. The value of such an edition can not be too highly estimated.

SURENDRA NATH SHASTRI

BOOK REVIEWS

BENGALI

BANGLA PRABAD: Edited by Sushilkumar Das. A. Mukherjee and Co. Ltd., 2 College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 20.

This is a volume of Bengali proverbs of about one thousand pages. This is unique in its kind as there has been no such comprehensive compilation in print before. The Bengali proverbs were first collected heretofore. The Bengali proverbs were first collected by the Christian Missionaries. It was the Rev. Morton who collected a considerable number of Bengali proverbs and got them published in *The Calcutta Christian Observer* in 1835. Since then these were being collected and published sometimes in magazines and sometimes in book-form. The Rev. Long also collected Bengali proverbs and got many proverbs of the foreign languages translated, and compiled them in three volumes. Many others later stepped in the field, but a comprehensive volume of the original Bengali proverbs and those adapted in the Bengali language was a desideratum. It has been left to an erudite scholar like Dr. Sushilkumar Das to supply the want. The present volume testifies to his immense labour, patient enquiry and careful sifting. The arrangement of the proverbs in alphabetical order with suitable illustrations when necessary will help the reader to get at once to the proverb and meaning of the proverb he wants. The detailed index given at the end is also helpful. This serves the purpose of a dictionary without being such a one. The masterly introduction of the author shows the sound scholarship of the author. He has traced the history of the compilation of the Bengali proverbs during the last century. That the evolution of the language is intimately connected with its proverbs has also been clearly explained with examples. The proverbs give a clue to the innate life-strings of a people. A people's culture at its various stages of evolution reflects itself more in the proverbs than in anything else. Discussion on the proverbs in their various aspects, as done by the author in the treatise will enlighten the reader as regards the inner strength of the language as well as the character of the people. Students of the Bengali language and Bengali culture will find ample food for thought and enquiry. About ten thousand proverbs have been collected by the author. We congratulate the author on the compilation and the publishers on their publication of such a useful volume.

JOGENDRA C. BAGAL

DEVAMATI: By Swami Uttamananda. Third Edition. To be had of "Uttamasram," Garinagar, Po. Dumurdia, Hooghly. Price Rs. 3.

A drama in five Acts depicting the glory of man's spiritual realisation. Pysrimohan's wife Devamati (Divine Mind) is an ideal lady, justifying her name by her noble character. Though philosophical in outlook and a bit didactic, the book is not devoid of dramatic interest. The author has not discarded human values. That the book has run three editions testifies to its popularity.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

SHUDRUN KI KHOJ: By B. R. Ambedkar. Anur Book Company, Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 115. Price Rs. 2.

A Hindi rendering of the author's English work, *Who were the Shudras*, which created, when it appeared, such a flutter in the dovecotes of savarnas (members of the higher castes) and orthodox scholars. The learned doctor's researches into the subject of the origin of the Shudra caste reveal that the Shudras are descended from the Suryavamshi (Solar) dynasty, that at one time there were only three castes among the Aryans, namely, the Brahmin, the Kshatriya (of which the Shudras were a part) and the Vaishya; and that the Shudras were later degraded to the lowest position in society by the Brahmins in order to avenge themselves on the Shudra rulers, who tyrannized over them, and so on. The book is stamped with a keen, critical and dispassionate spirit of enquiry and is accordingly, a welcome as well as valuable contribution to our sociological literature. Its study is bound to help raise both the self-respect and status of the Shudras, for whom it is primarily intended.

PRACHYA MANAV VAIGNANIK: Edited by Dr. D. N. Mazumdar and Nareschandra. Published by Bharat Book Company, Lal Bagh, Lucknow. Illustrated. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 4.

This is the organ of the Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society of Lucknow, which has been doing such splendid work since its inception in 1946. The Society is to be congratulated on its publication, for now it can share the results of its researches with a wider public. The present inaugural number deals with the cultural and poetic value of Folk-songs. Holi festival of the Tharu tribe, some problems of Reclamation of Criminal Tribes, social customs and manners of Jaunsar Babar and Development of our Culture. All the contributions have a patent ring of personal investigation, at once sustained and scholarly.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SABHA SHASTRA: Originally written in Marathi by the Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil (Kaka Saheb), Minister for Power, Mines, Light, etc., and translated into Gujarati by A. G. Bhagwat of Baroda and published by C. C. Vora, Ahmedabad, 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 420. Price Rs. 9-6.

The very short Introduction of the Hon'ble the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Delhi, Shri Mavlankar sums up in a word the utility of this publication. There was no such book in Gujarati of the type of this book, which comprises everything worth knowing about the constitution and conduct of meetings, public and political, Standing Committees, Corporations and Legislatures. The subject is technical and complicated, and very few, even amongst those who take part in such meetings, are familiar with the requirements which law, tradition and convention have established in connection with their conduct. The publication of such a book is very opportune to say the least, at this juncture in the history of our country, when we have become independent and have to administer the affairs of the country on constitutional lines.

K. M. J.

The Gandhian View of Prayer

Courses :

THE idea of prayer in these our ungracious days has become a butt for a certain cynical disregard and a kind of intellectual scepticism. But this is no wonder. In a world where godlessness has been raised to the status of by no means a disreputable fashion, and where education frames a type of mind designed to be merely critical and unbelieving, any allegiance to divine power will naturally be looked upon with suspicion. Modern man congratulates himself on his acquisition of material power and his consequent ability to disown God. He has manufactured for himself an empirical philosophy based on a convenient logic : If God has not redeemed his scriptural promise to restore man to his lost paradise, why then should man forever play the parasite? It is time God might as well congratulate himself upon his deliverance from the responsibility for the most ungrateful and the self-killing of all his created objects.

Yet all the miracles of the modern age are not scientific. A Gandhi is a divine miracle if ever there were any. It is God's triumph over blasphemous disbelief, and monstrous pessimism. Perhaps this is how God fulfils himself, not so much by destroying the villainous as by rousing the divine in man. It is not for nothing that 'Gandhiji' tried all his life long to justify the God in man and his essential goodness.

One who is so highly God-intoxicated as Gandhiji was, will certainly see the guiding hand of God in every field of human endeavour. Even Politics, the most mundane of human activities has, to such a man, much to do with the grace of Divine Being. And since this religiousness is a way of life and not a matter of expediency, such a man will always defy all rigid classifications even if he chooses to work in a particular field. He can attain through faith and intuition the rare ability to perceive the pervading unity halting over the apparent diversities of life, to regard the differing parts related inseparably to the whole. If, therefore, a diplomat of the Churchillian brand is bound to be essentially comic when he swears by God, a Gandhi not doing so is likely to be equally ridiculous.

When Gandhiji emerged in the political horizon of India he brought with him his own equipment, and his experiment with truth had been to an appreciable extent, fruitful. He had also realised how from his average and unpromising childhood he had grown into a power only by his will to be good and will to do good. He had now to adjust his policy to Indian circumstances, to put his experiments to a wider and a severer test. He was to deal with the teeming millions, the illiterate and the unfed, degraded by jealousy and intolerance. He had given them the weapons of non-co-operation and non-violence, but non-co-operation might lapse into violence and non-violence might degenerate into cowardice. So he must also teach them discipline, unity and tolerance and these besides, faith in their own destiny and faith in the blessing and approval of God, robust optimism

and unshaken belief so that his Excalibur of truth might be put to proper use by all and sundry. Hence he cast his lot with suffering humanity, with the oppressed and the trodden, the ignorant and the untouchables to whom he preached goodness and God and who needed such preaching most for they were the fighting elements of the country, the soul of the nation. The addressing of mammoth gatherings in big cities he gradually left for others to do. He would choose a sweepers' colony somewhere or make his temporary abode in some neglected unmapped village where the burden of his message would be: "*How long, how long can you escape goodness and God?*"

But he had also to be very careful all the while. His vast popularity among the masses might tempt one particularly if he is religious in his outlook to claim or to accept the role of the messenger of God, or a miracle maker. And such acceptance is bound to generate a kind of sectarianism or encourage doctrinarianism and even fanaticism. So Gandhiji was always scrupulously trying to escape the nimbus of divinity which haunted him all through his life and courageously declined, on many occasions, the honoured office of a miracle man. Those who believe that Gandhiji only exploited the religious propensity of the nation for a practical end, indirectly, perhaps unconsciously, lend support to the view that the world is either unwilling to welcome its great men or too willing to treat them shabbily and with suspicion. Gandhiji being the most chosen son of God in this century has always preferred to remain His most obedient and faithful servant.

THE PRAYER—TORCH OF TRUTH

Gandhiji has been dubbed, with implied disregard for his views, too much of a dreamer, an uncompromising idealist, evidently because he only appealed to the nobler instincts of man, and refused to accept meanness, hatred etc. as the basic elements of life. The same charge still holds good against him even after the partial realisation of his national dream through his advocated means. This at least, in spite of the lingering charge, is an evidence of certain practicability of his methods even under existing circumstances and unfavourable conditions. The introduction of mass prayer by Gandhiji also forms an integral part of this constructive scheme, which taking the surroundings in view, is a veritable *coup de temps*. In the introduction of this novel method he has shown the same daring originality—and originality of application if not of method can never be denied to him even by his sworn enemy if he had any—which emboldened him to fight violence with non-violence, to light the torch of truth amidst closing and encircling gloom.

The mass prayer is thus among the essentials of the Gandhian Scheme of things. It is Gandhism because it is a class by itself—and also because it is designed to produce results which, judged by his sense of values, will lay the foundation of his visualized world of men.

In a country where temples and mosques stand surrounded by dirt and rubbish, it is so gratifying to note Gandhiji's scrupulous and fastidious attention to cleanliness, and not only is cleanliness next to godliness but a certain artistic sense of decorum, which Gandhiji so amply possessed and which he always wanted to impress

in the masses, is an essential requisite of the worship-
g mood. Again in the land where a Muslim believes that
the miseries of a Muslim, or a Muslim believes that
goes a step towards Heaven by killing a Hindu, or
are a Sikh's *krises* once out cannot go back to the
sath without drinking the blood of an enemy, it is a
ht for gods to see people professing various religions,
tending to recitations from different scriptures, nod-
g their heads in perfect unison, or harmoniously making
ne with clappings under the conjuring influence of a
in and frail human being lost in religious ecstasy.
r yet again in a country where a few people collected
together give the impression of riotous mob, it is certainly
startling to note the ennobling silence and animated
discipline in a Gandhian prayer meeting.

Then there is the after-prayer speech by Gandhiji himself, sometimes narrating the implications of a great political event, or sometimes explaining the inner significance of a song or a poem or quotation from the scripture, in fact a speech touching on all the various spheres of life. People only called him a politician but he remained consciously and unconsciously a humanitarian, for he did never assert the importance of one aspect of life at the cost of another.

THE SAME ROAD AND THE SAME GOAL

The aim of such prayer, therefore, on the very face of it cannot be merely religious. Its value is religious and political, moral and educative. To raise this vast sub-continent from the depth of its deadening degradation he exploited all possible good means—and for him means and ends should be equally good—and therefore, from all platforms and altars he reiterated the same message, obviously because he realized that repetition would go a great way in bringing home to the unaccustomed millions the meaning and the value of love and truth. The introduction of mass prayer is very much like the opening of a new front. Here in a mass congregation, he saw an epitome of the whole country, swelling millions, of the ignorant and the illiterate—so ignorant that they did not know they were so—who needed training in tolerance, and discipline, political consciousness and moral integrity. And in view of these things, he was not surprised to find that the members of other ages and climes also held the same view.

Other preachers of other ages and climes also held congregational prayers with social reform in view, though with the idea of religious expansion attached thereto, but they also claimed, each in his turn, to be a bearer of God's mandate, sent to this world with the exclusive purpose of setting up and propagating a particular religion. They, therefore, while refuting other religious views, which for their specific purpose they had to do, notwithstanding their professed catholicity, created and even encouraged religious antagonism, for they had to proceed through the process of elimination and not of acceptance.

proceed through the process of acceptance.

Gandhiji not only did nothing of that kind but justified by a supreme example the profound significance of the platitude so often and so conveniently uttered by the interested reformers, that all religions are fundamentally the same, that various roads lead to the same goal. Intolerance, he felt, and of all human vices, must be the first to be eradicated—not merely by driving it away but substituting it by its opposite, and that tolerance must be taught in a larger context—in relation to its implications in individual, social and national life. Recitation from different scriptures, therefore, was supplemented by his synthesizing speech and ratified by the need of unity among men. In fact, to attend to Gandhian prayer meeting was to have much of liberal education, for there one finds, all of a sudden the walls are being pulled down, the pride and prejudices being washed away, and himself gradually transcending the limitations set up by his family, society and religion.

From height to height and from strength to strength the Hindusthan is making a record of outstanding progress every year. It is an arresting landmark in the onward march of Indian Life Insurance. The 45th Annual Report for 1951 once again reflects the soundness, integrity and distinction which always have been so characteristic of the Society

Assurances in Force	Rs. 81,02,36,164
Total Assets	Rs. 19,98,13,853
Life Fund	Rs. 17,66,19,628
Premium Income	Rs. 3,72,27,528
Claims Paid	Rs. 83,57,978

16,28,85,800



**HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.**

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,
4, Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA

In his later years Gandhiji did completely do away with the political platforms and chose to express his views only in prayer meetings; perhaps he felt that he could recruit a formidable army for truth and peace to fight down the growing strength of the monster of communalism only through understanding and an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust. Never was his integrity and devotion to truth put to a severer test and he accepted the challenge. It is, therefore, very significant that he met his death in his favourite shrine. Every hour of his life was dedicated to the service of humanity, he was now prepared to offer his death. And he saw it through—his life was the ransom, but for Gandhiji it was not a high price to pay.

Gandhiji always preferred to be in the rear and, farmerlike to cultivate the land, sow and plant; harvesting was for others to do more ambitious and spectacular in their aims and activities. Perhaps his tools may not be wielded by others with the same efficacy but while gathering a rich harvest, we must bow respectfully, to the mighty conjurer, the desperate alchemist who tried and succeeded considerably to turn a patch of barren land into a rich fertile soil.

The Crisis in Egypt

Gopinath writes in *The Indian Review* :

EGYPT having a population of about 20,000,000 is today witnessing far-reaching changes. On the 26th July, 1952 King Farouk of Egypt was forced to abdicate in favour of his seven month old son, Prince Ahmed Faud, in a bloodless coup d'etat staged by the Egyptian Army led by General Naguib Mohamed. Before the coup d'etat events had been moving very fast. For ever since the unilateral abrogation of the treaty of 1936, Egypt and Britain have been driven from one extreme to another. There is no doubt that Nahas Pasha's Government was fanning the passions of the multitude which ultimately ended in riot and incendiarism in Cairo on January 26th, 1952.

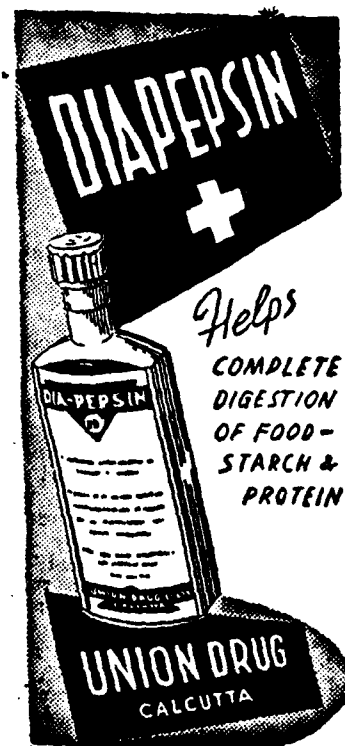
The political consequence of these events was the dismissal of the Wafd Government and the appointment of Ali Maher Pasha on January 28th, who was a former political adviser of King as Premier. The new Premier expressed his intention to pursue the two objectives of Egyptian nationalism, viz., the evacuation of the British forces from the Canal Zone and the unity of the Nile Valley. However, many difficulties arose and he resigned. A new Government was formed with Hilaly Pasha as Premier in the first week of March, 1952. He was a promising Premier. He moved impressively but his anti-corruption drive disturbed Wafd bigwigs. He revived tax evasion charges against top men in Wafd party. He started talks with the representatives of the Mahabi of the Sudan about Egypt's claim to sovereignty over Sudan and also with Britain for settlement of their dispute over Sudan and British troops in the Canal Zone. King Farouk was anxious to keep Hilaly Pasha in power, but the anti-corruption drive affected the courts also which were jammed with tax evasion cases. Hilaly resigned. Sirry Pasha formed government on July 2nd. Hilaly Pasha came again to power on July 21. Col. Cherin Bey, brother-in-law of King Farouk, was in the Cabinet as the Minister of War. This was an evidence of the Palace-cum-Cabinet co-operation.

King Farouk, however, like the Bourbon Kings of France, had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Such a state of affairs could not continue for long. No Egyptian could tolerate this sort of affairs. Now was the time for the army to intervene. General Naguib Mohamed whose appointment as War-Minister was

opposed by King Farouk in former Premier Sirry Pasha Cabinet led the coup on July 23. The coup was a bloodless one and entirely successful. King Farouk was forced to abdicate and leave the country. Hilaly Pasha resigned on 23rd July, and Ali Maher Pasha was installed as Premier. General Naguib declared himself Commander-in-Chief of the army.

With the exit of King Farouk came to end a chapter of palace intrigue and a new race for power began. General Naguib was hailed by Nahas Pasha as the "Saviour of the Nation". On July 27, General Naguib declared that the military movement had nothing to do with politics. But when the army intervenes in politics it cannot keep itself half way. Though Ali Maher Pasha was installed yet General Naguib was the *de facto* Premier, and soon differences arose. On August 2, a Regency Council of three was made to rule Egypt in the name of the infant king Ahmed Faud II until he comes of age in 17 years. General Naguib, from the start showed that he was in earnest about the elimination of corruption from Egyptian public life. Next he made a bid for the Agrarian Reform. He demanded limitation of estates to a maximum of 200 acres. But Maher Pasha was against doing things hastily. He refused to rush through reforms, which he claimed were too far sweeping and likely to lead to economic collapse. The Political Parties were also delaying the purge demanded by the Premier.

The result was natural. General Naguib's new sweep followed less than seven weeks after the bloodless revolution against Ex-King Farouk on July 23. On September 7, General Naguib took complete control of the Government after the biggest mass arrests in Egypt's history. All the leading political leaders were arrested. After informing Ali Maher Pasha of his action he demanded immediate action to be taken regarding agrarian reform. Ali Maher



General Naguib now became Premier and thus virtual dictator of Egypt. He announced on the 7th September a new sixteen-man Cabinet. The Egyptian Prime Minister, General Naguib and ex-King Farouk attacked each other in statements seeking to expose the injustice and tyrannies of each other's regime. General Naguib's statement, issued on October 17, by the Intelligence Office of the General Headquarters of the Egyptian armed forces and broadcast by Cairo Radio, was the first direct personal attack by Naguib on the monarch he deposed. It was in reply to Farouk's version of the abdication published recently in European papers, from Santa Marinella (near Rome), ex-King Farouk, from Santa Marinella (near Rome), made his rejoinder to Naguib, describing Naguib's statement as sounding "like a typical dictator's speech and on the good Kremlin pattern."

made his rejoinder "like a typical Egyptian" on the good Kremlin pattern.

Retaining the title of the Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian armed forces, General Naguib also became War-Minister and Military Governor-General and personally took Egypt's social revolution into his own hands. On September 9, he laid the two foundation stones of his new regime—reform of the political parties and break up of big feudal estates. Under the new decree laws passed on September 9, 1 million acres will be expropriated. Land holdings will be limited to 200 acres per person. But the Waqis and agricultural companies are excluded from the decrees. The Political Purge Law decreed that nobody, who has been guilty of abuse of power, receiving money from a foreign power or other crime, can be a member of a political party. The titles of Bey and Pasha have been abolished. Citizens will be formally addressed as "El Sayed" (Gentleman). Thus the new Premier took a momentous decision. Egyptian reformers have also been assured of Parliamentary rights. Concerning the agrarian reforms, already good progress has been made. A bank has been established to help peasants to agriculturists.

Every party has, by now, voted.

progress has been made. A bank
give loans to agriculturists.
Coming to the political side, every party has, by now,
registered itself according to the new law. The Waif
party at first refused to carry the orders of Naguib's
Cabinet. At first it purged itself of corrupt elements.
It extended its support to the Agrarian Reforms. Then
the Waif Party was asked by the Government not to
accept Mustafa Nahas as their leader. Under the new
law the Minister of Interior could object to any name
in the party list. The Waif Party refused to accept
the order that Nahas should cease to be their leader.
According to them there could be "No Waif without
Nahas." Under the new law the names of founder members
of a political party have to be approved by the Govern-
ment. Nahas challenged the authorities to oust him

from the leadership of the powerful Wafdist Party. He declared "No power, Allah and the Egyptian people excepted, can oust me". He also declared that Wafd Party will not be registered till Soliman Hafezi, Vice Premier and Minister of Interior is in power. The reason for the Government's refusal to permit him to be the leader was that he was not taken up as a clean man. However, the Wafd Party had to bow and it decided on October 6, 1952, to register under the new "Purge or dissolve Law" without its veteran leader Moustafa Nahas. Accordingly, it registered itself on October 6. It made Moustafa Nahas Honorary President of the Party for life. The registration of the Wafd Party under new law means that the Naguib Government has won one of the major political triumphs. The Wafd Party in its newly outlived policy has reiterated its adherence to the unity of the Nile Valley and its opposition to any form of common defence plan sponsored by the Western Powers. Naguib on the other hand had always shown moderation in his statements towards Western Powers. He foresees an era of co-operation with Britain and America.

General Naguib's Government is thus coming out successful in his agrarian and political reforms. He has cleared the army of all corrupt officers. All the ambassadors who were more or less suspected of serving King Farouk more and Egypt less have been recalled. Mr. Ismail Kamal, Egyptian Ambassador in India, declared on 10th October that the armies' liberation movement was a very secular movement. Britain and America are also not hostile to the new regime, rather they are looking at it with favourable eyes. British arms are arriving in Egypt to make Egyptian Army more efficient and highly armed. Britain, on October 10, made two concessions, one immediate advance to Egypt of 5 million sterling to meet her sterling crisis and second, the withdrawal of the British outposts at El Ferdan railway bridges across the Suez Canal. These gestures show that gradually Britain and Egypt are developing an era of Co-operation. It seems that the question of evacuation of the Canal Zone and also the unity of Nile Valley will also be solved in a friendly way. General Naguib has announced elections by next February, provided by that time the parties and the public bodies have reorganised themselves. Food prices have been heavily reduced. Dealers defying the new official food prices are being severely dealt with. Thus the aim of Egypt's military movement is the building of a sound Democratic life in Egypt. Time only will show the ultimate result. But it is sure, if General Naguib succeeds and remains in power for long to clear Egypt of corruption, and complete Social Reforms, his name will go down in the annals of Egyptian history and he will become the Mostafa Kamal Pasha of Egypt.

ent. Nahas channag...

DHOLE & CO.

RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT

CUTA-TONE
for CUTS - PAINS - BURNS ETC.

NEEM OINTMENT
for ITCHES & SORES

BARNACORE - CALCUTTA









For charm + glamour to the -
appearance

BHRINGOL

Sweetly-scented
Maha-Bhringaraj
hair oil for the
growth of hair
and keeping the
hair cool.

MARGO SOAP

An ideal Neem Toilet
soap for keeping the
skin soft and fresh.

LA-BONNY SNOW CREAM

For enhancing
personal charm
Snow for the
day and Cream
for the night.

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LTD. CALCUTTA 29

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.
JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S.
(London) of International fame. President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji
WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.
Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rotischild Talisman:—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 20-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha:—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Price Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 14-2. Super-special with life-long effects Rs. 184-4.
Mohini Kavacha:—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Price Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with extraordinary life-long & speedy effects Rs. 357-14.
Nrisingha Kavacha:—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9.
Saraswati Kavacha:—Success in examination and sharp memory. Price Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9.
Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English
"MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"

by Jyotish Samrat:—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)
H. O.:—106(M.), Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta 5. Consultation Hours 8-30—10-30 A.M. Phone: B. B. 3685.
Branch Office:—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065.
LONDON OFFICE:—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Henri Dunant—Founder of the Red Cross

The following Lecture was delivered by Professor E. N. da C. Andrade in *The Royal Society of Arts*, London, on 8th May, 1952, to mark the anniversary of Henri Dunant's birth, as published in its *Journal*, June 1952:

The Red Cross, that astonishing organization for the relief of human suffering, whose activities constitute the best witness to the existence of true international philanthropy—date I say true humanity—owes its origin largely to one man, Henri Dunant, who was born on 8th May, 1828, 124 years ago. He was an extraordinary man. Probably all reformers are extraordinary people. I wish I were sufficient of a historian on social matters to be able to analyze and set before you what are the qualities that make men and women able to introduce great reforms. We should have to consider very varied characters, William Luther and General Booth, Ignatius Loyola and William Wilberforce, John Wycliffe and Florence Nightingale. Perhaps it can be said that they all had an immense enthusiasm, a desire for adventure, a powerful persuasiveness, a keen sense of the spirit and requirements of the day and a certain mysticism. It is also these qualities Dunant possessed to the full. It is also possible that many reformers possess their share of human weakness. Dunant had his defects and eccentricities, and very strange they were. I am going to try to give you a fair picture of the man, neither uncharitably insisting upon his failings, nor making of him a waxwork figure of smooth and unlife-like perfection.

Henri Dunant was born in Geneva, a well-to-do parent, his father being an established merchant of that city, belonging to the well-defined class of wealthy bourgeois which, in the strict social classification which then obtained, lay between the aristocrats and the workers. The youthful environment and the education of remarkable characters often afford a clue to their subsequent

history and furnish an explanation of strange doings which are hard to understand without this clue. This is certainly so with Dunant. He was brought up as a member of a very individual community, that of the citizens of Geneva, in an atmosphere where prosperity in trade and commerce and success in business were the marks of civic virtue. A God-fearing community, where the ten commandments were observed and the commandments of commerce respected, where life was bounded on one side by the Bible and on the other by the balance sheet, both of which demanded careful study. It is necessary to bear the character of this community in mind to understand the shock produced later on by Dunant's bankruptcy, an event which is not regarded so severely in our English community of to-day.

But another great influence was his youthful education. He sat at the feet of a very remarkable character, Pastor Gausson, who founded much of his teaching on his interpretation of the Book of Daniel the Prophet: in fact, he wrote a catechism, famous in its time, called *Daniel le Prophete*, from which I pluck the following sentences: "I begin to-day the sacred book of Daniel. I demand your whole attention: I must see the expression of it on your faces: I must behold all your looks turned with reverence on him who speaks to you, for he brings to you the oracles of the living God." All history was interpreted in the light of the Book of Daniel and of the Apocalypse. Incidentally the Book of Daniel has influenced very famous men: Sir Isaac Newton devoted great attention to it over a period of years and his *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* was published posthumously. In it much laborious scholarship was devoted to the identification of the little horn of the fourth beast. Gausson discussed Charlemagne and the great Napoleon in terms of the prophecies of Daniel: "Aussi donc, chers enfants, vous voyez jusques en Bonaparte comment s'est accomplie de siècle en siècle la prophétie de Daniel." Why do I bring to your notice these curiosities? Because Dunant was infected with this prophetic mysticism and had a singular vision of Charlemagne's European empire being re-established under Napoleon III, to whom he had a peculiar devotion.

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

At All leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
HIMALAYA DRUG Co.
251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY, M.B.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

6, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2% Per Annum
Interest on Fixed Deposit 3% Per Annum
for 1 year & over 1 year 4% Per Annum

Branches:

College Sq., Cal.
Bankura.

Chairman:

JAGANNATH KOLAY
M.P.

the cause was, apparently, one from which physicists today are exempt—he had too much money. His father had been a well-known musician and the young man had invented a musical instrument based upon the singing flame, which he called the Pyrophone. I will not detain you with a description, for you are shortly to see it in action, thanks to Dr. Sherwood Taylor, the Director of the Science Museum, and Dr. Follett. Suffice to say that it was a curious combination of tubes and gas flames. The anxious mother thought, apparently, that if her son could achieve fame in England with his instrument, it would distract him from the sources of his embarrassment and provide him with a harmless, if not lucrative, diversion. She knew that Dunant had exceptional powers of persuasion and diplomatic approach and promised him, in addition to a mother's thanks, the less precious but more tangible reward of 50,000 fr.—£2,000, a goodly sum in those days. If he brought her son and his Pyrophone into successful prominence, I will end your suspense at once by saying that he never got the money. Dunant, then, came to England again, once more with mixed motives to advance his general ideals of international co-operation and to improve his finances, this time not with a fall of water but with a flare of flame.

He was most kindly received by Tyndall at the Royal Institution who, on 15th January, 1875, "introduced to his audience", as the *Morning Post* says, "the wonderful innovation of Mr. Frederic Kastner. This is an instrument to which the ingenious inventor has given the name of 'Pyrophone', indicative of the fact that musical sounds are produced by the approximation of flames arranged for that purpose in a series of glass tubes". At the end of the discourse Tyndall said, "I have here with me the sponsor of this instrument the great Henri Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross." The following month Dunant himself lectured on the Pyrophone at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts in this very room. I cannot trace the subsequent history of the Pyrophone, but apparently it never had much success—why should it? It was an amusing curiosity, nothing more. Soon after Dunant left this country with none of his immediate aspirations satisfied.

After this he lived in comparative poverty and obscurity, mostly in Stuttgart, but occasionally visiting England. He practically disappeared from public life, so that it was widely supposed, even in his native city, that he was dead.

On a fine summer day in the year 1887 he entered the village of Helden, near Rorschach, on the south side of Lake Constance, a picturesque figure with a long white beard. He was followed down the village street by a few children, and turned into the Inn—the *Paradise*. He was unwell, suffering among other things from eczema of the right hand, and sent for the doctor, who also ran a kind of sanatorium outside the town. The doctor became interested in the old man, who was clearly a character, and found to his amazement that he was no less a person than Henri Dunant, whom he had supposed to be dead.

Dunant's income at this time was 3 Swiss francs a day. The doctor took him into his sanatorium, introduced him to many of his distinguished patients, and more or less looked after him for the rest of his life. It was at Helden that Dunant spent the remainder of his days.

In 1895 a young journalist of St. Gall, named Baumberger, was on holiday in the district and heard of the strange old man of Helden, then sixty-seven, but looking older. When he found out who he was he realized that here was a first-class scoop for his paper, the well-known journal *Ueber Land und Meer*. The young man overcame what we are told was Dunant's

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX.** Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE.** Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED,** indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA:** MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION.** Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

reluctance to see strangers—this reluctance is somewhat hard to reconcile with the rest of his life. In any case he obtained from Dunant an excellent story and promptly published it, with results very gratifying to the journalist, to the journal and to the old man. Telegrams and letters poured in on him from every direction and what was even more acceptable, the Dowager Empress of Russia granted him a pension which kept him in reasonable comfort for the rest of his life. Once more he was back in public life. A few years later, at the first Hague Conference of 1899, he was in touch with ministers especially those of Czar Nicholas II. who had initiated the Conference, and actively engaged on his old plans for universal arbitration. His advice was heeded and he had the satisfaction of seeing some of his counsels embodied in the clauses of the Convention.

Alfred Nobel, who made a great fortune from explosives, had a secretary, daughter of an Austrian Field Marshal, who was wholeheartedly interested in mitigating the evils of war. When the Nobel prizes were planned she was influential in persuading Noble to include one for peace. She was a great admirer of Dunant, and possibly played a part in procuring for him the great distinction, which he shared with Frederic Passy, of being the recipient of the first Nobel Peace prize, awarded in 1901. It may interest you that the prize for physics in that year went to Roentgen. This prize further improved his financial position. In 1907 the old man, now 79, had the gratification of seeing a convention regulating the treatment of prisoners of war, which he had so long advocated, embodied in the Conventions agreed at the fourth Hague Conference of 1907. So we have the satisfaction of seeing Dunant at the end of his life with his finances assured and his ambitions satisfied. He died at Helden in 1910 and, at his own wish, was buried without ceremony or publicity.

Well, it is a strange story, one more instance of how it is a coming together of apparently trifling events that influences history. Blaise Pascal expressed what I have in mind admirably in one of his immortal *Pensees*: "If Cleopatra's nose had been shorter, the face of the earth would have been changed". If Dunant had not bought twenty odd acres of land in Algeria, if Dunant had been to a different school, if Dunant had not had a vision of a reborn Charlemagne, if Dunant had not had sufficient money to print at his own expense an edition of his book in impressive style, there might have been no Red Cross, or, at any rate, the birth of the Red Cross might have been much delayed. Circumstances conspired, however, to bring to Solferino on 24th June, 1859, perhaps the one man who had just the qualities required to raise from those horrors the mighty and benevolent body which you, ladies and gentlemen, represent. All honour to Henri Dunant.

IMPORTANT TO ADVERTISERS

Our **PRABASI** in Bengali, **MODERN REVIEW** in English and **VISHAL BHARAT** in Hindi—

These three monthlies are the best mediums for the publicity campaign of the sellers.

These papers are acknowledged to be the premier journals in their classes in India. The advertiser will receive a good return for his publicity in these papers, because, apart from their wide circulation, the quality of their readers is high, that is, they circulate amongst the best buyers.

Manager, **THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE,**
120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta

M.B. SARKAR & SONS

Jewellers
AND DIAMOND MERCHANTS



BRANCH
HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE
150/1B, Rashbehari Avenue,
Calcutta. Ph. P. K. 4466

167/167C1 BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA, (AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNCTION)
OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM Phone AVENUE 1761 - GRAM BRILLIANTS

Largescale Industrialisation in China

One major reason why China is able to launch its fast industrialisation programme next year is her successful land reform movement. Land reform has brought sweeping changes in the countryside during the past three years.

For thousands of years China's peasants were weighed down by feudal land-ownership. They toiled from dawn till dusk, only to enrich the landlords. The average rent they paid was more than half the value of their crops, or over 30 million tons of grain a year. They went about in rags and were always hungry.

Land reform has changed all this. The peasant have become a new and free people. Today they are wearing new clothes and have grain to spare. Their hearts are light and changes for the better are taking place all the time.

During the past three years land reform has been carried out in an area with a rural population of three hundred million, and this figure added to the 120 million rural population among whom land reform was completed earlier makes up over 90 percent of the total rural population. Land reform will be carried out among another 30 million people before the spring of next year. This is one of the greatest accomplishments since the establishment of the People's Republic.

The ownership of land by the peasants has set free creative energies that have led them to work with a fervour they never knew before. Already they have restored agriculture beyond its highest prewar level and have raised industrial crops to the highest records in Chinese history. A striking example is cotton. By 1951 this crop was 30 percent above the highest prewar level and this year will be 50 percent above.

All this has not been done simply by working in the old way, with out-dated tools barely scratching the surface of the ground and the people left powerless against drought and pest. During the land reform movement, the peasants organised their own peasant associations in which they learned the great strength of numbers. After the land division they readily organised mutual-aid teams of three and more families.

Together they ploughed, sowed, built dykes, sank wells, harvested and did a host of other farm tasks. They found they could get more done in less time by working together and the number of teams has never stopped growing. In the Northeast 80 percent of the rural population has already formed mutual-aid teams. North China follows with 60 percent. In East China, the Central-South and the Southwest, where land reform took place more recently, from 25 to 40 percent of the rural population have joined mutual-aid teams.

In the vanguard of the mutual-aid teams are thousands of model peasants, like Chu Yao-li, who last year set the record of cropping over six tons of cotton per hectare, and Liu Chang-wen who has harvested ten and a half tons of rice per hectare. Before land reform,

peasant production was far behind the mutual-aid teams forward responsible for leading the mutual-aid teams forward to agricultural producer cooperatives. Now thousands of agricultural producer cooperatives have already been organised in the Northeast and North China. These are using new horse-drawn farm implements that have been introduced and adapted to suit the various types of present countryside production. They are a step ahead of the mutual-aid teams; and the next step is mechanisation.

Another important economic development in the countryside is the wide-spread establishment of supply and marketing cooperative societies. These provide economic help to the peasant, just as the state farms and experimental stations supply the technical aid. The peasants prefer to deal with the cooperatives where they know they are guaranteed a fair price for their products and through which they can order exactly what they want. The cooperatives play a leading part in the stimulation through side occupations, particularly where land is scarce, ranging from keeping poultry to gathering herbs. The cooperatives play a leading part in the stimulation of the vast town and country trade that is turning the countryside into an inexhaustible market for consumer goods from the cities.

Another change that has revolutionised the countryside is the wide establishment of village schools. Children now go to school. There are 45 million children of school age in schools throughout the land and the majority are from peasant families. This number is rising all the time. Numerous adults are also attending literacy classes and part-time schools. Next year, a wide scale literacy drive will be launched, based on the quick method of learning characters developed by Chi Chien-hua, a teacher in the People's Liberation Army. News blackboards have become a common feature of village life. They are placed prominently along busy paths and keep the peasants informed of the latest local, national and world developments.

Farm hands and poor peasants used to make up some 70 percent of the rural population. Now this has totally changed. 80 percent of the peasants today are able to support themselves comfortably out of their own efforts without requiring to work for someone else. It is the peasants, not the landlords, who are the masters of the countryside now. For the first time in their lives they are taking part in the work of government. They elect their own village councils and, in the villages alone, a number of peasants who have been appointed to discharge administration duties is close to six million.

All these changes in the countryside serve the purpose of increasing production and saving man-power. They have thus paved the way to even greater output of food and raw materials in the future and an even greater release of man-power for China's coming largescale industrialisation. Bulletin of the People's Republic of China in India

